FIGHTING FOR LIBERTY

ARGYLL & MONMOUTH'S MILITARY CAMPAIGNS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF KING JAMES, 1685

STEPHEN M. CARTER

Century of the Soldier
1618-1721
No.57

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Argyll & Monmouth’s Military Campaigns against the Government of King James, 1685

Stephen M. Carter

‘This is the Century of the Soldier’, Fulvio Testi, Poet, 1641

Helion & Company

Helion & Company Limited
Unit 8 Amherst Business Centre
Budbrooke Road
Warwick
CV34 5WE
England
Tel. 01926 499 619
Email: info@helion.co.uk
Website: www.helion.co.uk
Twitter: @helionbooks
Visit our blog http://blog.helion.co.uk/

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Cover: Soldier in Monmouth's Regiment of Foot at Taunton, based on a spy report from Holland that 'Mr Hewling … It is he who tooke care of the making the purple coats, lined with red, for the souldiers that shall be imployed in the Rebells service.' See colour commentaries, plate D, for further details.

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Preface

> ‘By the authority aforesaid, that if any person or persons, at any time after the first day of July aforesaid, shall by any printing, writing, preaching, or other malicious or advised speaking, declare or assert that James, late Duke of Monmouth, the legitimate son of the late blessed sovereign King Charles the second, or that the said James hath a title or good claim to the Imperial crown of this realm, or of any other his Majesties dominions and counties, that then any such person or persons so offending, and our the oaths of two lawful and credible witnesses, upon trial, or otherwise convicted or attainted by due course in law, then every person or persons be deemed, declared, and adjudged to be a traitor or traitors, and shall suffer pains of death, and also lose a forfeit as in case of high treason.’
>
> Bill for the Preservation of the King’s Person, 30 June, 1685[1]

After 20 years researching, re-enacting, and commentating on the Monmouth Rebellion, I was arrogant enough to think I knew everything about the military campaign of 1685. Yes, over-time I’d spotted some niggling inconsistencies, and some things didn’t quite add-up, but I felt this was nothing to worry about, surely these points could be checked and updated. So, when Helion offered me the chance to write this new perspective on the subject, I felt able to give a positive and achievable deadline. I’d already written and drafted the contents, but there was the small and short Argyll campaign to include. Surely, this would be a chapter at most, based on my own primary research, and content found in other books. Therefore, I thought writing *Fighting for Liberty* was going to be straightforward and a great subject for my first book, once I’d added the Scottish campaign, of course. After all, I have almost every book published on the period in my library, possibly over 60 books,[2] from the 1985 work by David Chandler that got me started, to John Tincey’s interesting book on Churchill’s part in the campaign.[3] Then there was Peter Earle’s great work

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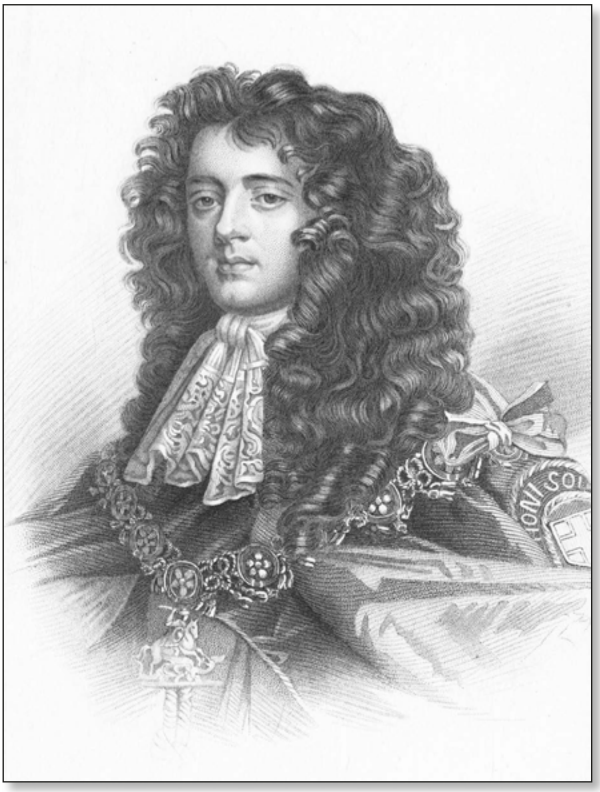
[1] Charles Fox, *A History of the Early Part of the Reign of James the Second* (London: William Miller, 1808), p.493 and pp.154–158. This bill passed its first reading in the House but did not complete its final reading due to the summer adjournment. On the House’s return in the autumn, with Monmouth dead, the Bill had little use as it was already possible to prosecute for talking or publishing in favour of Monmouth’s legitimacy.

[2] Much to my long-suffering family’s hardship, ‘Book on Monmouth or food?’ Easy answer for me!

[3] John Tincey, *Sedgemoor 1685: Marlborough’s First Victory* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2005).



James Scott, Duke of Monmouth; 9 April 1649 to 14 July 1685; legitimate or illegitimate son of Charles Stuart, King of England and Lady Lucy Walter. (Bookplate from George Roberts' ***Life and Progresses, and Rebellion, of James, Duke of Monmouth***, 1844, author's collection)

on the Whig Army, W. MacDonald Wigfield's two fantastic works, and books by Allen Fea and John Childs. Not forgetting my favourite by Charles Chenevix-Trench, or my two volumes (first edition, London 1844) of *Life, Progresses and Rebellion of James, Duke of Monmouth* by George Roberts.[4] These last two volumes are my go-to books on the campaign. In my opinion, these all left gaps or missed out the real military aspects of the campaign that I was looking for as a reader. The units, strengths, formations, route marches, and the detailed battle plans just didn't exist. The vast majority treated the military details as inconsequential, preferring to focus on the politics and personalities. At best they cover events viewed from above, like an archaeologist looking at an aerial photo, rather than cutting earth and finding the detritus of life underneath.

So, *Fighting for Liberty* attempts to plug this gap and fill in most of this missing information. By providing the context to the 'military' campaign, through the tactics, drill, and the landscape of the period, my hope was to remove all the niggling inconsistencies that had raised questions and challenged my understanding. Therefore, my first visit to the National Archives was to cross-check the orders issued to Lord Churchill on 13 June 1685, and as you'll read, this changed everything![5] For the first few visits to the archives I was simply cross-checking references and validating past work. Here I found a vast supply of untapped material, spy reports, examinations of prisoners, eyewitness letters, ordnance finance records, and the essential movement orders. This was the real detail I was looking for, but as I inserted these original references and facts into my early drafts, my niggling inconsistencies turned into puzzlement and then outright horror. How could everything I knew so well, be so wrong? Was I mad? Could the archives be wrong? Then it dawned on me, noone had cross-checked this before, why should they? As these minor details upset the historical plot reflected in every book since James II wrote his narrative on the campaign and battle of Sedgemoor in 1686.[6]

Suddenly, I realised that too had to rethink and start with an almost blank sheet of paper. Rather than plug the references into my story, like a

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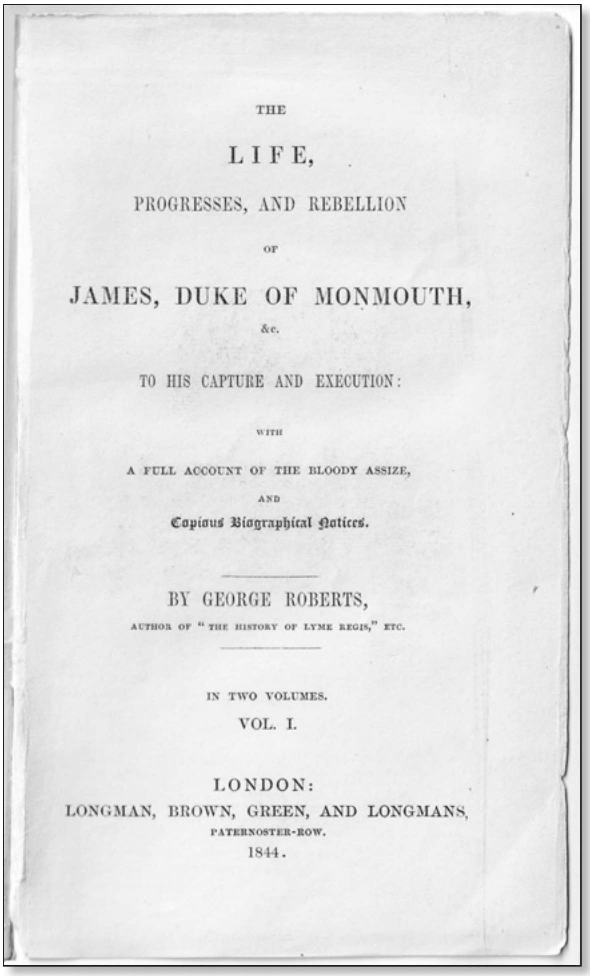
[4] See the bibliography for a complete list of these books.

[5] Ask yourself, how could Churchill get six troops of horse to Salisbury on 15 June, when only Captain Littleton's and Captain Parson's troops of horse were in Kingston on 13 June. As for the rest of the command, Colonel Kirke's Battalion of Foot was in Staines, Captain Coy's Troop of Dragoons was based in Chelmsford, Sandys' Troop of Horse was in Chichester, Lord Cornbury's Troop of Dragoons was in Barnet, and Wyndham's Troop of Horse was in Portsmouth?

[6] British Library (henceforth BL), Harley 6845, ff.289–296.



THE

LIFE,

PROGRESSES, AND REBELLION

OF

JAMES, DUKE OF MONMOUTH,

&c.

TO HIS CAPTURE AND EXECUTION:

WITH

A FULL ACCOUNT OF THE BLOODY ASSIZE,

AND

Copious Biographical Notices.

BY GEORGE ROBERTS,

AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF LYME REGIS," ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS,

PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1844.

Title Page from George Roberts' *Life and Progresses, and Rebellion, of James, Duke of Monmouth*, 1844. (Author's collection)

detective, I had to find all the evidence, and then lay this out in a timeline, before referencing any other documents. What followed were trips to Blair Atholl Castle, Taunton Heritage Centre, and weeks in the National Archives and British Library, looking for original material. This was then followed by field trips to Scotland, and the west of England. As a result, I've met some wonderful people, and received great support online. I've translated French and Dutch documents, struggled with really bad handwriting and looked outside the period to understand the landscape. However, the level of detail found in the archives has enabled me to write this book from the ground level up, rather from than the normal aerial view, which looks down on history.

As a result, *Fighting for Liberty* has been written entirely from either original documents or where these are not accessible, from microfilm or transcripts. This has allowed me to rediscover some great stories from the period which had either been lost or had never been referenced before. This includes a lost battle in Scotland,[7] and correcting often repeated historical glitches that just have could not happen, like a ship having an artillery range of some 500 miles![8] Then came correcting the common generalisations that just do not make sense, like an army marching from London 2,000 strong, to be joined by two other formations, only to shrink![9] This approach has resulted in some well-known 'facts' not appearing in this publication as their provenance could not be established. At the same time, where a period narrative, like some of James II's army figures, were not reflected in any another documents,[10] I've challenged these details and explained why in my footnotes.

Another big focus of research was understanding the topography of the time, looking at period maps and by walking the same muddy fields. This built a three-dimensional view of the accounts and helped me understand what was physically possible. Only once the timeline, landscape and evidence library were complete did *Fighting for Liberty* re-emerge. By setting the events in the original political context using spy reports and other letters to understand the Whitehall Government's reactions, the campaign became representative of the time. Next was the challenge of placing the eyewitness accounts in a place and time. This is where the details, like marching orders and unit strengths, were critical, as without these this step was impossible. Within this came an exploration of the different military options, based on the tactics, frontages, drill, and weapons used at the time. Only then did everything come together, and finally make sense. My niggling inconsistencies had disappeared. With my manuscript blueprint finished, I rechecked my work against the other publications for missing details, but only if they were supported by an original reference or a transcription, did they slot into the timeline I'd formed.

---

[7] The Battle of Ardkinglas, 12 June 1685.

[8] The HMS *Kingfisher* bombarding Carrick Castle.

[9] The Royal Army's strength at Sedgemoor.

[10] For example, James II's account of the Battle of Sedgemoor is great for some snippets of detail but his army strengths do not add up with the orders he issued in 1685, possibly because he is writing this in 1686 and Blathwayt never sent the information requested in the margin (see BL, Harley 6845, f.292). Through lots of rewriting, I've also learnt to question everything James writes.

Now came the final application of all this detail to understand the campaign. As an example, to fully understand the complex battle of Sedgemoor, you need to have all the historical details, not just squares on an unscaled map. By starting with the original landscape plotted on a 1:2500 scale map, I then followed the historical timeline. Firstly, the totally overlooked Government army lodgement area was laid out. This was based on the establishment strengths with the corresponding drawing-up spaces pegged out based on unit frontages. Then Monmouth's unit frontages and speed were plotted to give context to the possible orientation and position for the battle. Then something strange happened, everything fitted together, and totally aligned with the eyewitness accounts and archaeology. Once these were inserted the story was redrafted.

The one thing I didn't want to lose in this new work, was the content I'd found reading accounts written by real people that lived through the events. Therefore, *Fighting for Liberty* challenges the reader, by moving from the aerial view of history into the muddy lanes, the detritus of battle, and the shouted commands described by real people. I've written this without imposing hindsight on the reader, therefore events unfold in near real-time. This can be confusing, as Argyll is fighting in Scotland whilst Monmouth is marching through Dorset, and James is watching both events from Whitehall. I have therefore signposted the location and date, to place the reader at the relevant spot in time. This is to give the reader an understanding of the events, and not be distracted by future outcomes. This perspective creates a link with the protagonists, as after all, their actions were influenced by the past and not the future. This is sadly something that too many historians have forgotten when writing with hindsight.

I'd like to point out that this book is totally impartial, and I treat both sides of the conflict as equals. What I've attempted to do is portray the true realities of seventeenth-century conflict, it's not perfect, and where I have had to join dots in order to assume an action, this is based on evidence or common sense and indicated in the footnotes. These are primarily related to military decisions on the ground, for example what commands or tactics would have been used to create the historical outcome. This creates interesting questions for the reader, for example how would I have done that differently? I'm hoping this new work will be corrected and extended overtime. I also lay the gauntlet down to other historians, before commenting on this work, please cross-reference original sources, not just another book, so we can fully understand this amazing campaign. I'm sure I've missed hundreds of documents. Like me, you'll need to forget what you think you already know and start from the beginning of this book, and not the end. If you're looking for a gritty new interpretation of Argyll's and Monmouth's military campaign of 1685, then *Fighting for Liberty* was written for you.

Stephen Carter
Committing High Treason March 23, 2020

In memory of my dad, Michael J. Carter

Acknowledgements

I'd like to thank my wife Philippa for being my sounding board and sanity checker, my family and close friends for providing encouragement and support, and all my fellow historians for guidance. The work would not have been possible without the contributions from my Twitter and Facebook followers. Especially, Edwin Groot for the invaluable Dutch newspaper featuring the battle, Bruno Mugnai for pointers on the Dutch Brigade, Colin Howes from Chedzoy for the new information beyond the Sedgemoor battlefield, Colin MacDonald for the tour of Greenock, the owner of East Muirdyke Farm for his support, and Alan Larson for good chat over beer down the George at Norton St Philip.

The following archives provided access to original manuscripts, maps, and lists:

The Blair Atholl Archives
The Northumberland Archives
The British Library
The National Archives
The Pepys Library Archives
Somerset Heritage Centre

Finally, special thanks go to Prince Rupert's Bluecoats and Godolphin's Regiments of the Sealed Knot, The Wimborne Militia, The Taunton Garrison, and other re-enactment groups for bring the period back to life for the public to watch, learn and enjoy history.

Notes on Dates, Names and Spellings

Over time dates, and even years, have changed and this has created confusion in the past. For example, our understanding is that on 6 February 1685 King Charles died in Whitehall. In England the official date was 6 February 1684, whilst in Paris it was 16 February 1685. However, to add to the confusion, some in London could have written this date as 6 February 1685. This is due to the establishment's using a year that ran from 26 March to 25 March, as opposed to 1 January to 31 December. Likewise, in 1685 Britain ran 10 days behind most of Europe due to its continued use of the Julian Calendar, whilst France and Holland used the Gregorian Calendar. This was corrected in 1752, and 11 days were added to the calendar turning 6 July 1752 (old style) to 17 July, 1752 (new style).[1] Therefore, to normalise dates I have followed the established practice of publishing all dates in the common old style form, but with the modern calendar year putting the death of King Charles II as 6 February, 1685. To avoid misunderstanding all dates, British and European, have been adjusted to this, and formatted in old style: month, day, and year.

As with dates, place and character names have also changed over time, this due to the niceties of phonetic spellings. In the seventeenth century, accounts are written how they are pronounced, so the Earl of Feversham writes English names in French, whilst James Hamilton writes with a Scottish accent. Others like Churchill or Monmouth also appear to suffer from mild dyslexia making their language more complex to understand, and there is nothing like translating French, written by an Englishman with a strong accent to confuse the reader. So, I have normalised all country, county and place names using the modern names from the Ordnance Survey or other international mapping systems. This applies to currency terms and measures, but not the values. Names have also been normalised, and the same titles used to reference each character, and these are the accepted modern spelling. For the names of Whigs, I have used the format found in W. MacDonald Wigfield's *The Monmouth Rebels 1685*.[2]

In cases where original text has been inserted in the manuscript, due to the different phonetic spellings, I have corrected this to aid reading,

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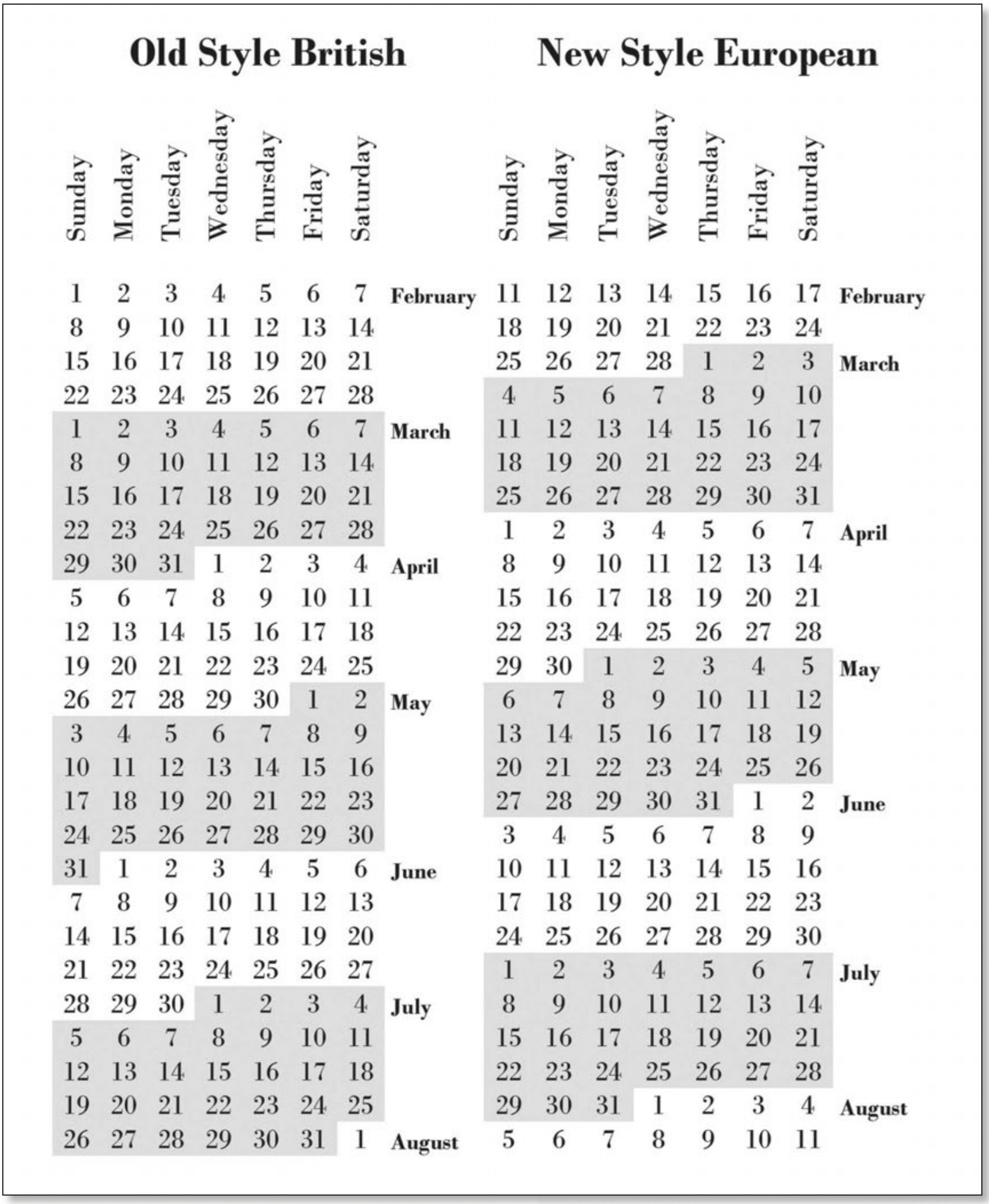
[1] This makes 6 July 1685, Old Style, 16 July 1685, New Style.

[2] W. MacDonald Wigfield, *The Monmouth Rebels 1685* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1985).



Old Style British								New Style European							
Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday		Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	February	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	February
8	9	10	11	12	13	14		18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
15	16	17	18	19	20	21		25	26	27	28	1	2	3	March
22	23	24	25	26	27	28		4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	March	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
8	9	10	11	12	13	14		18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
15	16	17	18	19	20	21		25	26	27	28	29	30	31	
22	23	24	25	26	27	28		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	April
29	30	31	1	2	3	4	April	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
5	6	7	8	9	10	11		15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
12	13	14	15	16	17	18		22	23	24	25	26	27	28	
19	20	21	22	23	24	25		29	30	1	2	3	4	5	May
26	27	28	29	30	1	2	May	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
3	4	5	6	7	8	9		13	14	15	16	17	18	19	
10	11	12	13	14	15	16		20	21	22	23	24	25	26	
17	18	19	20	21	22	23		27	28	29	30	31	1	2	June
24	25	26	27	28	29	30		3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
31	1	2	3	4	5	6	June	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
7	8	9	10	11	12	13		17	18	19	20	21	22	23	
14	15	16	17	18	19	20		24	25	26	27	28	29	30	
21	22	23	24	25	26	27		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	July
28	29	30	1	2	3	4	July	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
5	6	7	8	9	10	11		15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
12	13	14	15	16	17	18		22	23	24	25	26	27	28	
19	20	21	22	23	24	25		29	30	31	1	2	3	4	August
26	27	28	29	30	31	1	August	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	

Campaign calendar. (Author's artwork)

and referenced, or reproduced the original in the footnote. All battlefield measurements are in feet and paces, a pace being three foot. Campaign distances are taken from the marching orders of the time and from the War Office documents as referenced, and not from online mapping tools. All units and ranks are referenced using the military titles and structures of the time. Once the official title has been used, all formations will be referred to by the commander of the unit rather than the official title or part of the common title (for example, Queen Dowagers Regiment of Foot is Kirke's or 'the Lambs'). There are many great works on the armies of Charles II, James II and William III, and these have been referenced so that the reader can learn more on this subject.

To provide clarity this book refers to the forces that supported the Duke of Monmouth and the Earl of Argyll as Whigs, rather than rebels. This is to avoid confusion and maintain a degree of neutrality. The Whigs didn't consider themselves Rebels until after the campaign, but this is a term used by the Government forces and adopted by later historians with a retrospective view on events. Likewise, the Whigs never refer to James as King James, as the campaign was to settle which James was the true king. For this reason, the term 'Royalist' has been avoided, as both sides contained men fighting as Royalists. I have used the term 'Papist' to refer to Catholics as this was used by men on both sides of the campaign. The term Whig was used at the time to describe those who opposed King Charles II and his brother King James II during the 1670s and 1680s. In the years that followed 1685 the term Whig was adopted to cover the supporters of King William III, Monmouth, Argyll, Republicans, and nonconformist dissenters. Likewise, to avoid confusion, the forces of King James II are referred to as Government, rather than Royalists or Jacobites. Finally, I have not used the term King James II, for the Duke of York as for a short period two men held this title in the eyes of their supporters. Therefore, James, Duke of York is simply James or York, whilst James, Duke of Monmouth is either Monmouth, or just the Duke.

Notes on Military Discipline, Formations and Drill

There are two assumption made by historians regarding warfare in the late seventeenth century and the campaign of 1685. The first is that Monmouth's men where a rabble of poorly armed and trained peasants. The second is that the armies used the same formations, drill, and tactics from 40 years earlier in the British Civil Wars. When captured, Monmouth was searched and found to have his George, 40 gold guineas and four books. The Duke's notebook, a list of the Government's land and sea-forces, a manuscript on fortifications, and a book on the military art or discipline. The Duke's notebook also indicates that he had recently read the *Tracte de la Guereou Politique Militaire* (see BL Egerton MS 1527 f.70r) which appears to be like *A Treatise of the Art of War* by Orrery.[1] The Whig armies were military establishments, with commissioned officers and a paymaster. Importantly, they were equipped with the latest weapons, which in some cases were superior to the Government-issue firearms. The raw recruits were drilled by experienced officers, and quickly turned into soldiers. These were formed into companies of 100, and in battalions with colours and drums. The Whigs were not a rabble, but a fledgling army.

Since the Civil Wars, there had been two important military innovations: bayonets and grenades. These were accompanied by improvements in fire control tactics and saw the number of ranks reduce to four, plus the introduction of a reserve fire rank. The British Army had adopted both the grenade and bayonet during the 1670s, with grenadier companies added to the regular regiments of foot and Lifeguards. In June 1685, the Royal Fusiliers became part of the English establishment. These soldiers were armed with firelocks and bayonets, without a pike block.

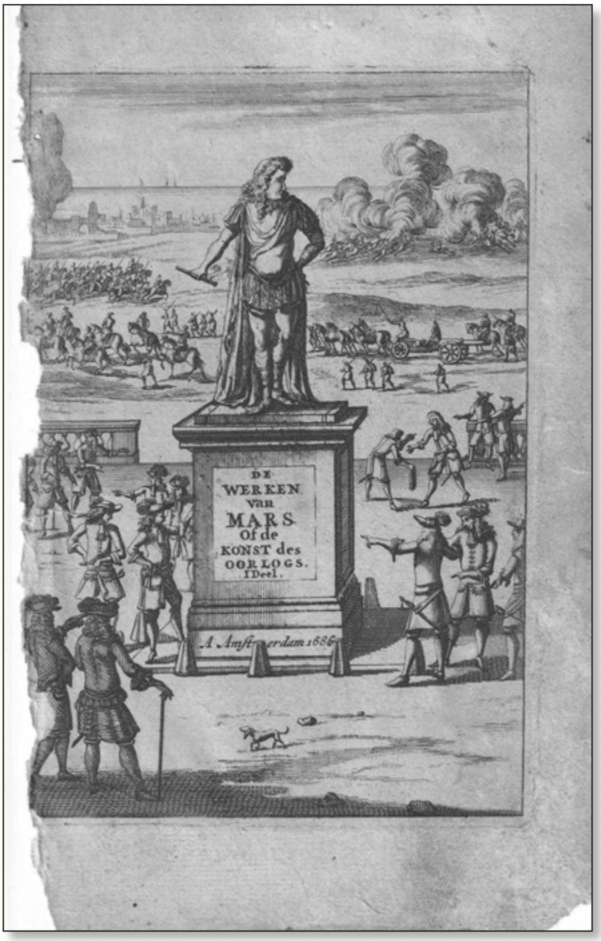
In *Fighting for Liberty*, I have chosen to use the drill commands found in John Bull's *An Abridgement of the English Military Discipline*, published in 1684,[2] Orrery's *Treatise of the Art of War* and *Les Travaux de Mars, ou L'art de la guerre* by Allain Manesson-Mallet, from 1684/6. These books draw on the latest innovations in military discipline and would have been used by experienced officers. I have adapted the drill to support the reserve rank fire control tactic, and have shot deployed in five ranks, and pike in eight ranks. This is supported by the weapons issued to the British Army in 1685. This formation allows for muskets to fire by rotation in single or double ranks to provide a more continuous rate of fire, or quickly double files for a massed volley. However, I have elected not to use the fire system, which has the rear rank standing and firing over the kneeling ranks in front of them. This is due to the level of training needed and the difficulties of using this system at night.

---

[1] Earl of Orrery, *A Treatise of the Art of War dedicated to the Kings Most Excellent Majesty* (London: Henry Herringman, 1677).

[2] John Bull, *An Abridgement of the English Military Discipline* (London: Hills and Newcombe, 1684).

Chapter 6 details the armies of the 1685 campaign and frontages. All information comes from the archives, eyewitness accounts, and letters. This has thrown up some challenges when cross-checking later publications, but the evidence comes first, and the major discrepancies are described in each section. For the Whigs, there is no Dalton's *Army Lists* of England[3] or Scotland[4] to cross-reference, so this is more assumptive, based on the available facts.



Book plate from the author's copy of volume one of ***De Werken van Mars of de KONST des OORLOGS***, finished in 1685, and printed in 1686; This is the Dutch version of the ***Les Travaux de Mars, ou L'art de la guerre*** by Allain Manesson-Mallet printed in 1684; Monmouth makes reference to a book detailing the military art in his pocket book, and carried one onto the field at Sedgemoor. There are three volumes, and many of the images found in this book come from these amazing books. (Author's collection)

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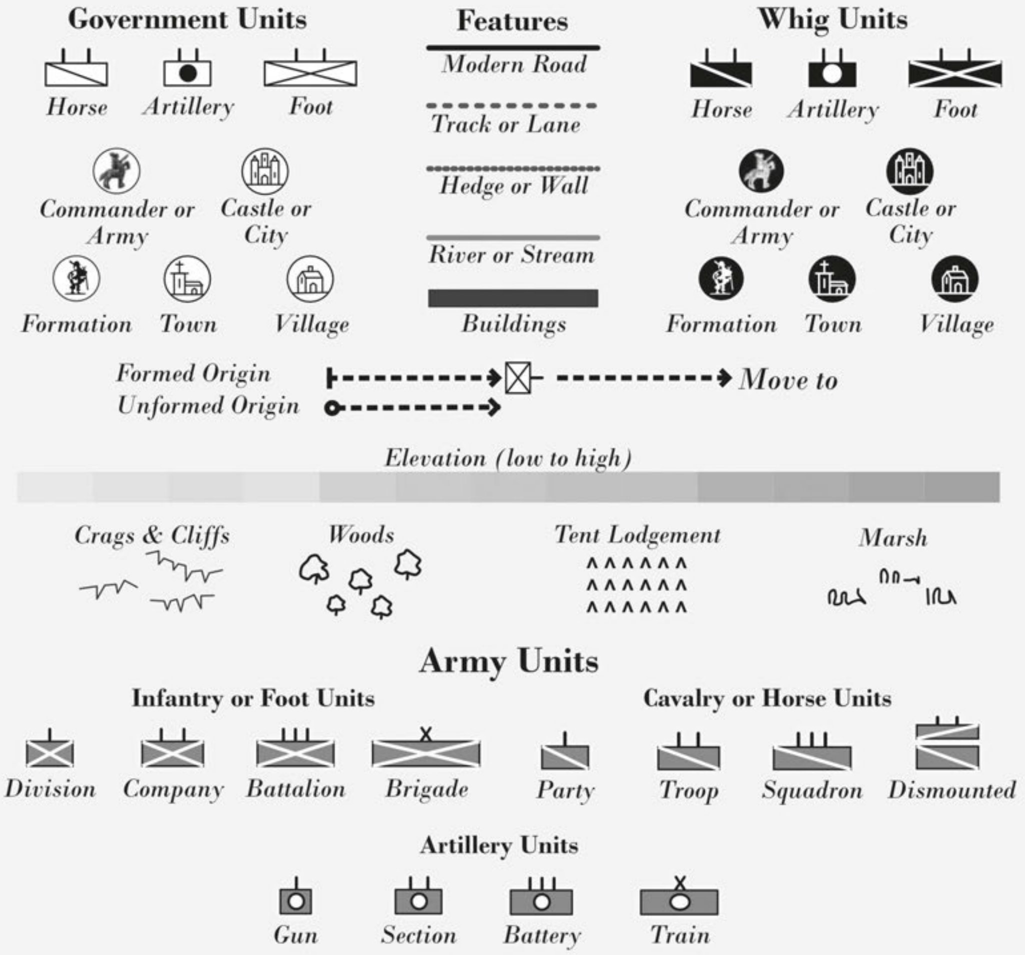
[3] Charles Dalton, *English Army Lists and Commissary Registers Vol. 2* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1894).

[4] Charles Dalton, *The Scots Army 1661–1688* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1909).

Key to Maps and Diagrams


Government Units
Horse
Artillery
Foot
Commander or Army
Castle or City
Formation
Town
Village
Features
Modern Road
Track or Lane
Hedge or Wall
River or Stream
Buildings
Whig Units
Horse
Artillery
Foot
Commander or Army
Castle or City
Formation
Town
Village
Formed Origin
Unformed Origin
Move to
Elevation (low to high)
Crags & Cliffs
Woods
Tent Lodgement
Marsh
Army Units
Infantry or Foot Units
Division
Company
Battalion
Brigade
Cavalry or Horse Units
Party
Troop
Squadron
Dismounted
Artillery Units
Gun
Section
Battery
Train

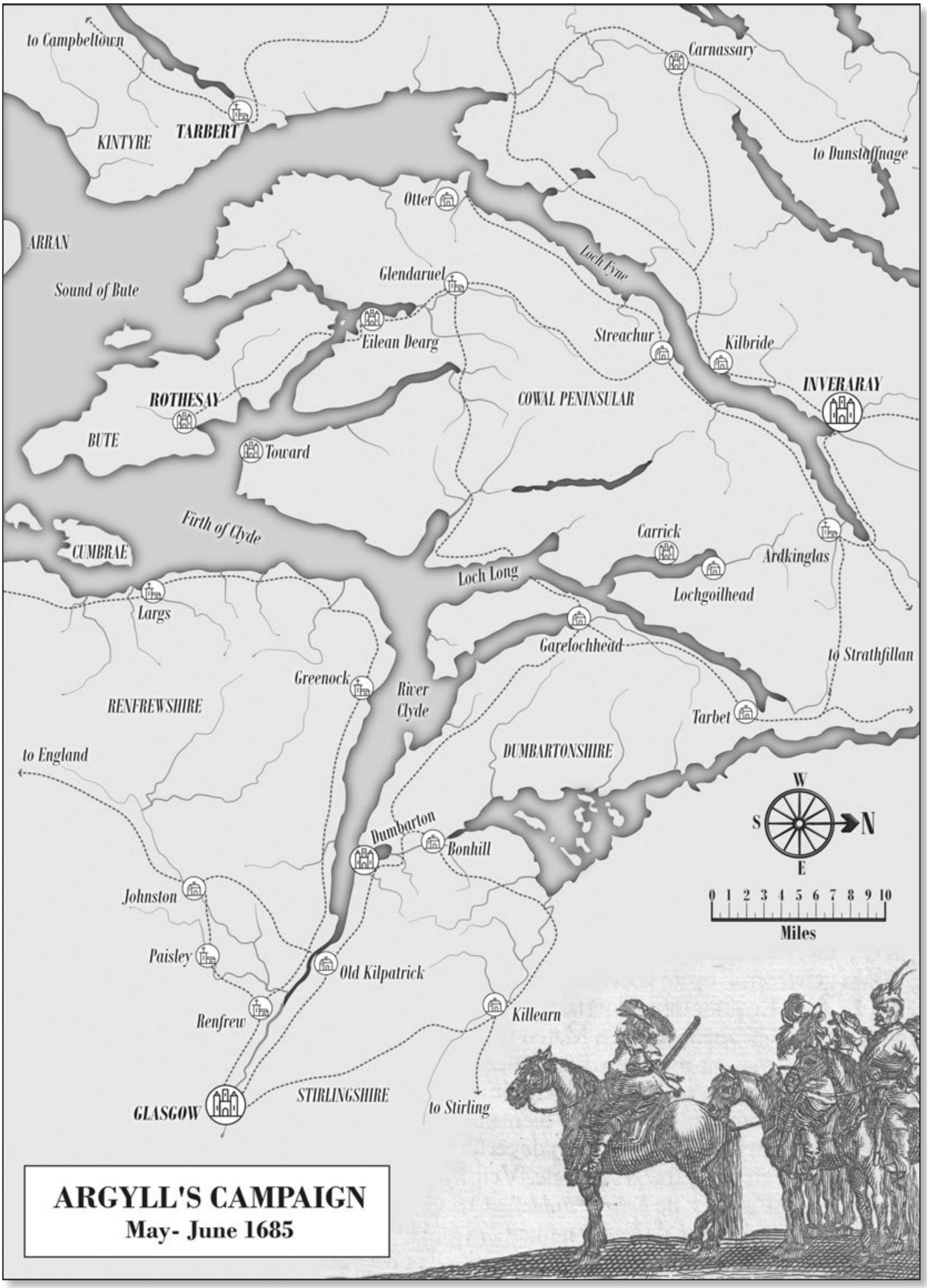
Foot Formations

O = *Officer Commanding* **L** = *Lieutenant* **E** = *Ensign*
S = *Sergeant* **C** = *Corporal* **D** = *Drummer*
F = *File Leader* **M** = *Musketeer* **P** = *Pikeman* **G** = *Grenadier*

Horse & Dragoon Formations

O = *Officer Commanding* **L** = *Lieutenant* **E** = *Cornet or Ensign*
S = *Sergeant* **C** = *Corporal* **M** = *Trumpeter or Drummer*
T = *Trooper*

Key to maps and diagrams



ARGYLL'S CAMPAIGN

May- June 1685

to Campbeltown
Carnassary
KINTYRE
TARBERT
to Dunstaffnage
Otter
ARRAN
Loch Fyne
Sound of Bute
Glendaruel
Eilean Dearg
Streachur
Kilbride
INVERARAY
ROTHESAY
COWAL PENINSULAR
BUTE
Toward
Firth of Clyde
Carrick
Ardkinglas
CUMBRAE
Loch Long
Lochgoilhead
Largs
Garelochhead
to Strathfillan
Greenock
River Clyde
RENFREWSHIRE
Tarbet
to England
DUMBARTONSHIRE
W
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Dumbarton
Bonhill
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
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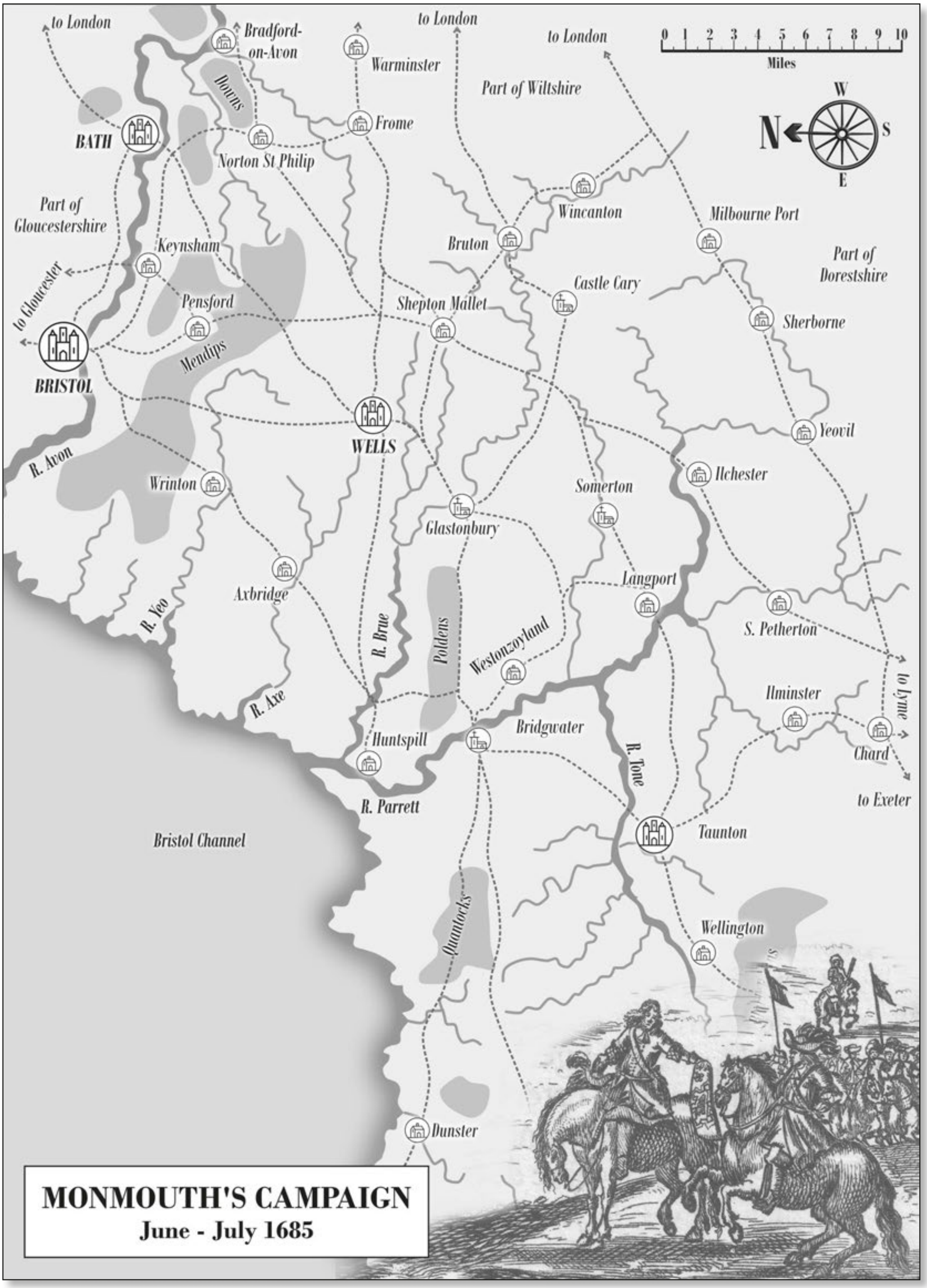
Paisley
Old Kilpatrick
Renfrew
Killearn
GLASGOW
STIRLINGSHIRE
to Stirling



to London
Bradford-on-Avon
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Warminster
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Miles
Part of Wiltshire
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BATH
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Norton St Philip
Part of Gloucestershire
Wincanton
Milbourne Port
Keynsham
Bruton
Part of Dorestshire
to Gloucester
Castle Cary
Pensford
Shepton Mallet
Sherborne
BRISTOL
Mendips
WELLS
Yeovil
R. Avon
Ilchester
Wrinton
Somerton
Glastonbury
Langport
Axbridge
R. Yeo
R. Brue
Poldens
Westonzoyland
S. Petherton
to Lyme
R. Axe
Ilminster
Huntspill
Bridgwater
Chard
R. Tone
to Exeter
R. Parrett
Bristol Channel
Taunton
Quantocks
Wellington
Dunster

MONMOUTH'S CAMPAIGN
June - July 1685

Prologue

> 'If the Duke of York succeeds, things will get worse, because this Duke will need French help to survive and will therefore have to throw himself into the arms of France.'[1]
>
> The Electror of Brandenburg to his envoy in the Hague, October 1684

The Whig Party was a loose alliance made up from the old Parliamentarians, the Country Party, and nonconformist or dissenting religious groups. The cornerstone of Whig policy was the Test Act. This excluded Catholics and religious extremists from positions of power. The single aim of the Whigs was to stop the imposition of Catholicism on the country, and indirectly a return to a state controlled by divine rule. The Whigs only needed to point to France and the persecution of Protestants as an example of why Catholics should never rule Britain. Ultimately, this meant stopping the accession to the throne by the Catholic James, Duke of York who was King Charles II's brother. In his place, the Whigs favoured the succession of James, Duke of Monmouth, the eldest son of the King. However, Monmouth's legitimacy was disputed by York and his Court Party. Throughout the 1670s the King had been playing both parties off. Charles's political maxim was '… when any one party grew too strong, to throw in the Royal weight into the lightest scale.'[2] This resulted in both Monmouth and York being sent into exile, but by 1679 the Whigs were in the ascendancy and very close to passing a law making Monmouth the legal heir.

If this law was passed, then Charles would be handing Parliament the right to make kings. Furthermore, the King could not make good on his contract with his Catholic paymaster over the channel, Louis XIV. This was to return Britain to the Catholic faith. Therefore, he cut lose the Whigs and Monmouth at the Oxford Parliament of 1681 and put his royal weight behind James and the Court Party. The result was the judicial review into the 'Black Box', that was meant to hold the marriage contract between Charles and Monmouth's mother, Lucy Walter. The aim was to prove that the box did not exist, and consequently there was no marriage, so Monmouth was illegitimate. Witness

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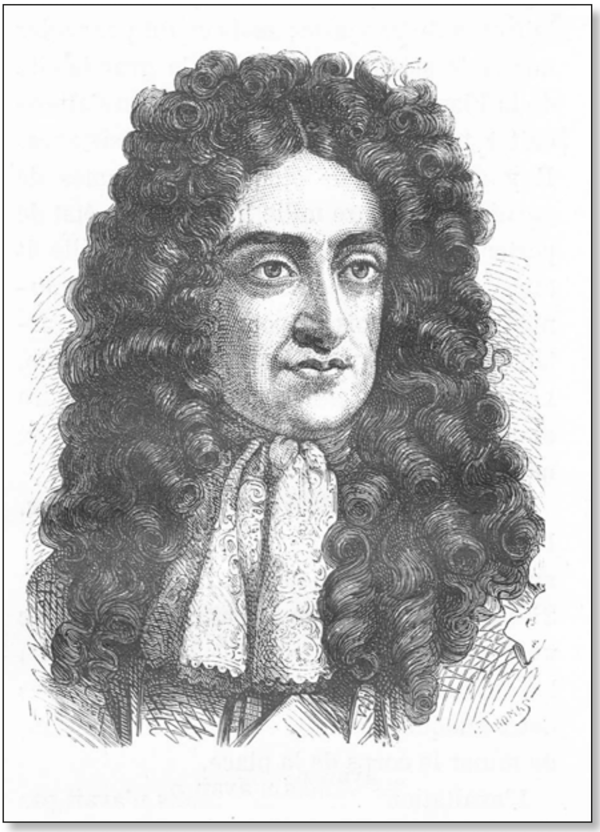
[1] Derek McKay, *The Great Elector* (Harleyow: Pearson Education, 2001), p.253, from M. Philippson, Volume 3.

[2] James Welwood, *Memoirs of the most material transactions in England* (Glasgow: Robert Urie & Co, 1744), p.129.



King Charles II of England, Scotland, Ireland and France. (Author's collection)

after witness stated that they had no knowledge of a 'Black Box'. Yet a good number did add that they knew of the marriage. Some even claimed to have been eyewitnesses to the marriage in Liège in 1648. However, as the marriage was not under review, only the Black Box, the correct verdict was returned. The box never existed.

With this shift in power to York the return of divine Catholic rule became inevitable. In turn, this led to some Whigs becoming radicalised and a plan was hatched to kill both Charles and his brother near Colonel Richard Rumbold's home, the Rye House. However, the plot was infiltrated and possibly even funded by the Court Party. Just days before the deed was to be enacted, the plot was exposed to officials, and the ringleaders turned King's evidence. Learning the bloody lessons from the Popish Plot of 1678, York and the Court Party used the discovery of the Rye House Plot to entrap most of the Whig political leadership. Over the next few months they were found guilty of high treason based purely on hearsay evidence, or by simple association. In the summer of 1683, many of the principal Whigs, including the party leader William Lord Russell,[3] found themselves on the scaffold. They became the first martyrs in the cause of liberty over arbitrary rule. Many more, including Monmouth, fled into exile and became outlaws with a price on their heads. By the winter of 1683 the Whigs had been totally outmanoeuvred and destroyed as a political force. York and his Court Party had total control of Whitehall.

In Holland, many of the exiled Whigs now saw armed revolt as the only way to save Britain from arbitrary divine rule and the imposition of the Roman Church. Along with the rest of Protestant Europe, the Whigs could see the persecution of the French Huguenots by Louis XIV in *Les Dragonnades*. The forced conversion, the rape and murder of non-Catholics shocked even the Pope in Rome. The Whigs believed that this would be the fate of Britain if York became King. He had demonstrated his willingness to use Catholic Highlanders to kill, destroy and put down the nonconformists in Scotland. These extremists turned to Archibald Campbell, 9th Earl of Argyll. Argyll's father had been martyred in Scotland by York, and the young Earl found himself in natural opposition to York. The Earl had fled to Friesland after the failed rising against York's harsh rule in Scotland but this revolt ended with Monmouth defeating the Scots at the Battle of Bothwell Bridge in June 1679. Therefore, it is no surprise that Argyll distrusted Monmouth, even more so

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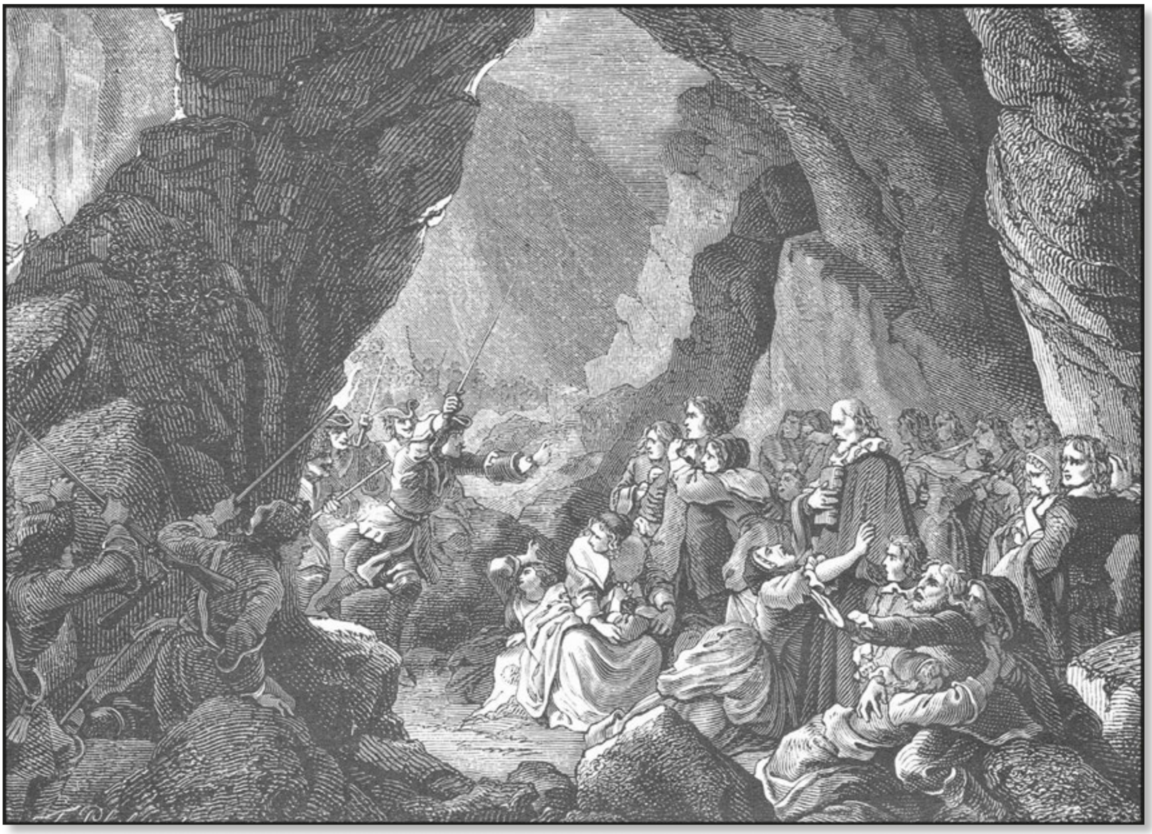
[3] 21 July, 1683.



'Les Dragonnades' showing the capture of French Huguenots trying to escape France. (Author's collection)

after Monmouth distanced himself from the exiles, and even started talks with his father.

The exiles set about planning to invade Britain at Michaelmas 1684.[4] However, with Argyll so opposed to Monmouth, the English Whigs turned to an old Cromwellian general, Edmund Ludlow,[5] to lead them. During the spring months the plan devised was to rise up in different locations across the country, whilst Argyll and Ludlow landed with forces in Scotland and the West Country. As for arms and ammunition, the Whigs would use the secret stores put together during the 1680s. However, from his hiding place in Switzerland Ludlow declined the command, leaving the English Whigs leaderless.

Meanwhile, Britain was now firmly under the rule of York and any talk of Monmouth's legitimacy had become treasonous.[6] As the extremism in Holland grew so did the information flowing into Whitehall. Intercepted letters and spy reports all pointed to an uprising in September. The Secretary of State, the Earl of Sunderland, ordered the systematic confiscation of arms from all known 'dangerous and disaffected'[7] persons. In the purge

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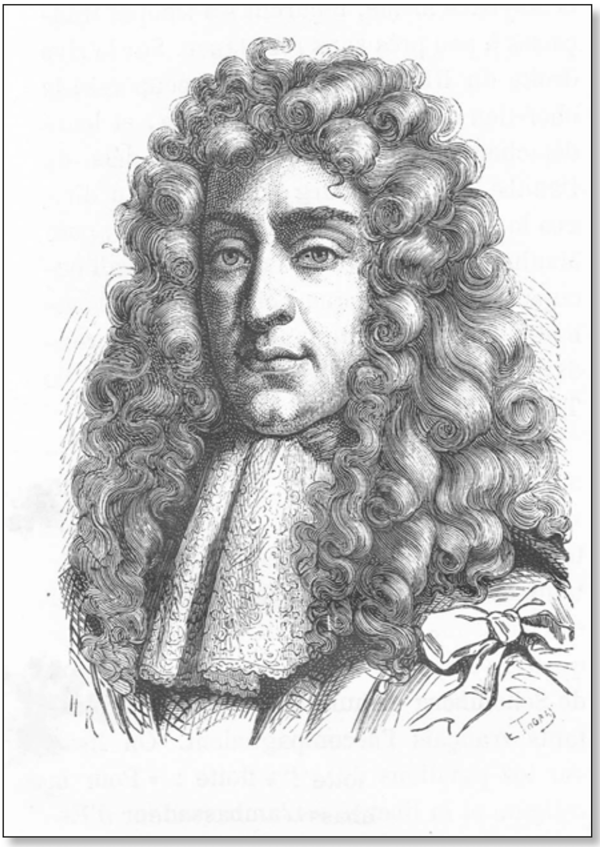
[4] September.

[5] BL, Harley 6845, f.269.

[6] The statute 12 Ric. II [c.] II directing that whoever shall speak false news is to be punished by the King's Council.

[7] The National Archives, Kew (henceforth NA), SP 44/56, f.99.



James, Duke of York, brother of King Charles II and later King James II of Great Britain. (Author's collection)

that followed thousands of muskets and pikes, plus vast stocks of sidearms such as pistols and swords[8] were seized. All of which went into the militia armouries across the country.

Although the September roundups had thwarted the Whig strategy, they had not given up. During the winter of 1684/5[9] they devised a new strategy: they moved the invasion of England and Scotland to early spring 1685. To enable this, vast supplies of military equipment were secretly purchased and put into warehouses in Amsterdam. The landing forces would come from the hundreds of Whig exiles who were now soldiers in the military service of Holland, Brandenburg or Lunenburg. The main assault would be in Scotland and would be led by Argyll, whilst the English Whigs would invite Lord Grey of Warke to take command. However, they would not approach Monmouth, as he had secretly gone to London in December to talk to the King. Many suspect that he would return to England and leave the Whigs to their fate. In fact, he sought his father's permission to accept an offer made by the Elector of Brandenburg. The Elector had proposed that Monmouth should became commander-in-chief of a new Confederate League army which was to confront Louis XIV's French army in the summer of 1685.

By November 1684 York had total control over the governments of England, Scotland and Ireland. The Whigs had been put down, and everyone looked to him as second to the King. He had his creatures in power in the Treasury, at the top of the legal process, and across the political establishment. For years James had ruled in Scotland, and there he was using the Catholic Highland clans to police the Protestant regions. This was especially true in Argyllshire, where John Murray, the Marquess of Atholl, had been made Lord Lieutenant of Argyll's homeland[10] and set about seizing property and garrisoning key locations with Highlanders. In the Highland regions, any dissenter found out and about without good reason faced being hanged on the spot, whilst in Ireland Catholic officers had started to replace known Whiggish men in the army.

However, the King was sticking to his political maxim of playing off the powerful against the underdog. Seeing the Court Party so strong, Charles started to shift his royal weight behind the Whigs. He indicated a willingness to bring back the moderates and the meeting with Monmouth was no secret at court. In late January the King became ill, and on 2 February York ordered all ports closed.[11] All shipping was to be prevented from entering or leaving British ports. With this the whispers spread across Europe, that the King of England was dying or even dead.

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[8] See NA, WO55/1760. This vast collection demonstrates the volume of weapons and number of Whig supporters across England in 1684.

[9] BL, Harley 6845, f.269r.

[10] Blair Archive, Blair Atholl Castle (henceforth BA), 29I.(4) 8. See also *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families*, Vol. 1 (Edinburgh: Ballantyne Press, 1908), pp.185–196.

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[11] NA, SP 44/56, f.190.

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For Liberty, February to May 1685

> 'I have only time to tell you, that it has pleased God Almighty, to take out of this world, the king my brother.'
>
> James, Duke of York to William, Prince of Orange, 6 February 1685[1]

Europe – 9 February 1685

At seven o'clock on 9 February the evening[2] post arrived at the court of William, Prince of Orange in the Hague. Amongst the post from London was a letter addressed 'to my son the Prince of Orange',[3] but unlike the last letter received from James, which had a red seal, this one was black. Inside, the first sentence was blunt. It read 'I have only time to tell you, that it has pleased God Almighty, to take out of this world, the king my brother.' The letter concluded with the sentence 'I must end, which I do, with assuring you, you shall find me as kind to you as you can expect.' With these words Europe learnt that King Charles II of England, Scotland, and Ireland was dead, and that his Catholic brother James had taken the Crown.

Orange immediately took this news to the dead King's eldest son, Monmouth. For the next few hours Monmouth was alone with his thoughts and later rejoined Orange. Noone knows what the two men discussed, but the meeting lasted from 10 o'clock until midnight.[4] After receiving some funds from Orange, Monmouth planned his next moves very carefully. The Duke spent the next three days writing to friends and supporters in both England and Holland. On the morning of 12 February, the Duke left for Brussels to take up an invitation from the Spanish governor of Flanders. This move was

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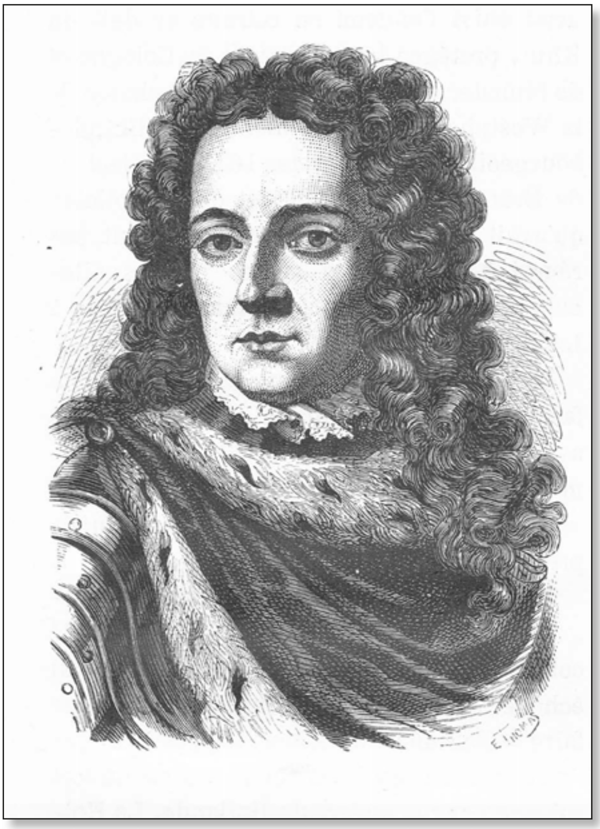
[1] NA, SP 8/3, f.228.

[2] *Négociations de Monsieur le Comte d'Avaux en Hollande*, Vol. 4 (Paris, 1753), p.265, 'at 7 o'clock, yesterday evening' (*translated*).

[3] NA, SP 8/3, f.50.

[4] D'Avaux, *Négociations*, Vol. 4, p.265.



William, Prince of Orange, son-in-law to James, Duke of York and later King William III of Great Britain. (Author's collection)

very much to the embarrassment of the Catholic Spanish governor, who was put under pressure by Whitehall to stop Monmouth visiting. After spending a few days in Brussels, Monmouth travelled to Liège,[5] and then to Antwerp to meet his mistress, Henrietta Wentworth.

In Paris, Louis XIV received the news of the King's death from his ambassador in Whitehall, Mr. Barillon. This letter[6] gave a detailed account of the King's final conversion to Catholicism, a condition of the many treaties and loans between the two cousins. With this Louis authorised the ambassador to release £500,000 to James.[7] Whitehall feared an immediate rebellion and James sent John, Lord Churchill to ask for more capital from Louis. James promised to rule without Parliament if Paris financed his army. To keep order, Sunderland ordered troops into the London suburbs[8] and important seaports were strengthened. All passengers entering or leaving the country were questioned and listed.

However, it became clear to the Privy Council in Whitehall that one of the key opposition assertions was that James was a tyrant and would rule the people without Parliament. This above all else was starting to swing even the moderate Court Party members behind the Whigs. It was clear to everyone in Whitehall that by calling Parliament the foundations would be removed from the anti-James faction. In mid February James agreed to calling elections for Parliament and on 19 February this was communicated to Louis by Barillon.[9]

In Utrecht, the exiled English and Scottish Whigs had already started to gather for the planned spring uprising when '… they heard of the death of the late King of England, they made feasts and great debaucheries, rejoicing in the news.'[10] This changed everything for the Whig leadership, putting impetus and fire into their backroom meetings. The old causes of Parliament over divine rule, and 'of God and Religion'[11] became the catchphrases of the meetings. Overnight the preparations for the spring rising were accelerated, and the leadership agreed they had to act before James could tighten his control over the country. They recognised the need to reunite all the Whig factions and wrote to both Monmouth and Argyll. For the sake of liberty, property and religion old animosities must be forgotten.

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[5] *Seventh Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, Part 1 (London: Historic Manuscripts Commission, 1879), p.534, and *Memoirs of William Veitch and George Brysson* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1825), p.167.

[6] Sir John Dalrymple, *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 1, 4th Edition (Dublin: David Hay, 1773), pp.537–542.

[7] Dalrymple, *Memoirs*, Vol. 1, pp.556–560.

[8] NA, WO5/1, f.1.

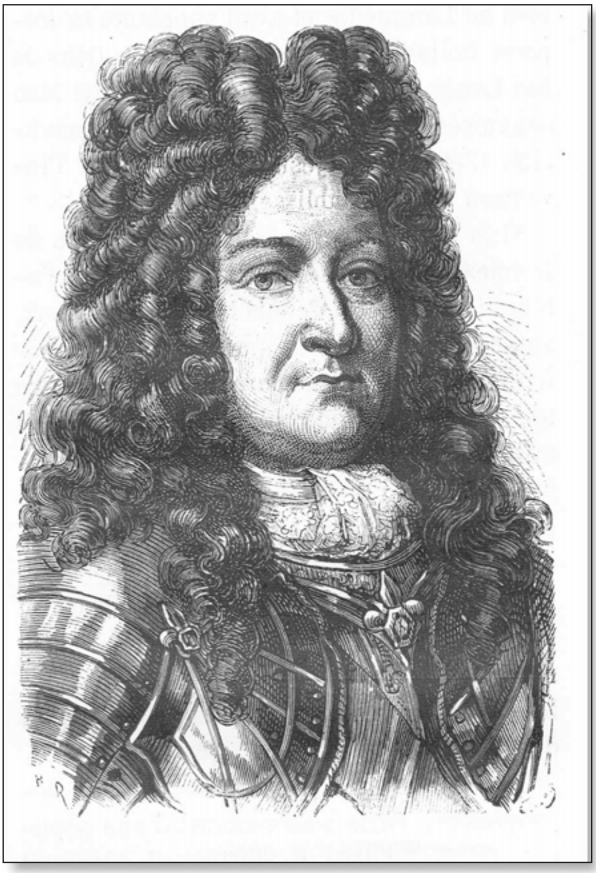
[9] John Dalrymple, *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 2, 4th Edition (Dublin: David Hay, 1773), p.125.

[10] D'Avaux, *Négociations*, Vol. 4, p.291.

[11] J. Townsend, *Ecclesiastica, or a Book of Remembrance* (Exeter: 1874), p.81.

After receiving the letter from the Scottish Whigs, Monmouth secretly travelled to Rotterdam for the meeting. This probably took place on 9 March,[12] and an agreement was reached that they would unite against James and his government. Following this dramatic first step, Monmouth sent his close advisor and friend, Captain Matthews, to Amsterdam to talk with the English Whigs. Matthews was to let them know that Monmouth was prepared to lead the fight against his uncle and would join them soon in Amsterdam. Lord Grey found the Duke lodgings at Thomas Dare's house, and it was here that the next crucial summit would take place.[13]

The meeting that followed was attended by Grey, Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth and all the other Whig leaders, but not Argyll. During this conference Monmouth opened himself up to the scrutiny of the other attendees. The burning question in their minds was regarding the Duke's legitimacy and his loyalty to a free parliament. Monmouth gave them a strong assurance that he had recently gathered the evidence that proved his right to be King.[14] Then he went on to declare that he would never take the Crown, saying that his preference was for a new Commonwealth. When pushed harder he responded that Parliament always came above the Kingship, even if he was advised to take the Crown. By the end of this meeting, the Scottish Whigs were so satisfied that they endorsed a reconciliation between Argyll and Monmouth.



King Louis XVI of France, cousin of King Charles II; Duke of York, Duke of Monmouth and the Prince of Orange. (Author's collection)

The news of King Charles II's death sent a ripple of fear across the countries that bordered France or followed the Protestant faith. Such was the importance of this event, the Protestant league of Brandenburg, the United Provinces and other smaller states called an emergency meeting.[15] Since the French

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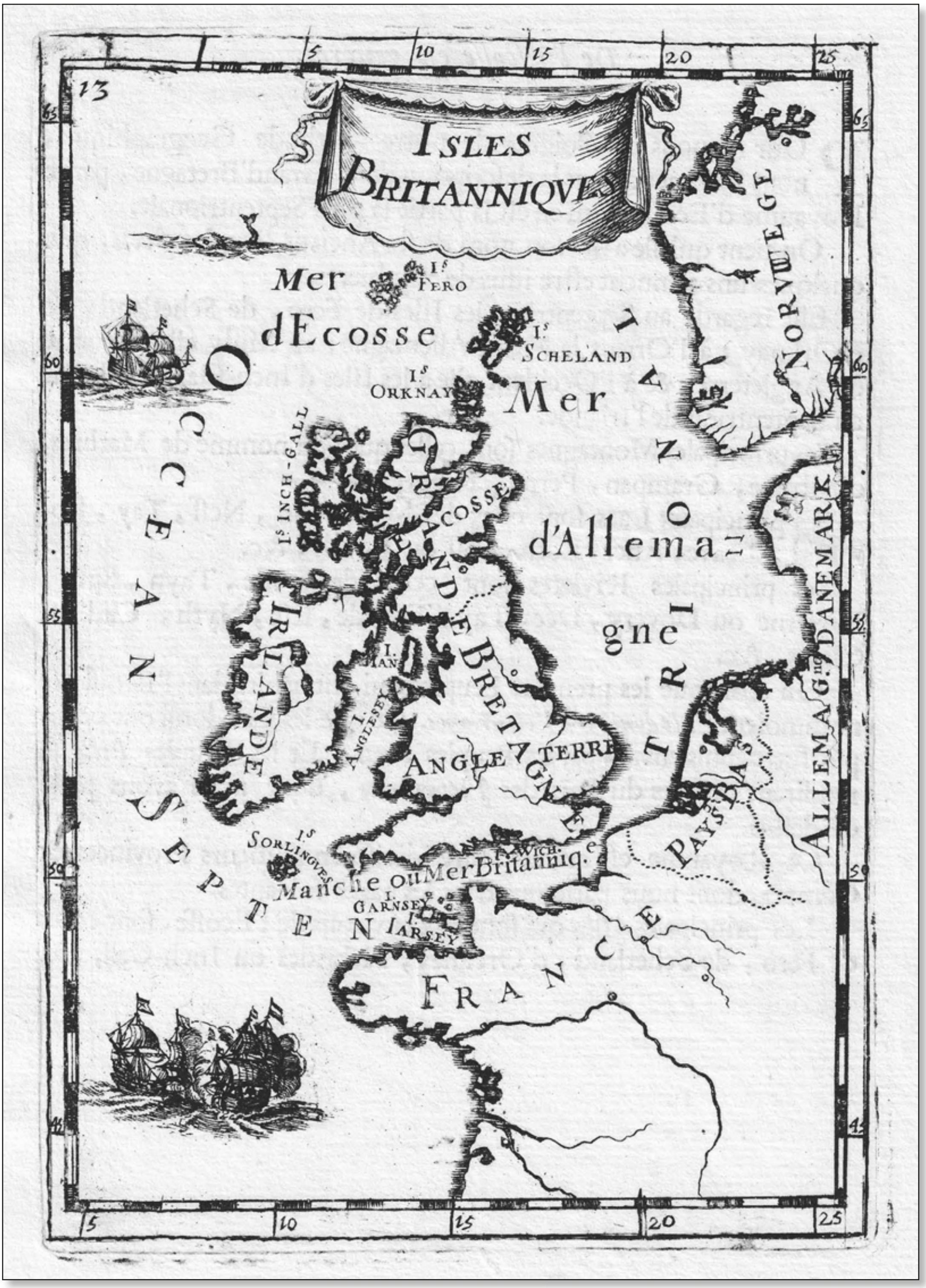
[12] Monmouth arrived in Dordrecht on 4 March (BL, Egerton MS 1527, '*Monmouth's Pocket Book*', f.76), and stayed four days (D'Avaux, *Négociations*, Vol. 4, p.316), before heading to Rotterdam for this meeting, which may have been on 9 or 10 March.

[13] *A Selection of Papers of the Earls of Marchmont*, Vol. 3 (London: John Murray, 1831), p.17.

[14] Monmouth's parents where allegedly married in Liège in July 1648. This came out in the Black Box inquiry after an eyewitness statement from a Dutch merchant. It is possible, therefore, that this is the reason for Monmouth's visit to Liège in February 1685.

[15] See D'Avaux, *Négociations* Vols 4 and 5.


ISLES BRITANNIQVES
Mer dEcosse
Is FERO
Is SCHELAND
Is ORKNAY
Mer d'Allemagne
OCEAN SEPTENTRIONAL
Is INCH-GALL
GRANDE BRETAGNE
ECOSSE
IRLANDE
I. MAN
I. ANGLESEY
ANGLETERRE
Is SORLINGVES
Manche ou Mer Britanniq.e
I. WICH.
I. GARNSEY
I. IARSEY
FRANCE
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Map of Great Britain and Ireland *c*.1683. (Author's collection) invasion of Luxembourg in 1684, they had been working together with the Spanish to organise a league of nations to stop any further expansion of France. The coronation of a Catholic king in England, allied to France, produced a new threat and the eyes of Protestant Europe turned towards their favourite, Monmouth. They had already chosen him to lead the Confederation army, and now allowed the Whig soldiers in their national armies leave of absence. More importantly, they would let the Whigs buy arms and ammunition unhindered, even offering skilled gunners and military advisors. The Elector of Brandenburg's words had come to fruition.

Amsterdam – March and April 1685

The two great Whig heads, the Earl of Argyll and the Duke of Monmouth,[16] finally sat down together in Dare's house in Amsterdam. There was no friendship between the two lords, indeed Argyll had a deep distrust of the late King's son. Yet, they had come together at the request of a council of Whig leaders. They had a common cause, and by the end of the meeting they had agreed to put their differences aside. Over the following weeks, the two men finalised their strategy and the logistics to support their field armies. The plan hammered out was not dissimilar to the one already in place for the spring uprising. However, with Monmouth now on board it would involve three military invasion forces. These would be supported by major uprisings across England designed to draw the Government army into the field and expose London. From mid March, messages began to flow between Monmouth and the Whig leaders in England.

The strategy would require Argyll to land in the Scottish Highlands. Here he would entrench his corps of volunteers in a safe and defensible location. Then they would set about recruiting an army of over 10,000 soldiers.[17] However, Argyll was not to engage the enemy until word had reached him that Monmouth had landed in England, or that Cheshire had risen. Then the Scots would strike towards Stirling. The objective of the Scottish enterprise was to pin down as many Government troops from across Scotland and the north of England as possible.

Lord Grey was to land with a small company of volunteers and mercenaries near Chester. This force was to be joined by local Whigs under the Earl of Macclesfield, Lord Brandon, and be commanded by Lord Delamere.[18] This army of the north would move to seize Chester, and when strong enough would march south. Lord Grey's invasion objective was to draw out the Government troops from London and the other northern garrisons. This would weaken and stretch their enemy further.

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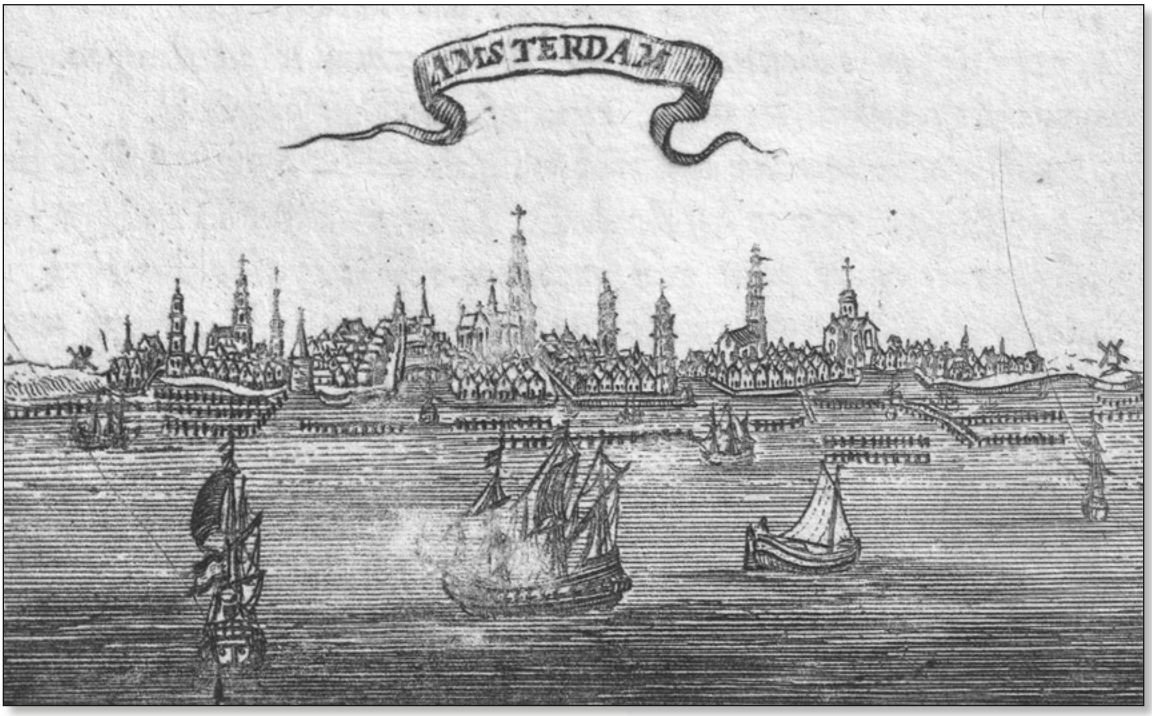
[16] BL, Harley 6845, f.270. This meeting, documented by Grey and others, took place a few days after the summit in Amsterdam, possibly on 14 or 15 March.

[17] Monmouth pressed the Scots Whigs as to the reality of the 10,000 strong army, and they settled on 3,000 to 5,000 as being a realistic number.

[18] BL, Add MS 30277, f.37.



Amsterdam *c*.1685. (Author's collection)

Monmouth was to land at Lyme in Dorset with a corps of officers. Here they would be joined by a large force of Whigs who would be waiting in Taunton and the surrounding countryside. This would become the main field army and face the bulk of the enemy force, possibly as many as 3,000 veteran red-coated soldiers. Therefore, they would need to raise at least five regiments of foot and a dozen or more troops of horse, and they required artillery. At Lyme the army would be trained and equipped before marching on London, via Dorchester and Salisbury. En route more men would join the army from Wiltshire and Hampshire. They would travel without heavy baggage and pay for provisions as they marched. It would take them just over a week to reach London. This third prong of the invasion would draw out all of James's reserves from London and the surrounding countryside.

With the capital emptied of all Government soldiers, Colonel Danvers and Major Wildman would lead a general uprising in the City, where over 500 horsemen[19] already waited for the call to arms. However, it was hoped that with such a strong show of support across the country, that the loyal Protestant majority within the army would join the Whig party. Then finally, with all his support gone, James would flee Britain. To nullify the militia, the invasion would take place when Parliament was sitting and therefore the Lord Lieutenants and their deputies would be absent from their posts. All agreed that it was a bold winning strategy, and the council set the invasion date to be on or before the coronation of James, set for 23 April.

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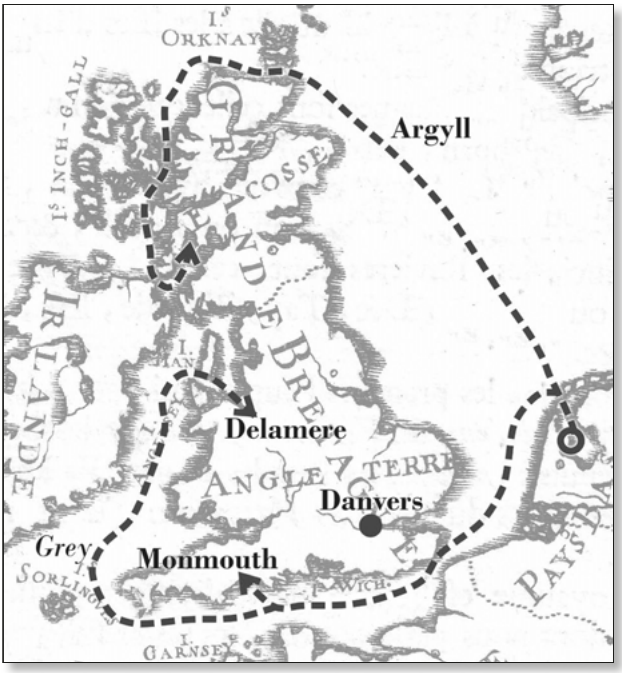
[19] BL, Add MS 30277, f.37.



The Whig invasion plan, spring 1685. (Author's artwork)

Once the messengers had been dispatched, the commanders started the preparations needed to raise the armies. Both Argyll and Monmouth were relying on thousands of dissenters, Republicans, and Whigs rushing to join the colours, whilst the wave of anti-Catholic feeling boiled over into the streets. They both recognised that for the invasion to succeed they needed soldiers, led by professional officers, formed into battalions of foot, and troops of horse. The Whig leaders agreed to put three drilled, trained, and well-equipped armies into the field.

Argyll had already raised over £10,000, and with this had purchased thousands of muskets, pikes, swords, carbines, cannon and over 500 barrels of gunpowder.[20] This would be enough to equip over 8,000 men. Along with this vast supply of weaponry, other paraphernalia such as drums, trumpets and regimental colours had been bought. These had mottos that reflected the cause: 'for God, Freedom & Religion',[21] 'for God & Religion',[22] 'for God and Religion against Popery, Tyranny, Arbitrary Government, and Erastianism',[23] 'for the Protestant Religion',[24] 'Against Popery, Prelacy, and Erastianism',[25] 'God forward us' and 'From Popery, Heresy, and Seizure, Good Lord deliver us'.[26] For transportation to Scotland, Argyll had fitted out three ships and hired crews in Amsterdam. The flagship of this fleet was the *Anna*. She was a 24-gun frigate and was a match for most British sixth rates and yachts. Next in line came the *Sophie*, a 12-gun merchantman into which most of the arms and ammunition would go. Finally, there was the lightly armed 4-gun *David*,[27] probably used to carry the powder.[28]

With Argyll based in Amsterdam, Monmouth setup his centre of operations in Gouda, with warehousing in Rotterdam.[29] However, the Whig leadership in London had rejected the need to send more money to buy arms.[30] They believed that there were enough stockpiles of weapons still in the country, even after the Government clampdowns,[31] to support the campaign. Monmouth disagreed and ordered his agents to buy all the surplus arms they could find in Holland and Flanders. One of the shipments that arrived in Rotterdam contained over 80 cases laden with muskets, carbines, pistols, pikes, halberds, and partisans.[32] As the warehouses began to fill up with equipment, Monmouth sent Lord Grey to Amsterdam to hire and fit-out three small vessels. Further afield the Duke's agents acquired specialist double-barrelled carbines, and some revolutionary new quad-barrelled pistols. These cost over 70 livres a pair and came from the town of Heidelberg.[33] These specialist weapons would be issued to the officers and some troops of horse. Like the Scots, the English Whigs bought colours with mottos such as: 'for Religion & Liberty',[34] 'Fear Nothing but God',[35] and 'for God & our Privileges'.[36]

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[20] BL, Harley 6845, f.270r.

[21] BL, Add MS 41812, f.65.

[22] BL, Add MS 41822, f.242.

[23] *Historical Selections from the Manuscripts of Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall Volume First* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1837), p.177.

[24] John Erskine, *The Journal of the Hon. John Erskine of Carnock* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1893), p.119.

[25] BL, Add MS 38012, f.3.

[26] NA, State Papers of Ireland 351, f.26.

[27] NA, ADM 51/345, 15 and 16 June 1685.

[28] These ships are confused in the different accounts, but this is based on the Royal Navy ships' logs.

[29] BL, Egerton MS 1527 *Monmouth's Pocket Book*, f.77.

[30] BL, Add MS 30277, f.37.

To raise money and men in England the Whigs used the same cell structure as the Royalists had in 1655.[37] The cell network consisted of local agents, such as Edmund Prideaux of Forde Abbey. The first group organised supporters and established communication chains. Others raised and collected great sums of money, which was sent to Dare as treasurer. The last group of men maintained the stockpiles of weapons. To ensure the safety of each network, they never allowed above two of them to speak together and inter-cell communication was via dead letter addresses or via tokens. Monmouth now used these chains to ship arms from Rotterdam via London.[38] These were distributed via the commercial waggon (or carter) infrastructure to individual groups of sympathisers in the West and Cheshire. Luckily for Monmouth, by the time the Government got wind of this activity, they assumed the shipments were all heading to Scotland rather than westward.

For the invasion to work, it was vital for the Whigs to look and act like true armies of liberation. Therefore, the Whig leaders put aside funds to pay for victuals. By paying for all they could, it was hoped that this would keep the populace onside.[39] They also purchased 'a large quantity of coats'[40] as uniforms for the volunteers, the officers and as many soldiers as possible. From the English side, Mr Benjamin Hewling (Snr) was responsible for the purchase of the 'purple coats, lined with red'.[41] It was hoped that these acts would demonstrate to the people of Britain that these were indeed New Model armies, and the intent was clear, to restore the right of Parliament over the arbitrary rule of divine kings.

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[31] NA, WO55/1760.

[32] BL, Add MS 41817, f.51.

[33] BL, Add MS 41817, f.47 and Add MS 41812, f.66.

[34] D'Avaux, *Négociations*, Vol. 5, p.21.

[35] BL, Add MS 31956, f.2.

[36] BL, Add MS 41817, f.151.

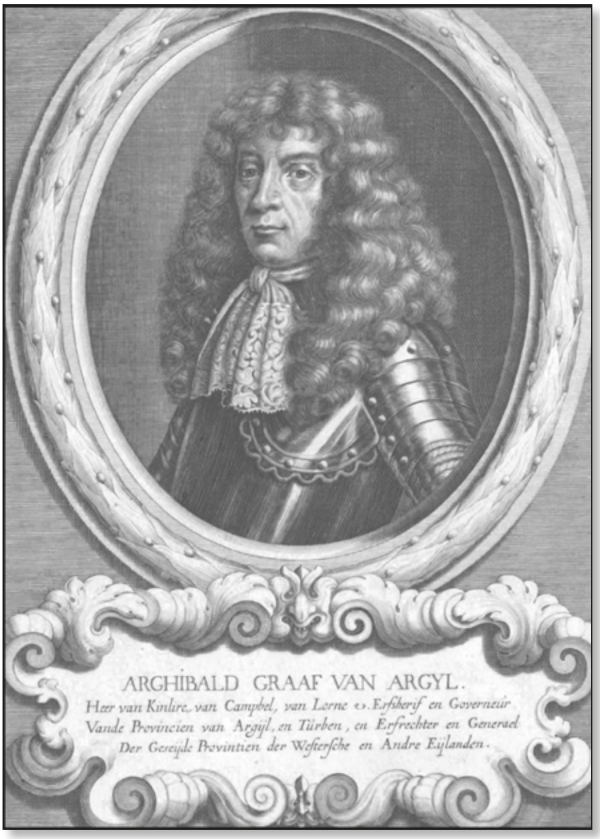
[37] A good number of Monmouth's supporters were the same Fifth Monarchists who took up the cause of King Charles II against Cromwell in the failed Royalist rising of 1655, commonly called the Penruddock Uprising. This used the English cart network to distribute caseloads of pistols, swords, and carbines to cells of rebels. These shipments came via London from Rotterdam and other Dutch ports.

[38] NA, SP44/336, f.103, and D'Avaux, *Négociations*, Vol. 4, p.361.

[39] T.B. Howell, *A Complete Collection of State Trials*, Vol. 11 (London: Longman, 1816), p.1066, and Roger Morrice (ed. Tim Harris), *The Entring Papers*, Vol. III, The Reign of James II 1685–1687 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007–2009), p.19.

[40] D'Avaux, *Négociations*, Vol. 4, p.361.

On 17 April the first army council of the Scottish Whigs was held in Amsterdam.[42] The meeting was chaired by Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree as president, James Stuart as advocate, and William Spence as clerk of the council. The committee was comprised of Argyll with his sons Charles and William, Polwarth, George Pringle of Torwoodlee, William Denholm of Westshiels, George Hume of Bassindeen, John Cochrane of Waterside, George Wisheart, William Cleland, and Gilbert Elliot. The first motion was to elect Argyll as general, and then they 'declared to undertake a war against the Duke of York and his assisters, for restoring and settling of the true religion, and the native rights and liberties of the three kingdoms.'[43] During the meeting they agreed a series of secondary resolutions and formed a sub-committee to work with Dr Ferguson and the English on a joint declaration of war.


ARCHIBALD GRAAF VAN ARGYL.
Heer van Kinlire, van Campbel, van Lorne &c. Erſherif en Governeur
Vande Provincien van Argijl, en Türben, en Erfrechter en Generael
Der Gereijde Provintien der Weſterſche en Andre Eijlanden.

Archibald Campbell, 9th Earl of Argyll and General of Whigs forces in Scotland 1685. (Public domain image)

Back in Gouda, Monmouth needed to recruit the officers for his regiments. Unlike Argyll who had over 300 volunteers ready to muster at short notice, Monmouth had to look elsewhere. He turned to exiles, mercenaries and the English Brigade in Dutch service for his officer corps. Captain Foulkes now visited all the inns and taverns of the garrison towns, recruiting NCOs and junior officers for the cause. He promised promotions and good pay. If anyone asked, they were bound for new regiments in the service of Brandenburg,[44] but all knew they were destined for England. All this took time and by mid April it became clear that the English Whigs would not be ready for the 23 April deadline. Therefore, dispatches were hastily sent to London to stand down the planned uprising. The last was in the hands of Henry Ireton, a friend of Grey. Ireton left on the Harwich packet boat on 20 April.

Throughout late March and April Argyll had been receiving worrying news from Scotland. It was clear that the Government had increased the level of harassment, they had started destroying his property, and were systematically arresting his supporters. Argyll feared that the Government had learnt of their plans, and dreading a repeat of 1684, he told Monmouth that he could not wait. Argyll ordered the Scottish Whigs to mobilise. Over the following weeks the inns and taverns of Amsterdam filled with nearly 300 very vocal volunteers. The last report of Government activity came via Major Henderson, who had travelled from London with George Brysson on 24 April to join the invasion. Then in the last week of April they emptied the warehouses into the three ships on the quayside. With shipping passports made out for 'distine's pour Drouthen en norwege et pour comisbergh sur l'ouest zee',[45] the Scottish invasion fleet was ready.

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[41] BL, Add MS 41812, f.72.

[42] Veitch and Brysson, *Memoirs*, p.311.

[43] Marchmont Papers, Vol. 3, p.31.

[44] BL, Add MS 41812, f.75.

On 28 April, after three busy days loading men and equipment, the *David* was ready and sailed out of the port, showed her passport, and crossed the Vlie. Whilst the anxious Argyll waited on the *Anna*[46] there was a final meeting between Ochiltree, Polwarth and Monmouth. The Duke gave the Scotsmen an assurance that he would sail in a fortnight, then the *Anna* and *Sophie* left the quayside. Before leaving several of the English faction chose to go with Argyll, including the old Ironside Colonel Rumbold and Colonel John Ayloff.[47] In exchange, the Scots officers Colonel Andrew Fletcher and Captain Robert Bruce joined Monmouth's party.

On reaching the Vlie, the Scottish leaders received a report that a hostile warship waited outside, and was ready to attack them once they departed.[48] They took this to be either a Dutch vessel looking to block their passage, if passports were not presented, or that it was an English frigate preparing to intercept them. That evening, 30 April, a small lighter or scotie sailed around them. On board were men pointing and looking at the vessels through perspective glasses.[49] The Whigs took this boat to be manned by Government spies and added weight to the fears that an English man-of-war was waiting for them. However, the Scottish ships could not leave without an inspection by Dutch officials. Fearing the worst, that evening Argyll transferred to the *David*. The following night everyone who was not sailing with the fleet left the *Anna*, whilst the rest waited nervously as the customs boat rowed out towards them.

Whitehall – March and April 1685

As early as 17 February there were reports that Monmouth was in Scotland, and even one that the Scots had declared him King.[50] This news resulted in Scottish officials being instructed to seize old 'Cromwellian Officers', and on 12 March Atholl, Lord Lieutenant of Argyllshire, raised 500 Highland Watch[51] with instructions to put down any dissent and seize Argyll's property. With considerable zeal these Catholic clansmen set about their task, arresting all known Argyll-men, levelling farmsteads and forcibly removing cattle.[52] This legalised pillaging was designed to undermine Whig morale and to discourage men from rallying to the cause of Argyll or Monmouth.

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[45] BL, Add MS 41817, f.33. Unfortunately, I have been unable to locate these two modern towns.

[46] Argyll feared a threat to his life and spent more of this period in hiding.

[47] Both officers had been implicated in the 1683 Rye House Plot and had been in hiding with Argyll. They quite possibly did not trust Monmouth.

[48] Marchmont Papers, Vol. 3, p.36, 'a frigate of war waiting there would fire on us and persue us'.

[49] Marchmont Papers, Vol. 3, p.35.

[50] NA, State Papers of James II, 10 February 1685.

[51] Robert Woodrow, *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, Vol. 4 (Glasgow: Blackie & Sons, 1835), p.285.

At the end of February, with support from France guaranteed, James issued three core demands to Orange. Firstly, that Holland stay loyal to the terms of the 1677 Breda peace treaty and that Orange from now on 'connects himself to France.'[53] Next that 100 named officers within the Scottish and English brigades be replaced, and that a list of Whigs be removed from Holland. Finally, James wanted Monmouth arrested, and expatriated to England. In return, James promised that England would remain a true friend of the United Provinces, but only if Orange followed the guidance of England.[54] In his letter of 6 March,[55] James apologised for not sending the list of names, but that his new ambassador, Colonel Bevil Skelton[56] would help Orange remove unsatisfactory officers. During March, with the Highlands suppressed, and no signs of immediate danger coming from Holland, the fears of an uprising waned in Whitehall. Plans for the Coronation and new Parliamentary elections could begin.

In the Hague, Orange played along with James's demands, and delayed taking any real action. Orange only fulfilled one of James's requests, and this was the dismissal of the officers loyal to Monmouth. This obviously created a crop of resentful and unemployed professional soldiers, from which Foulkes now eagerly recruited. Beyond this, as both the French ambassador's and Skelton's reports indicated, not only were the Whigs safe in Holland, they had been actively aided by the Dutch officials. There were even reports of the Whigs buying arms and equipment. On 3 April Skelton wrote to Whitehall with the intelligence that Monmouth and Argyll had met in Amsterdam,[57] while d'Avaux reported via Paris, that Orange had secret meetings with Monmouth and had even lent him money.[58] It was clear that Orange was torn between his support for the Whigs' religious and political aims, and the wider unreadiness of Europe to fight both England and France. From Whitehall and via Skelton, the Government pressed Orange to act in the spirit of the old alliance, and that he should respect the will of his father-in-law.

With Skelton's and d'Avaux's intelligence service demonstrating something was afoot in the Whig camp, the Government decided to act. Sunderland ordered that all known Whigs and their families be detained, and army units were ordered into London and the surrounding areas. This included five companies of the Queen Dowager's Regiment under Colonel Percy Kirke, then in Cornwall. They received their orders on 14 April, and they duly set off on a 32-day route march to London.[59] The concentration of the army around the capital was explained as preparations for the Coronation. However, the troop movements closely reflected the intelligence coming from Skelton in Holland. With soldiers quartered across London, the message to the Whig supporters still in the city was very clear: stay at home.

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[52] See the lists detailed in *An Account of the Depredations Committed on the Clan Campbell* (Edinburgh: C. Stewart, 1816).

[53] Dalrymple, *Memoirs*, Vol. 2, p.141.

[54] Dalrymple, *Memoirs*, Vol. 2, p.142 (p.564).

[55] NA, SP 8/3, f.229

[56] Colonel Bevil Skelton had commanded an English Regiment in the Dutch War of 1672–74 and was a supporter of James, Duke of York. Skelton had been in Holland acting as an agent for Whitehall prior to his formal posting. Orange and Skelton had little time for each other.

[57] BL, Add MS 41812, f.9, and D'Avaux, *Négociations*, Vol. 4, p.297.

[58] D'Avaux, *Négociations*, Vol. 4, p.265.

Just two days before the coronation of James in London,[60] the Government had a breakthrough. As passengers alighted from the Holland to Harwich packet boat, Henry Ireton was spotted amongst them and arrested.[61] On him were coded letters and orders from Monmouth to the Whig leaders in London. Although Ireton was not privy to the location of the landings, he did know the scale of the operations and the other messengers sent to England. Over the coming weeks Ireton underwent interrogations, and although it is not clear what information he offered, the Government took a more aggressive approach to the Whigs. It was hard for the large gathering of vocal Scottish dissenters, including ex-army officers and Rye House Plotters not to come to the attention of French and British spies. With the reports of hundreds of men appearing in the taverns and inns of Amsterdam, it became clear to Skelton that the long-anticipated 'Holy War'[62] was soon to be underway.

With such a mountain of evidence, Skelton asked Whitehall to send British warships to cruise off the coast of Holland. D'Avaux passed on the intelligence that the Whigs planned 'uprisings in three different places, one in Scotland and two in England.'[63] All the evidence pointed to Stirling in Scotland or the north of England as being the Whigs' target. This prompted Captain Mackenzie's and Captain Langston's troops of the Royal Dragoons to start from London to Carlisle on 20 April.[64] Whitehall demanded that all Whig ships, arms, and ammunition be impounded by the Dutch officials. Furthermore, that Orange should make every effort, including military force if needed, to stop the Whig fleet moving into the open sea. On 28 April, James wrote to Orange demanding 'to have those turbulent traitors driven out of Holland'[65] and to arrest Monmouth. It was becoming an international crisis.

The replies from Orange were conciliatory, and from the Hague he promised to ask that the States General rush through the legislation needed to take the level of action demanded by Whitehall. Orange made it clear that he did not have the power to force the officials in Amsterdam to seize the Whig vessels and stores, not without this first passing in the States General. Only then would the magistrates in Amsterdam be able to act. Much to the frustration of Skelton, the Dutch Republic moved very slowly against the Whigs. The combination of red tape and a lack of pressure from Orange's administration meant that the spies watched the *David* leave Amsterdam unhindered. Then two days later they saw the *Anna* and *Sophie* depart. On

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[59] NA, WO5/1, f.16.

[60] 23 April 1685.

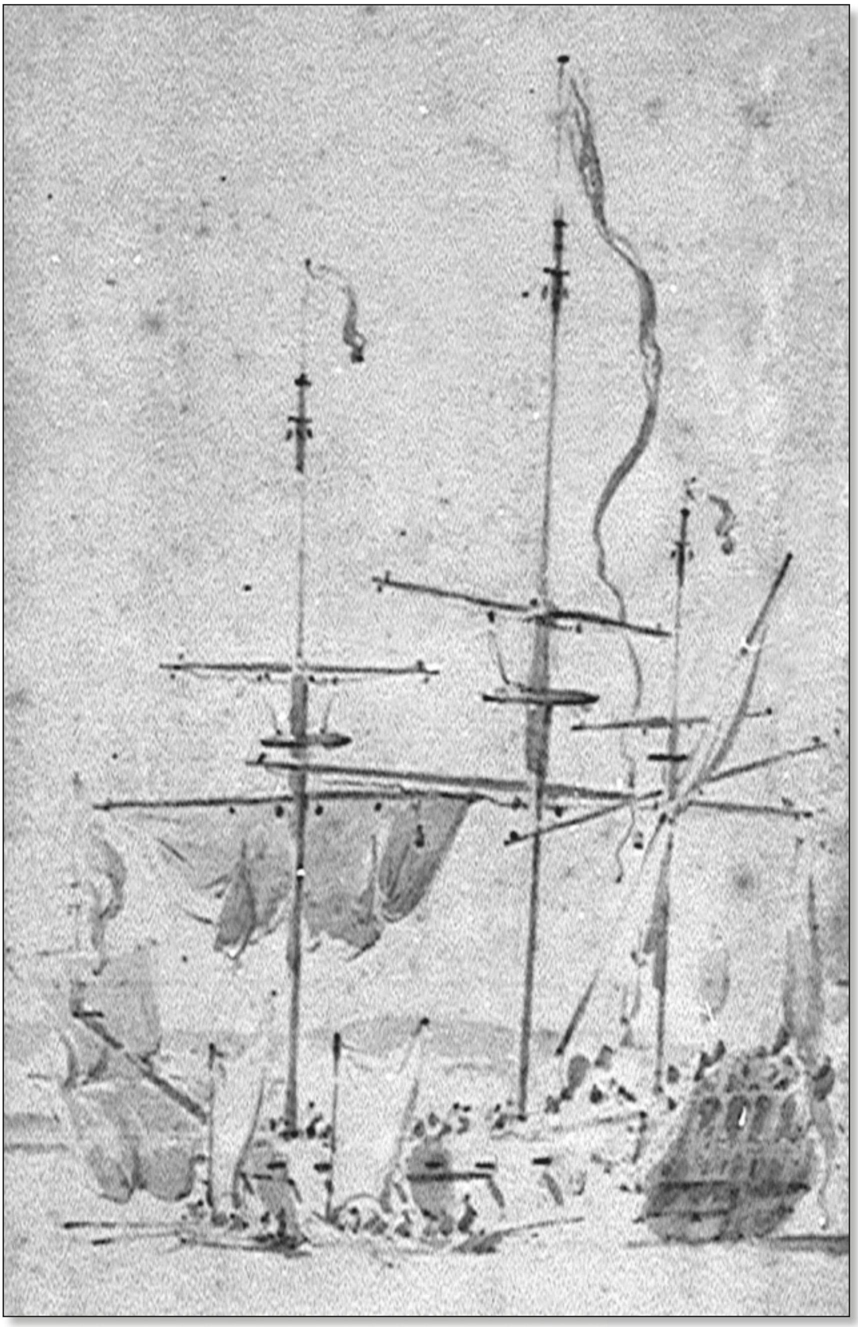
[61] BL, Add MS 41803, f.241.

[62] BL, Add MS 41812, f.37.

[63] D'Avaux, *Négociations*, Vol. 4, p.362.

[64] NA, WO 5/1, f.21.

[65] NA, SP 8/3, f.242.



HMS ***Saudadoes***, a sixth rate 16-gun frigate commanded by Captain Richard Trevanion, in 1685. (Public domain image)

1 May Captain Slater and several other agents sailed around the Scots fleet but could not act. Finally, they watched as a lighter left the *Anna*, followed by the yacht from Amsterdam pull alongside to inspect the vessel's passports.

With the sea captains brandishing signed paperwork allowing travel to the Baltics, the Dutch officials left. At seven o'clock the following day, Slater could only watch as the enemy crossed the Vlie[66] and strong northerly winds fill the sails of Argyll's small fleet. As Slater observed them disappearing out of sight into the open North Sea, all he could do was hope that the Royal Navy would intercept them. Just hours after Argyll's departure, Captain Richard Trevanion in the 16-gun HMS *Saudadoes*,[67] accompanied by a naval yacht, arrived off the Vlie. On the next high tide these Royal Navy vessels sailed into Amsterdam. Trevanion had been ordered to open fire on the Whig ships but either he had totally missed Argyll's fleet or thought better of attacking the larger *Anna*. Noone will know. Once at the quayside, Trevanion received fresh orders from Skelton to chase and sink the Whigs. However, instead of sailing north in hot pursuit Trevanion took the *Saudadoes* to Portsmouth for a refit. On 5 May the States General passed the Act to detain the Whig ships and to prohibit arms shipments leaving the quays of Amsterdam. The following day the States General agreed to expel all known enemies of England.[68]

Slater reported to Skelton that 'spread across these three ships, there were around 300 English and Scottish volunteers' and that Monmouth was seen aboard the *Anna*.[69] With the Whig fleet in the open sea, all Skelton's agents could now do was gather up the intelligence from the arms merchants, and list all the Whigs seen on board the fleet.[70] The manifests uncovered by the British agents made uncomfortable reading. They indicated that the Scots Whigs had sailed with a vast array and quantity of equipment onboard. One agent reported[71] that the Whigs had 216,500lb of gunpowder, 38,000lb of bullets, 59,000lb of saltpetre, 75 chests of small arms, 77 chests with arms, 12 baskets with main arms, 12 baskets and sacks with pistol holsters, five cases with trumpets and 13 sacks with drums. Another spy details 8,000 bombs and grenades, 60 guns and carriages, 26 field pieces, six million pounds of powder, 15,000 muskets, two barrels of flints, two trumpets and several blue colours.[72]

With all this information, it was clear to Skelton that the Whigs had over 10,000 stands of arms, over six million pounds of powder and possibly 60 field guns. This was going to be an invasion that could spell the end of James's reign. Every piece of intelligence that could be gathered was sent to London, and this included the news that the fleet was joined by more than 20 ships from Germany. With the chilling news of Monmouth and Argyll heading north, James and his government mobilised. It was evident that the Scottish Government would face the brunt of the attack, but they also received intelligence that Lord Grey was heading to Ireland,[73] or the north of England.

Around 3 May, Whitehall received the news that Argyll had sailed, and warnings were sent to the Earl of Arran in Ireland and to the Secret Committee in Edinburgh. As it was clear the campaign would start in Scotland, James dispatched the Catholic George Douglas, Earl of Dumbarton, north to become

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[66] The tidal sandbank between the Isle of Texel and Vlie.

[67] BL, Add MS 41812, f.63.

[68] D'Avaux, *Négociations*, Vol. 4, p.7.

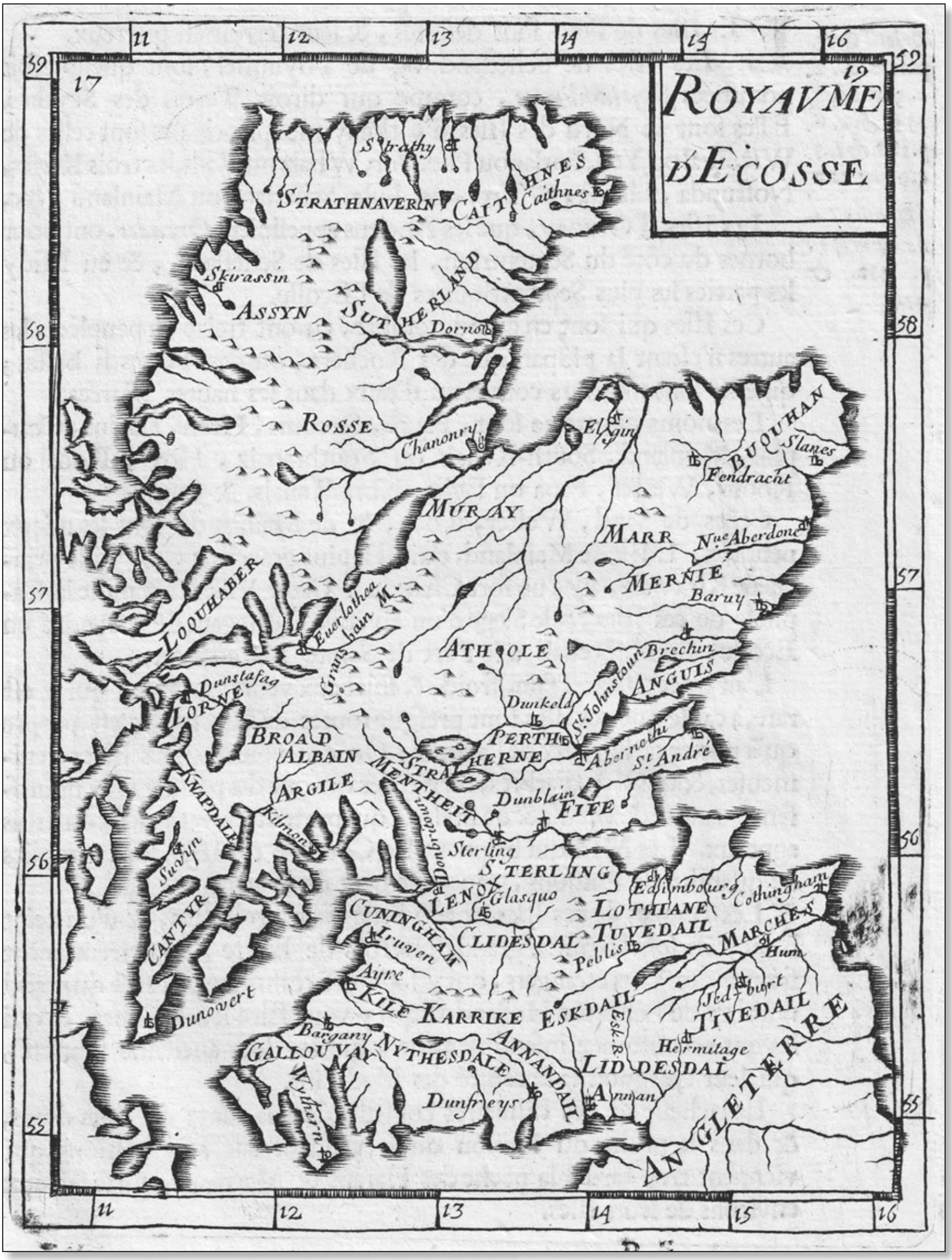
[69] BL, Add MS 41817, f.13.

[70] BL, Add MS 41812, f.66.

[71] BL, Add MS 41817, f.7 and f.15.

[72] BL, Add MS 41812, f.65.

[73] D'Avaux, *Négociations*, Vol. 4, p.361.


ROYAVME D'ECOSSE
STRATHNAVERIN
CAITHNES
Caithnes
Strathy
Skirassin
ASSYN
SUTHERLAND
Dornoch
ROSSE
Chanonry
Elgin
BUQUHAN
Slanes
Fendracht
MURAY
MARR
Nue Aberdone
MERNIE
Baruy
LOQUHABER
Euerlothea
ATHOLE
Brechin
ANGUIS
Dunstafag
LORNE
Dunkeld
St Johnstoun
PERTH
Abernethi
St André
BROAD ALBAIN
STRATHERNE
ARGILE
MENTHEIT
KNAPDALE
Kilmon
Dunblain
FIFE
Sterling
STERLING
Suayn
Dunbritoun
LENOX
Glasquo
Edimbourg
Cothingham
LOTHIANE
CANTYR
CUNINGHAM
Iruven
CLIDESDAL
TUVEDAIL
Peblis
MARCHES
Hum
Ayre
KILE
KARRIKE
ESKDAIL
Jedburt
TIVEDAIL
Dunovert
Bargany
NYTHESDALE
ANNANDAIL
Esk R.
Hermitage
GALLOUVAY
Wythern
LIDDESDAL
Dunfreys
Annan
ANGLETERRE

Map of Scotland *c*.1685. (Author's collection) commander-in-chief of the Scottish Army. Dumbarton had seen service in the Dutch Wars and in Tangiers. He had also fought under Monmouth's command in the 1670s. Captain Strother's Troop of Dragoons, then at Carlisle, received marching orders to move to Berwick, and two companies of foot were to march from Chester to Carlisle. All independent companies in Berwick were instructed to increase their fighting strengths to 80 soldiers. The governor was ordered to raise a new company and immediately send a guard onto Holy Island.[74] On 4 May Captain John Clements on board the Royal Navy 8-gun yacht *Charlotte* was ordered to sail from Gravesend, her destination was to be the Clyde estuary.[75]

Argyllshire – May 1685

On 5 May, three days after leaving Holland, Argyll's fleet reached the Murray Firth.[76] They had crossed the wide expanses of the North Sea in exceedingly good time. That night the council of war pushed Argyll for his campaign plan, but he was not forthcoming. This was either to avoid disclosure or to stop any debate. As the weather turned stormy, the next day they sailed north and reached the safe waters of the Orkney Isles on 7 May. As the fleet dropped anchor in Cairston Bay, near Stromness,[77] Argyll sent Dr Blackadder and William Spence ashore from the *Anna*. They were to make their way across the islands to Kirkwall and test the mood of the people. Once in the capital they would dispatch letters to key supporters with the news of Argyll's return and the plan for a war.[78]

Unfortunately, as these two leading dissenters entered the town they were recognised. That night the pair found themselves in the hands of the island governor, the Bishop of Orkney. The following day, with no sign of Spence or Blackadder, Argyll ordered armed parties ashore to search for the men. Then as night fell word reached the fleet of their arrest by Orkney.[79] What followed was a heated council of war on board the *Anna*. The first proposal tabled was that they should sail straight to Kirkwall and storm the town. However, as tempers faded the council chose a more passive response. The next day, a party of 40 fusiliers under Polwarth was sent into the nearby town of Cairston to take hostages. With five men[80] in captivity a demand was sent to the Bishop offering an exchange of prisoners. A deadline was set for noon on Saturday 9 May.

As the town clock struck two o'clock it was clear that the Bishop had called the Whigs' bluff and Argyll was faced with his first crisis. Leaving two loyal Whigs, and his friends, in enemy hands would be seen as an act of betrayal. Yet, if he stayed any longer his whole campaign could be jeopardised. He had no real choice, and with a heavy heart Argyll ordered the fleet to sail, leaving his friends to their fate. As the ships headed west, they encountered a merchant vessel which they seized. On board their first prize, the Whigs found food and money.[81] There was no turning back. With Argyll's ships out of sight and over the horizon, the Bishop dispatched a warning to Edinburgh and the race to secure Scotland had started.

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[74] NA, WO 5/1, ff.28–30.

[75] NA, ADM 51/3810.

[76] Marchmont Papers, Vol. 3, p.39.

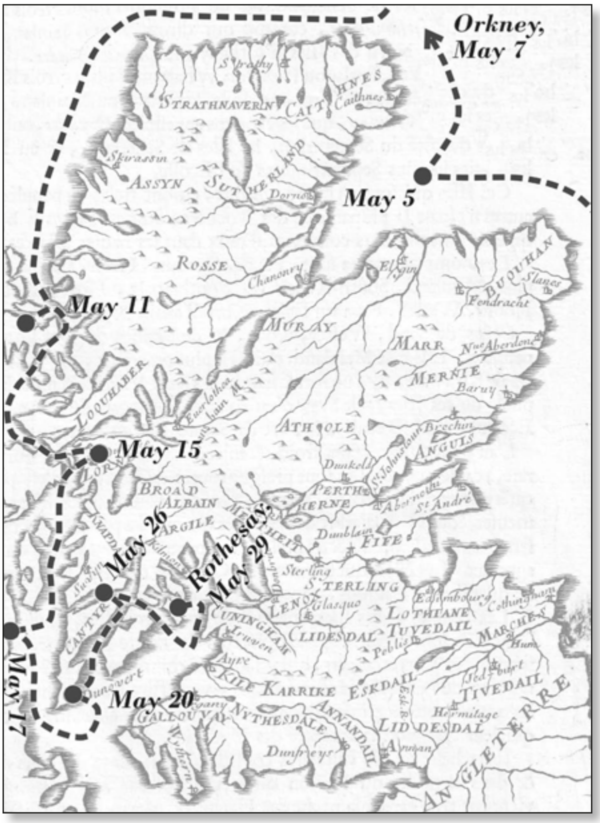
[77] Erskine, *Journal*, p.115.

[78] Woodrow, *Sufferings*, Vol. 4, p.285.

[79] Erskine, *Journal*, p.115.

[80] Marchmont Papers, Vol. 3, p.40. Mr Stewart of Gramesoy, two brothers by the name of Grames, Mr Mowat and Mr Crofts.

Aided by the northerly winds Argyll arrived off Tobermory, on the Isle of Mull, on 11 May.[82] Here he raised 200 men and resupplied his fleet. Two days later the Whig ships sailed under the guns of the hostile Douart Castle,[83] to arrive unmolested at Dunstaffnage Castle on 15 May.[84] It was here that Argyll finally sent out his summons to the lairds and clansman of Argyllshire and the 'Declaration of War' was posted in the town square. During the day, Argyll received reports that an enemy force under Ballechan with 5–600 Highlanders was spoiling the Isle of Islay.[85] Acting quickly Argyll dispatched his son, Charles Campbell, to light the 'fire cross'[86] and raise the clans, whilst he took the fleet south to Islay. He was intent on spilling Ballechan's blood.


Orkney, May 7
May 5
May 11
May 15
May 26
Rothesay, May 29
May 17
May 20
Strathnaverin
Caithnes
Assyn
Sutherland
Rosse
Muray
Marr
Loquhaber
Atholle
Broad Albain
Argile
Perth
Fife
Angus
Sterling
Cuningham
Cantyr
Clidesdal
Lothiane
Tuvedail
Kile
Karrike
Galloway
Nythesdale
Annandail
Eskdail
Tivedail
Marches
Liddesdal
Angleterre

Argyll's movement around Scotland to reach Rothesay on 29 May 1685. (Author's artwork)

By lighting the 'fire cross' Argyll hoped that the whole of Argyllshire would rally to his son's colours and join their lord against the oppressive forces of Atholl. However, without Argyll himself under the flames, the impact was limited. Some suspected that it was a trap set by Atholl, while others did not believe that their lord had really returned. For most, the two years of oppressive rule had indeed removed their ardour for war. The letters Argyll sent also had limited impact. Alexander Campbell of Lochnell[87] dutifully replied that he would join in due course, only to forward the letter and declaration by express to the Secret Council in Edinburgh.[88] Charles Campbell marched south towards Tarbert accompanied by a small party of supporters.

By now the wind had turned against Argyll and it took two days for the fleet to reach Islay. It was therefore in the dead of night on 17 May that Argyll's

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[81] Fountainhall Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.164.

[82] Erskine, *Journal*, p.116.

[83] Erskine, *Journal*, p.116.

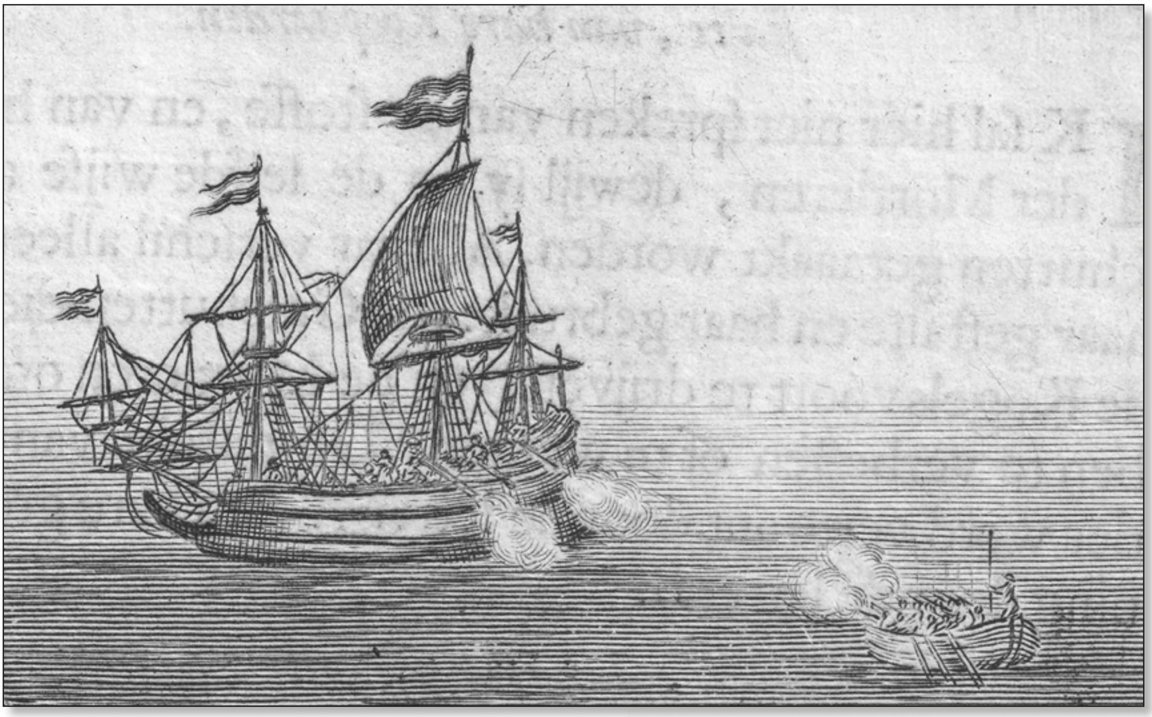
[84] *Gazette* #2036.

[85] Marchmont Papers, Vol. 3, p.41.

[86] The declaration of war and symbol that the clans should rise-up.

[87] Sometimes spelled Lochneil or Lochiell.

[88] Woodrow, *Sufferings*, Vol. 4, p.287.



Merchantman under attack from a small boat *c*.1685. (Author's collection)

soldiers landed on the island's eastern coast. After years in exile the men that came ashore were spoiling for a fight and looking for revenge over the hated Atholl-men. They wanted to catch Ballechan unawares and marched rapidly to Kilmeny.[89] Here they discovered that the Government troops had destroyed the corn crop and removed all livestock,[90] before slipping away. Argyll had missed Ballechan by just hours. The following day Argyll took his meal on the island whilst his volunteers looked for whatever provisions and men they could find. To avoid any further delay, it was decided to leave officers on the island to gather recruits while the rest of the fleet sailed for Campbeltown on Kintyre.

The Whigs reached Campbeltown on 20 May and quickly secured the town. So that the declaration could be published and distributed, Argyll ordered the printing press be unloaded and set up. With ink still wet, the first of these newly printed declarations was posted on the market cross later that afternoon. Then the gathering crowds listened to the words that detailed the Whigs case against the usurper and murderer James Duke of York, and his government. The passive mob now heard how the Catholic James would impose popery on them and remove the liberties of Parliament. No doubt, many in the crowd wondered how this would impact their own lives, other than causing more hardship, and very few men enlisted. Once this was done small groups of Whigs headed off across the Highlands with bundles of freshly printed paper. These included Mr Barclay with instructions to rally men and then secure the stronghold of Carrick Castle on Loch Goil.[91]

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[89] Marchmont Papers, Vol. 3, p.41 'Kilmolrow'; or Erskine, *Journal*, p.118, 'Gillierow'.

[90] Erskine, *Journal*, p.117.

With the declarations duly dispatched, Argyll turned his attention to the army. So far recruitment had been poor, with only 300 Highlanders joining his volunteer companies from Holland. Two hundred more had been promised from Islay, and there was better news from his son. After leaving Dunstaffnage, Charles Campbell had been joined by Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck[92] with 800 Highlanders.[93] They had left a small garrison at Castle Carnasserie and were rapidly heading south towards Tarbert. But this was still a long way short of the 10,000 Argyll had envisaged and there was still no sign of Lochnell or the other key Campbell lairds. On a positive note, there were increasing reports that the Lowlanders were ready to join the cause and that men would be mustering over the coming days. Therefore, Ochiltree sent words of encouragement back to his kin, and quite possibly promised a landing in the Lowlands.

At the Army Council that evening, it was agreed that they would join with Auchinbreck at Tarbert, before crossing to the Lowlands, possibly at Largs. Tarbert acted as the gateway to the whole peninsula. The town allowed men and equipment to be transferred from the Western Isles into the rest of Argyllshire. The next day, Ochiltree took the fleet up Loch Fyne, whilst Argyll marched overland[94] with six companies of foot and one troop of horse under Colonel Rumbold. As Ochiltree sailed up the coast the fleet came across a large 24-gun merchantman destined for Ireland. Not wishing to risk his larger ships, Ochiltree ordered one of his smaller vessels to seize the merchantman. However, faced by such a small craft, the bigger, well-armed ship refused to be taken without a fight. As the smaller Whig boat closed, the captain of the merchantman ordered the ship to turn towards its pursuer. Then she opened fire with a ragged broadside which easily sank the lighter Whig vessel.[95] Ochiltree had no choice but to close with his main fleet. After a short chase, with the *Anna* making ready to attack, the merchantman dropped her colours and the engagement was over.[96] Once the ship was seized, she was found to be full of corn.[97] This was a useful addition to both the fleet and its food supplies. When Argyll reached Tarbert on 26 May, he found Auchinbreck and his Highlanders waiting for him. Disappointingly, just 80 men had arrived from Islay.

Argyll now set about modelling his army of approximately 1,800 men. The new army would be split into three regiments of foot and one of horse. Argyll formally commissioned his three colonels of foot: Ayloff, Auchinbreck and Robert Elphinston of Lapness. Each foot battalion had four companies of either Highlanders or Lowlanders, plus one company of the Dutch

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[91] Erskine, *Journal*, p.119.

[92] Woodrow, *Sufferings*, Vol. 4, p.290.

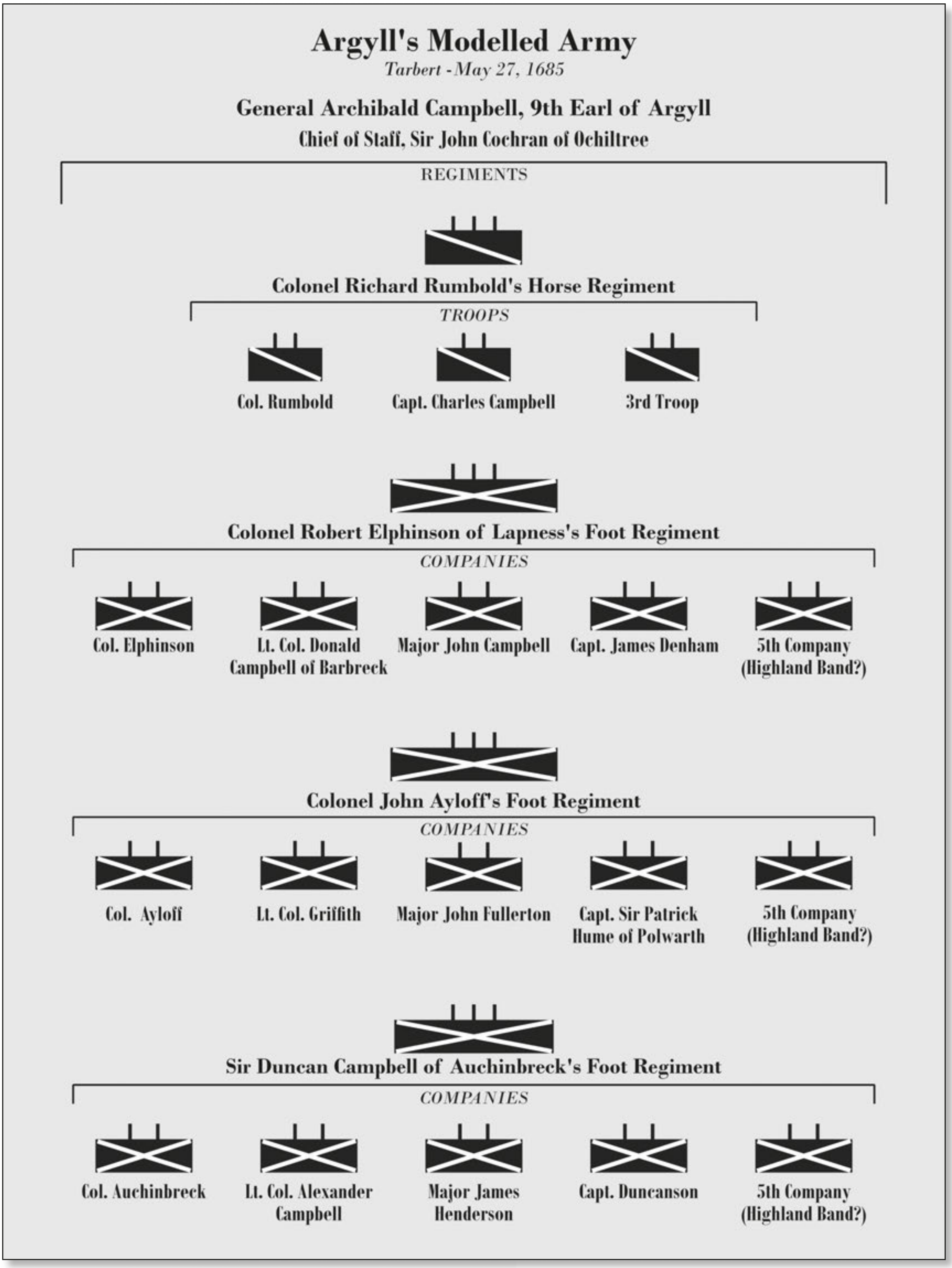
[93] Marchmont Papers, Vol. 3, p.44.

[94] Marchmont Papers, Vol. 3, p.44.

[95] BA, 29.I(4).52.

[96] Marchmont Papers, Vol. 3, p.47.

[97] *Gazette* #2040.


Argyll's Modelled Army
Tarbert - May 27, 1685
General Archibald Campbell, 9th Earl of Argyll
Chief of Staff, Sir John Cochran of Ochiltree
REGIMENTS
Colonel Richard Rumbold's Horse Regiment
TROOPS
Col. Rumbold
Capt. Charles Campbell
3rd Troop
Colonel Robert Elphinson of Lapness's Foot Regiment
COMPANIES
Col. Elphinson
Lt. Col. Donald Campbell of Barbreck
Major John Campbell
Capt. James Denham
5th Company (Highland Band?)
Colonel John Ayloff's Foot Regiment
COMPANIES
Col. Ayloff
Lt. Col. Griffith
Major John Fullerton
Capt. Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth
5th Company (Highland Band?)
Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck's Foot Regiment
COMPANIES
Col. Auchinbreck
Lt. Col. Alexander Campbell
Major James Henderson
Capt. Duncanson
5th Company (Highland Band?)

volunteers, acting as grenadiers. Each was to contain 100 soldiers and in the Dutch style to have a captain, two lieutenants, an ensign, two sergeants, three corporals and two drummers. The foot were issued with the latest flintlock muskets and possibly the pikes which had been purchased in Holland. The volunteers appear to have been armed with double-barrelled firelocks with a folding bayonet, plus halberds. Colonel Rumbold[98] was to command the regiment of horse which comprised of three troops, possibly of 50 troopers, a captain, possibly two lieutenants, a sergeant, two corporals, and a trumpeter. It is not clear if they had a cornet, but they were equipped more like dragoons than horse.[99] However, although Argyll had 18 or so cannon with field carriages, these were not organised into an artillery train and were left on the transports.[100]

As the junior officers exercised and armed their men the Army Council discussed two possible courses of action.[101] The first plan, and the one proposed by Argyll, was for the army to make a rapid advance on Inveraray. This important town was only held by a small force of 500 Highland Watch, which could be easily beaten. Once safe in the capital of Argyllshire, the army would entrench, recruit and be drilled. The artillery could be set up in batteries on the shore and they could be secure for weeks. Inveraray was the political heart of Argyllshire and an important gateway to the central Highlands and Stirling. By capturing the town, more of Argyll's Highlanders would join, especially as this was Argyll's homeland. Inveraray was an ideal location, with good access to the sea, and it was easy to secure roads in and out. This supported the plan agreed with Monmouth. The second proposal, pressed by the Lowlanders such as Polwarth and Ochiltree, was to make two attacks. The majority, under Argyll, would march on Inveraray, while a smaller party would take the *Sophie* and 2,000 stands of arms to land in the Lowlands. Here they would raise a second army from Ayrshire and Renfrewshire to join with other forces already rallying to the south. This small army would either make a rapid march on Glasgow, or march south towards the border and Chester.

It is possible that this proposal, being pushed by Ochiltree, shows that there was a fracture starting to develop amongst the Whig leadership. The Lowlanders appear to have been looking to break away from Argyll's command and go it alone. At first Argyll agreed to this second proposal, but after some private discussions, and much to the frustration of the Lowlanders, he dismissed the plan. What followed was a heated debate, but a compromise was reached. They would move from Tarbert and land on the Isle of Bute the following day, where they hoped to resupply the army. From Rothesay, the main town on Bute, both the Cowal Peninsula and the Lowlands across the black Clyde estuary were within easy reach. From here they could test the different options, gauge support, and gather intelligence. Argyll did agree to send more dissenting

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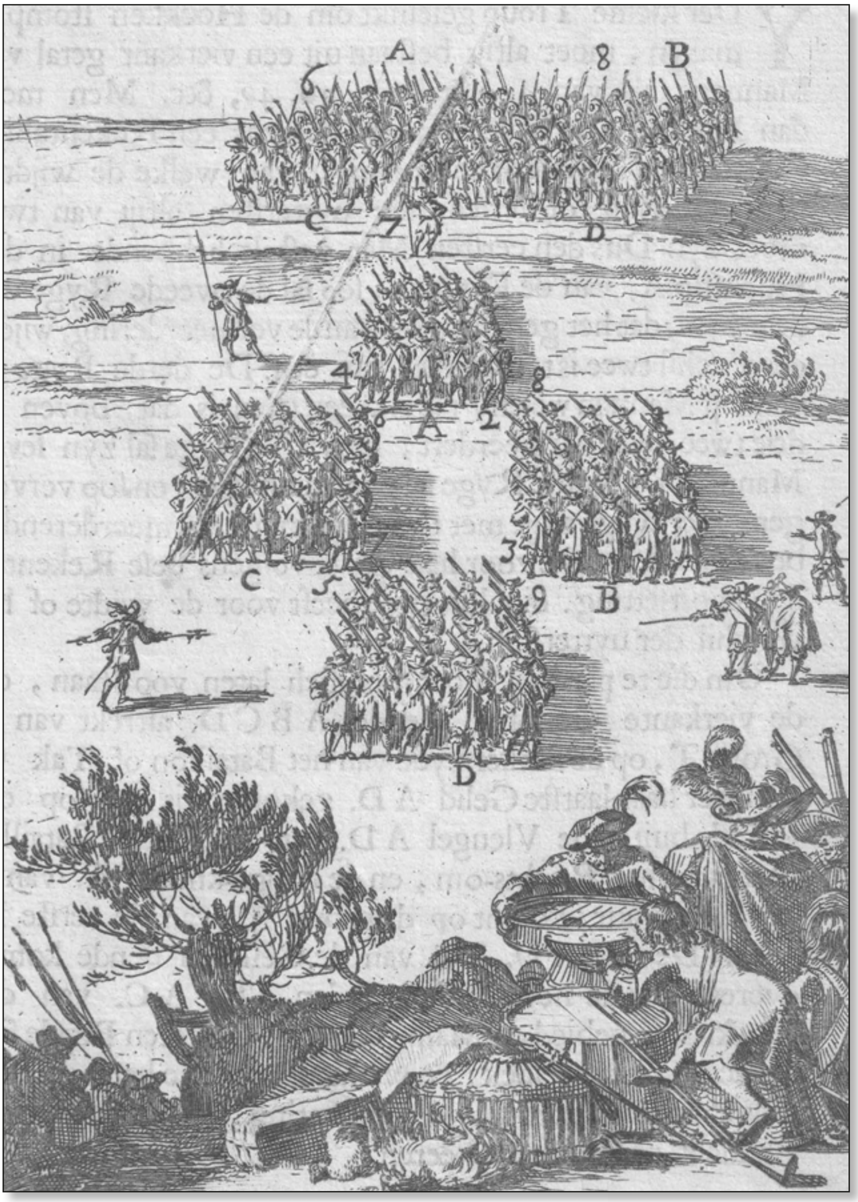
[98] Woodrow, *Sufferings*, Vol. 4, p.291.

[99] Erskine, *Journal*, p.120.

[100] It is not clear if the artillery purchased in Holland and shipped with the invasion fleet ever saw action or even had crews.

[101] Erskine, *Journal*, p.120.

Modelling Shot Companies *c.*1685 (Author's Collection)



ministers into the countryside. They would publish the declaration and stir up anti-Catholic feelings. Early on 29 May Argyll's main force duly sailed for Rothesay, but with more men than boats a company of foot and Rumbold's Horse remained at Tarbert.

Holyrood and Whitehall – May 1685

James had inherited a moderately sized army and large navy from his brother, but they could be facing an army of 20,000 or more Whigs. In March 1685, James's forces were divided into three establishments: England, Scotland,

and Ireland. In Scotland, he could call upon three classes of soldier: militia, 'Highland Watch' or independent companies, and finally the paid army. On 11 May, with Argyll on his way, the militia was ordered to muster with arms and provisions for 20 days.

The militia was officially made up from heritors (or landowners) who had a military obligation to serve the Crown. However, it was not uncommon for the heritor to send someone in their place and this substitute needed to be between the ages of 16 and 60. This semi-permanent force could muster for 40 days a year and had been increasingly used to put down the Whig uprisings since 1680. It was the company or troop commander's responsibility to ensure their men were well equipped and exercised. The Earl of Findlater, who commanded a troop of horse, was ordered by Lord Gordon to send his men into the field, 'well mounted in new hats, red coats, shoes, and stockings, but above all with well-fixed arms.'[102] Findlater was then instructed 'to march into the shire of Argyll on his Majesty's service'.[103]

In the Highlands, the Government had already raised the Highland Watch. These troops were not on the army establishment, but more like a permanent police force with equipment from the Government stores. It was these men that Atholl had let loose in Argyllshire. They had billets in Government-held strongholds across the Highlands, and they ate Government-supplied food. The Watch were organised into paid companies of 150 soldiers with one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign, three sergeants and four corporals.[104] These soldiers were dressed in a mix of red coats, plaid, and blue bonnets. They were armed with matchlock muskets, hangers and probably carried targes (small shields). John Campbell, Earl of Breadalbane, appears to have had two companies at Kilchurn Castle, whilst three other companies may have been in garrison across Kintyre at Saddell, Skipness, Tarbert and Inveraray under the command of Patrick Stewart of Ballechan.[105]

At the start of April 1685,[106] the Scottish Army establishment was commanded by the ageing Lieutenant General Thomas Dalyell. This consisted of one troop of Lifeguards, containing 120 gentlemen, commanded by Lord Livingstone. Next in seniority was the King's Royal Regiment of Horse, under Lord Graham of Claverhouse.[107] This contained six troops, each of 50 men with a captain, lieutenant, cornet, quartermaster, two sergeants, two corporals and two trumpeters.[108] Then came Dalyell's own Royal Regiment of Dragoons with six troops, each of 50 soldiers, a captain, lieutenant, an ensign, two sergeants, two corporals, and two drummers. As for infantry, there was Colonel Douglas's Regiment of Foot Guards and Lord Mar's Regiment of

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[102] James Grant, James (ed.), *Seafield Correspondence from 1685 to 1708* (Edinburgh: University Press for the Scottish History Society, 1912), p.4.

[103] *Sixth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, Part 1 (London: Historic Manuscript Commission, 1877), p.700, and Howell, *State Trials*, Vol. 11, p.529.

[104] Andrew Ross, *Old Scottish Regimental Colours* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1885), pp.26–27.

[105] This is my assumption based on the information available.

[106] Ross, *Old Scottish Regimental Colours*, pp.12–14.

[107] Later the Earl of Dundee.

[108] There may have been a kettledrummer in the first troop.

Foot. Both had 10 companies of line and one grenadier company.[109] Each foot company had 90 soldiers armed with matchlocks, a captain, a lieutenant, an ensign, two sergeants, three corporals, and two drummers. The grenadier company had 60 soldiers armed with firelocks, a captain, two lieutenants, three sergeants, three corporals and two drummers. These forces were further supported by six independent garrison companies in the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, Lennox and Richmond, Dumbarton, Blackness and at Fort James near Stirling Bridge. The Royal Train of Artillery was housed in Edinburgh and under the command of Dalyell himself.

Whilst the army waited for Dumbarton to arrive, in Edinburgh the Secret Council ordered all the militia from the eastern Lowlands to muster at Stirling. The militia from the western Lowlands and borders were to muster at Selkirk, under the command of Claverhouse. In Argyllshire, Castle Kilchurn was held by Breadalbane with 300[110] Highland Watch, and Ballechan occupied Inveraray with 500 Highlanders. Further east, near Blair Atholl Castle, there were 300 regular foot and horse[111] plus 'leather guns'.[112] Finally, Lord Gordon and the eastern Highlanders would march south towards either Argyllshire or Stirling. In all it was estimated that in Scotland over 60,000 men[113] would be in arms to face Argyll.[114] All they could do now is wait for news of the Whig landings.

On 14 May, the news of Argyll's landing on the Orkneys finally arrived in Edinburgh and was quickly relayed south to London. However, with Argyll sailing west it was clear that the Whigs were intent on landing in the western Highlands, probably Argyllshire. Although Atholl had secured the area with parcels of men, including 500 at Inveraray and 300 under Breadalbane at Kilchurn Castle, it was clear this would not hold down the county. Atholl now left Edinburgh to march via Stirling and Blair Atholl to Inveraray. En route, he would be gathering up his loyal Atholl-men, plus a company of Mar's Regiment from Stirling before heading west. Atholl would also be joined by two companies of Mar's foot and a troop of Lord Murray's Horse now marching south from the garrison at Inverlochy. On 17 May, with more news arriving of Argyll's moves in the west, it was decided that the 100 prisoners taken over the past months would be force-marched from Glasgow to Pitlochry and on to Dunnotar Castle for transportation to America.

The news confirming Argyll's landing reached James in Whitehall on 18 May, and he reacted with vigour. James was unsure if Monmouth was also in Scotland, but the intelligence from Skelton indicated this was the case. Therefore, he sent a shipment of 4,000 flintlocks north,[115] together with

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[109] The term 'line' company was not used in the seventeenth century, but I have used it here to make reading easier and establish the difference between types of company.

[110] *Gazette* #2039.

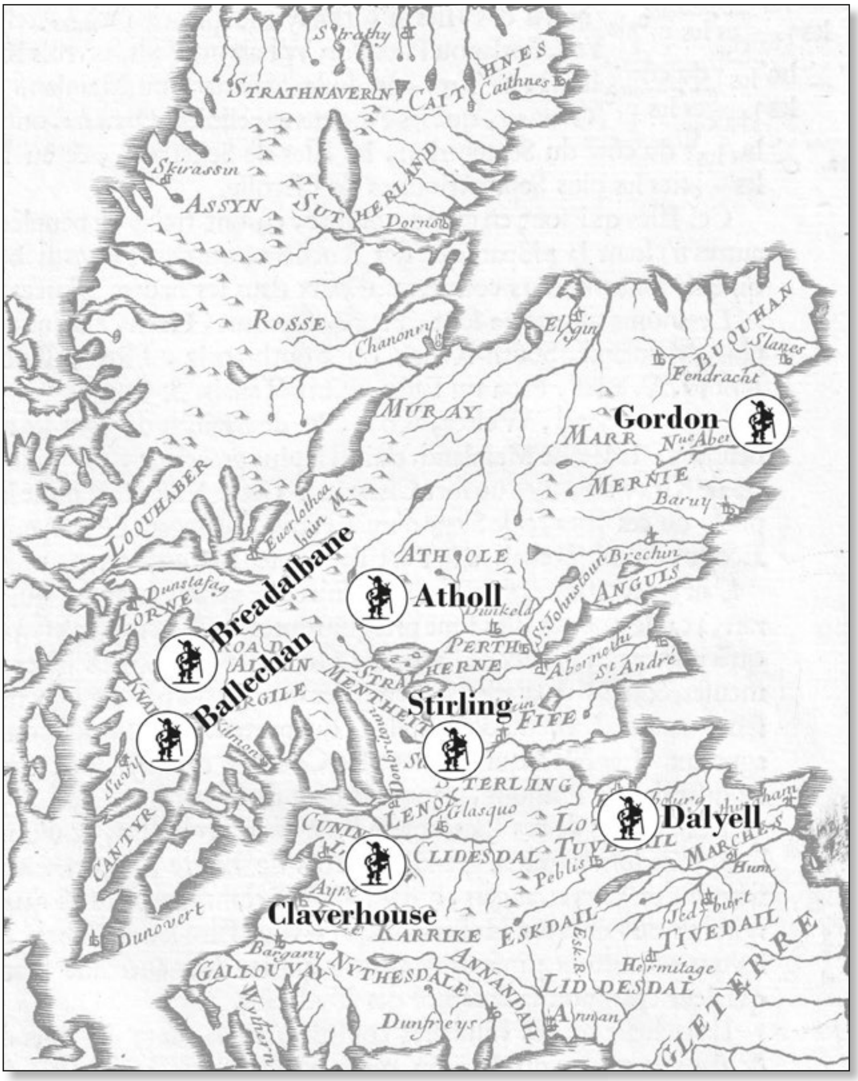
[111] Rev. J.S. Clarke, *The Life of James the Second*, Vol. 2 (London: Longman, 1816), p.22.

[112] BA, 29.I(4).52.

[113] Fountainhall Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.165.

[114] *Gazette* #2038.

[115] *Fifteenth Report, The Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensbury*, Vols 1–2 (London: Historic Manuscripts Commission, 1897), p.417, 'The King hes orderd emadiatly four towsand stand of armes for foot, a porportionall part of them fyrloks, and on thowsand for hors'.


Strathy
STRATHNAVERN
CAITHNES
Caithnes
Skirassin
ASSYN
SUTHERLAND
Dornoch
ROSSE
Chanonry
Elgin
BUQUHAN
Slanes
Fendracht
MURAY
Gordon
MARR
Nue Aber
MERNIE
Baruy
LOQUHABER
Euerlothea
ATHOLE
Brechin
ANGUIS
St Johnstoun
Breadalbane
Atholl
Dunstafag
LORNE
Dunkeld
PERTH
Abernothi
St André
Ballechan
BROADALBAIN
STRATHERNE
ARGILE
MENTHEITH
Stirling
FIFE
Dunbritoun
STERLING
Dalyell
LENOX
Glasquo
LOTHIAN
TUVEDAIL
MARCHE
Hum
CUNINGHAM
CLIDESDAL
Pebles
Ayre
CANTYR
Claverhouse
Dunovert
KARRIKE
ESKDAIL
Jedburt
TIVEDAIL
Bargany
GALLOUVAY
NYTHESDALE
ANNANDAIL
Esk R.
Hermitage
LIDDESDAL
ANGLETERRE
Dunfreys
Annan
Wyhern

Government Dispositions, 28 May, 1685. (Author's artwork)

several trusted officers. These men were to provide military guidance on any planned military operations. The following day saw the state opening of Parliament, and James took the opportunity to tell the country of Argyll's invasion, after which the Whig declaration was read out to members of both Houses. Parliament immediately voted to give extra revenue to James and outlawed all those that rebelled against the Government. On 22 May the news of Argyll reaching Dunstaffnage arrived and it was clear that he would be raising his lands against the Government. Therefore, more soldiers would be needed in Scotland and James wrote to Orange asking for the Scotch Brigade in Dutch service to be transported to Scotland.

With reports of the *Anna* it was clear that the 8-gun yacht *Charlotte* would be no match for any of the Whig ships. Therefore, Whitehall saw the need for a strong naval force to be sent into Scottish waters. Between 12 and 23 May, the Admiralty dispatched three more warships north. The first to leave the Downs was Captain Charles Talbot in the fifth rate 36-gun *Falcon* followed by the 24-gun *Mermaid* under Captain William Clifford. With early reports that the enemy may be attempting to take Stirling, the *Falcon* and *Mermaid* headed up the east coast of England, before sailing north around Scotland to the Clyde.[116] The last to sail was Captain Thomas Hamilton's 46-gun fourth rate *Kingfisher*. Hamilton was ordered to join the *Charlotte* in the River Clyde and would sail west around Land's End and up the Irish Sea.

Due to the Test Act,[117] new legislation was needed to enable the Earl of Dumbarton and Lord Gordon to take up their posts. Therefore, it was not until 25 May that Dumbarton officially became commander of all government forces in Scotland. Dumbarton was reluctant to move before all the regular units had arrived from the south, especially the reinforcements from Holland. For now, it was clear that Atholl would need to hold the routes from Argyllshire into central Scotland and Stirling. With Breadalbane at Castle Kilchurn, and Atholl marching to reinforce Ballechan at Inveraray, all Dumbarton could do was wait and hold. After his raid on Islay, Ballechan was ordered to seize all boats on the Cowal Peninsula side of Loch Fyne. With information that Argyll's men were at Carrick Castle,[118] William Hamilton was dispatched with a small government force to Loch Goil. On the night of 25 May Hamilton fired the first Government shots of the war. Supported by cannon mounted in one of his small boats, Hamilton launched an attack on Carrick Castle.[119] On reaching the castle, they found that the small Whig garrison had fled, and using the boat-mounted cannon they damaged the walls, before setting fire to the buildings. Hamilton reported to Atholl on 28 May, '… there has nothing here occurred since … the burning and demolishing the Castle of Carrick, which I did on Monday last, as I was ordered by the Secret Committee.'[120]

With strong militia forces now holding Stirling, on 27 May the Secret Council ordered Gordon with the Perthshire and Aberdeenshire militia to Crianlarich. This position blocked the north-easterly road from Argyllshire towards Stirling, Perth, and Pitlochry. Once in position Gordon was ordered to fall under Atholl's command. In Glasgow, the news that Argyll's fleet was harassing shipping in the Clyde and on the western shores of Ayrshire, raised the possibility that the enemy could land in the Lowlands. To cover this danger, Dumbarton dispatched three troops of horse and three troops of dragoons to Largs, whilst Mar's Regiment of Foot and two companies of Foot Guards would march from Paisley to Beith, and then via Kilwinning to Ayr.[121]

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[116] The *Charlotte* sailed on 4 May (NA, ADM 51/3810), the *Falcon* on 12 May (NA, ADM 51/345), the *Kingfisher* on 23 May (NA, ADM 51/3875), whilst the *Mermaid* left around 20 May.

[117] This was passed on 25 May.

[118] Possibly the same men sent by Argyll a few days earlier.

[119] In most histories of the campaign this action has been incorrectly attributed to Captain Hamilton of the *Kingfisher*. However, the *Kingfisher*'s log clearly show that the vessel was still in the Irish sea on this date, and secondly the letter that describes the event was signed by Will. Hamilton (see BA, 29.I(4), f.61), whilst Captain Thomas Hamilton (NA, ADM 51/3875) commanded the *Kingfisher*.

[120] BA, 29.I(4), f.61.

[121] Anon., *Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Mar and Kellie* (London: Historic Manuscripts Commission, 1904), p.217.

However, if Argyll's target was Inveraray, it was clear that Atholl's forces in Argyllshire would be facing the whole enemy threat. Therefore, on 28 May Dumbarton sent orders to Atholl that he was 'not to be rash, as Argyll's men would probably be well armed, therefore, not to fight unless obliged.'[122] Much to the relief of the commanders at Inveraray, Atholl arrived on 29 May with nearly 3,000 men, including two or three companies from Mar's Regiment, and Lord Murray's Troop of Horse. Shortly afterwards, the Laird of Lochnell, having pledged himself to James, added his 500 Highlanders to the men gathering at Inveraray. With these reinforcements the Government army in Argyllshire now numbered some 5,000 men.

Amsterdam – May 1685

On 3 May, the arrival of the *Saudadoes* at Amsterdam completely changed the plans made by the English Whigs.[123] This warship was a new and unforeseen danger, one that could be lurking off the coast ready to destroy the invasion at sea before it started. They had no way to fight a warship, let alone an armed yacht. Monmouth required the services of a private man-of-war and Daniel Le Blon[124] identified a fifth rate 26-gun privateer called the *Helderenberg*. To raise the 11,000 florins required to hire the ship, Monmouth pawned his George and other jewels. However, the *Helderenberg* was not battle ready and she needed to be fitted out and armed. With the help of Le Blon, and no doubt Monmouth's family connections,[125] the Dutch sea captain Brakell spent the next few weeks arming the *Helderenberg*. She was now fitted out with 10 6-pounders, 10 3-pounders and six 1-pounders.[126] This light armament meant she would be outgunned by a similar-sized Royal Navy warship, but her greater speed would allow her to outdistance them. All this activity added another fortnight's delay to the English invasion date, but by mid May the *Helderenberg* was ready to put to sea.

With the fleet ready, Le Blon acquired passports for Venice and the Spanish West Indies which bypassed the States General's instructions to stop the Whig ships sailing. However, Whitehall's demand to stop all arms shipments leaving Holland had now come into force. As a result, the Whigs' weapons and military equipment could not be loaded into the vessels at the quayside, instead they sat in warehouses. Yet again Le Blon came good, as he discovered a loophole in the arms embargo legislation. Although weapons could not be loaded from the quays, it was found that this did not cover arms transported to ships waiting in the bay. With this information, the four Whig ships moved out to the Texel and lay at anchor. Then all the arms and

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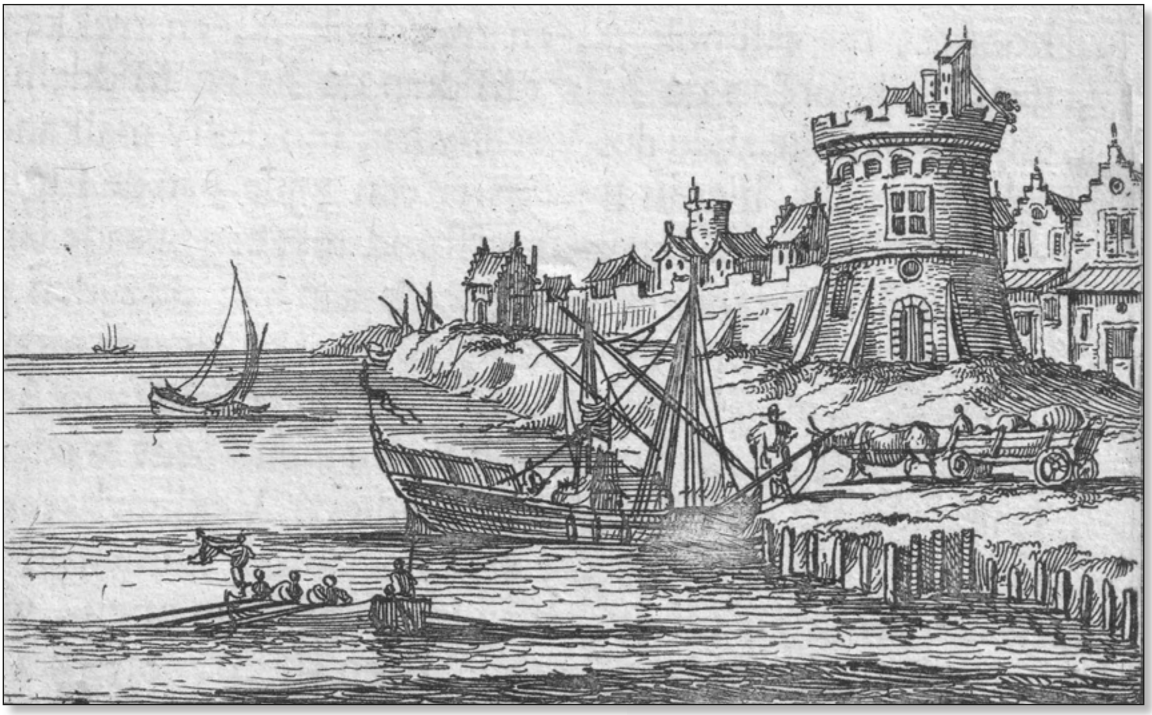
[122] BA, 29.I(4), f.62.

[123] BL, Add MS 41812, f.63.

[124] A leading Dutch Whig and supporter of Monmouth/

[125] Not only was Monmouth born in his aunt's house in Rotterdam, his aunt was married to a Dutch merchant who traded between London and the Dutch ports. Monmouth also spent his early years growing up in Holland, and regularly visited the country.

[126] BL, Add MS 41822, f.262.



A scotie or lighter being loaded from the quayside. These small transports were used to ship arms and ammunition to Monmouth's fleet *c*.1685. (Author's collection)

ammunition were slowly loaded onto lighters[127] and ferried to the waiting vessels. This delayed the Whigs even more, especially as the wind had turned against them, and it took almost a week to load the last shipments. Once loaded, the *Staw*, the Whig ship with the passport to transport arms to the Spanish Caribbean,[128] set sail. In her hold and across the decks were around 5,000 stands of arms and ammunition. Her destination was possibly Bristol, but more likely she would land weapons for the men in Chester.[129]

The positive outcome of these delays was that it gave Foulkes more time to recruit. Finally, at two o'clock on the morning of 24 May,[130] he and the last group of officers travelled to the small fleet sitting off the coast. This last party of men joined Captain Brakell on 30 May.[131] Alongside the *Helderenberg* sat the two smaller transports, one with the powder under Captain Hays, while the other carried the artillery and enough military supplies to furnish Monmouth's army. That night they received agreement from the owners of the *Helderenberg* to sail without passports,[132] now all they needed was the arrival of Monmouth and Grey.

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[127] Small inshore boats.

[128] BL, Add MS 41817, f.22, and BL, Add MS 41803, f.297.

[129] This is my assumption based on the strategy and the extra time needed to sail to the North West. Government agents report three Whig ships, before the *Helderenberg* joined the fleet. Also see John Oldmixon, *The History of England* (London: J. Pemberton, 1730), p.703, 'It seems the Duke, while he was in Holland, had thoughts of possessing himself of Bristol, or he would not have order'd a vessel, aboard which he had a good quantity of Arms, to have sail'd round Land up the severn channel to meet him there.'

[130] J.G. Muddiman, *The Bloody Assizes* (Edinburgh: William Hodge and Company, 1929), p.164.

[131] After leaving Amsterdam on 24 May. See Muddiman, *Assizes*, p.164.

Meanwhile, Matthews, Captain Christopher Battiscombe, Mr Craggs, and other messengers were already in England.[133] These brave men carried advance notice of Monmouth's departure, and that the landing would take place at Lyme, in Dorset. The date had been set for the end of May, or early June, but it was too late to change this due to the delays in loading. Battiscombe had headed west while other agents travelled into London or towards Chester. This information was sent in letters to the Whig cells in Wiltshire, Dorset, and Hampshire, one being addressed to James Carryer in Ilminster. The main muster point was to be Taunton, and many of the Whigs now made their way to that West Country town. This included Robert Parrot and Colonel Richard Bovett who both set out from London in late May.

While the transports were being loaded, Monmouth had been in Rotterdam and at the Hague.[134] By travelling on foot and mainly at night,[135] he had avoided being noticed by French or British agents. Then came the first part of an elaborate plan to join the fleet. On 24 May Monmouth and Grey very publicly went to church in Rotterdam.[136] The following day they travelled towards the port town of Vlissingen. Then on the Tuesday Monmouth returned to Rotterdam and went on to join Orange at the Hague for two nights.

Just before Monmouth arrived at the Hague, Orange received the request from James for the Scottish Brigade in Dutch service to return to Scotland. The same letter contained the news that Argyll had landed at Dunstaffnage.[137] The three Scots regiments that formed the brigade were garrisoned in 's-Hertogenbosch some two days' march from Rotterdam and Amsterdam. This must have amused the Dutch court and possibly Monmouth, who would have been informed of the request by Orange. Monmouth would now have learnt that Argyll had landed in Scotland. With the Whigs in Amsterdam getting ready to sail and Skelton looking to ship the Scots from Rotterdam, an interesting clash at sea looked to be on the cards. While Monmouth was at the Hague, Orange wrote to James with the suggestion that he commanded the regiments personally. Meanwhile, the movement of these troops was delayed as their return needed approval from the States General.

Monmouth and Grey left the Hague in the early hours of 28 May and headed to the small fishing port of Zandvoort[138] near Haarlem. The following morning, they took a fishing boat out to join the fleet that was waiting for them.[139] At three o'clock on 31 May, the Whig fleet sailed into the North

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[132] BL, Add MS 41822, f.255.

[133] BL, Harley 6845, f.271.

[134] BL, Add MS 41817, f.49.

[135] See BL, Egerton MS 1527 for his secret routes.

[136] BL, Add MS 41817, f.65.

[137] This letter was sent on 22 May. Sir John Dalrymple, *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 3, 4th Edition (Dublin: David Hay, 1773), p.18.

[138] Spelled 'Sandfort' in 1685.

[139] D'Avaux, *Négociations*, Vol. 5, p.50.

Sea with the Jack flying at the stern of the *Helderenberg*.[140] Now Le Blon set about spreading misinformation. Around the taverns and inns in Vlissingen, he spread the news that Monmouth had just left Holland with a vast fleet, and more importantly, that he was destined to join Argyll in Scotland.[141] The passengers on the next packet boat to England were eager to pass this intelligence on to the officials at Harwich.[142]

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[140] BL, Add MS 41817, f.121.

[141] BL, Add MS 41803, f.290.

[142] BL, Add MS 41803, ff.284–291.

2

First Blood, Early June 1685

> '…they have no hint at court that a certain son will forthwith appear in the west…'
>
> Intercepted letter destined for James Carryer in Ilminster, 28 May[1]

Battle of Glendaruel[2] – 2 June 1685

In Scotland on the evening of 28 May, Argyll's enlarged fleet entered the bay at Rothesay. En route they had given chase to a timber ship coming down the Clyde.[3] The merchantman attempted to reach Largs but was no match for the *Anna*. Onboard, the captain of the captured merchantman reported to the Whigs that a Royal Navy warship was in the Clyde estuary and that more were rumoured to be arriving this week. That night, Argyll stayed onboard the *Anna*, whilst the army took on provisions and settled in the buildings of the town. The following day, while some of the fleet sailed for Tarbert to collect Rumbold's men, an expedition was landed on the island of Greater Cumbrae to forage and take off a small cannon that was known to be there. That evening the council elected to send out two reconnaissance missions in strength. Both would gather victuals, men, and intelligence. One under Charles Campbell, Argyll's eldest son, was to land on the Cowal Peninsula, the second under Ochiltree would sail across to Greenock. On 31 May Charles Campbell sailed through the Kyles of Bute into Loch Ruel, while Ochiltree waited for the *Sophie* and *David* to return with Rumbold's men from Tarbert before his force could depart.[4] Overall, Argyll's invasion was going to plan, but they still had no news regarding Monmouth's landing.

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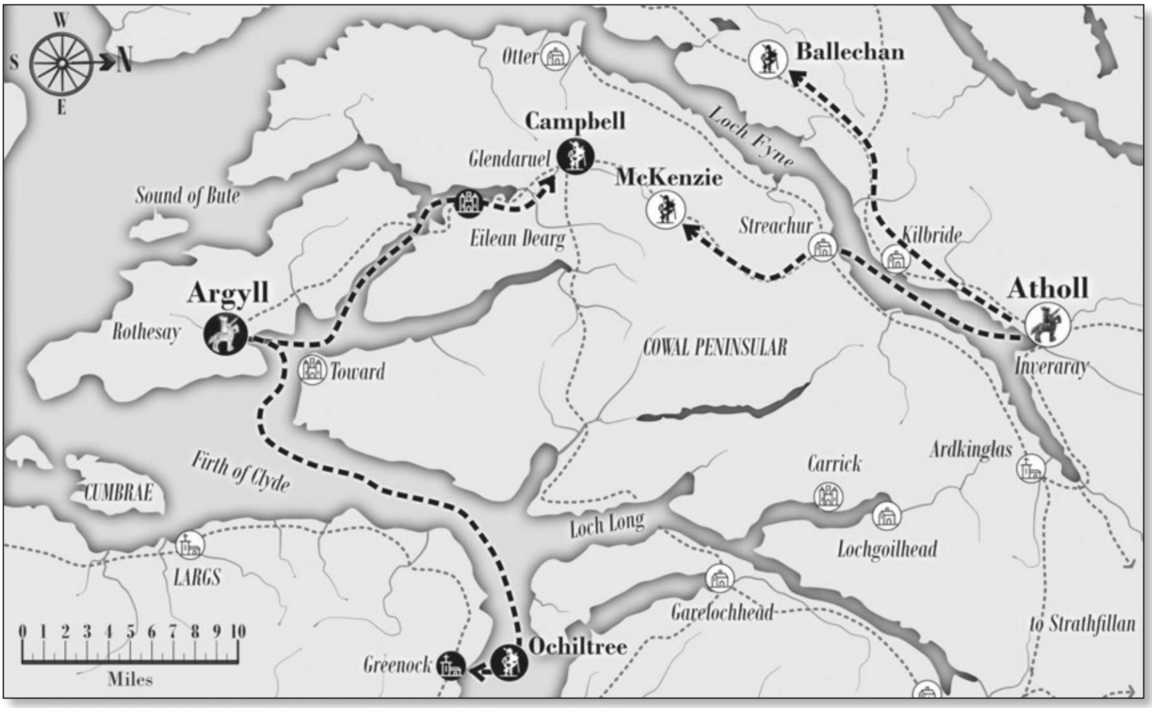
[1] BL, Harley 6845, f.284.

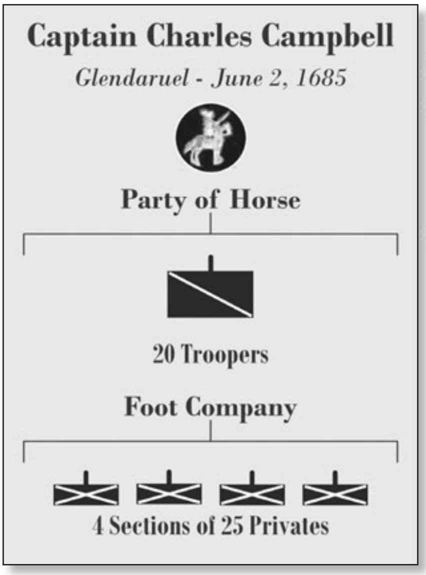
[2] I have no first-hand narratives of the action. However, there is information in letters within the Blair Archives, Marchmont, the *London Gazette*, and Erskine. Therefore, this account is based on these references, and a study of the landscape surrounding Glendaruel.

[3] Marchmont Papers, Vol. 3, p.47.

[4] It is not totally clear when the fleet returned to Tarbert. There is a record of the ships firing seven guns to announce their return, however, it is clear this was not until 31 May or 1 June.


W
S
N
E
Otter
Ballechan
Campbell
Glendaruel
Loch Fyne
McKenzie
Sound of Bute
Eilean Dearg
Streachur
Kilbride
Atholl
Argyll
Rothesay
Toward
COWAL PENINSULAR
Inveraray
Firth of Clyde
CUMBRAE
Carrick
Ardkinglas
Loch Long
Lochgoilhead
LARGS
Garelochhead
to Strathfillan
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Miles
Greenock
Ochiltree

Above: Argyll's opening moves, 2–3 June 1685. (Author's Artwork)


Captain Charles Campbell
Glendaruel - June 2, 1685
Party of Horse
20 Troopers
Foot Company
4 Sections of 25 Privates

On 31 May,[5] Charles Campbell landed on the Cowal Peninsula with a company of foot and horse, in all around 120 men.[6] Leaving his boats and supplies at the old castle of Eilean Dearg, the young Campbell moved six miles up the River Ruel to Glendaruel. Here he set up camp and sent parties out to gather whatever food and men they could find. However, the area had already been devastated by Atholl's Highlanders and most of the population were now in hiding. Glendaruel was a good strong location and covered the road north to Strachur, just 15 miles away on Loch Fyne. This road crossed the Ruel just north of the village, and it was here that another path went west to Otter Ferry, about eight miles away. The settlement's eastern flank was protected by the deep and free-flowing river until it reached the bridge about 250 paces to the north of the settlement.[7] On the river side of the village was the kirk and several small dwellings. It was possibly in these buildings that the Whigs bivouacked for the night.

The only routes an attacking force from Inveraray could take were via either Otter Ferry or Strachur. However, as both

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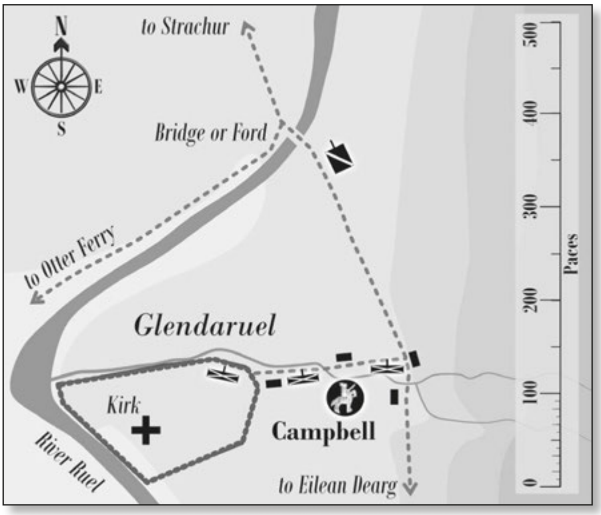
[5] It is hard to date this move, I have placed it as 31 May, but it could have been 1 June. However, reports arrived at Inveraray on 1 June, which would not have given time for events to unfold on 2 June.

[6] *Gazette* #2041.

[7] Today there is a bridge across the river, it is impossible to tell if this was there in 1685. Therefore, this may have been a ford or bridge; I have chosen the latter.



Charles Campbell at the village of Glendaruel, 2 June 1685. (Author's artwork)

these roads crossed the bridge over the Ruel, the Whigs would have plenty of warning of any enemy assault. Glendaruel was an ideal blocking position about 500 paces wide, sitting between the enemy at Inveraray and Argyll's main army on the Isle of Bute. About two miles to the south of the village, the valley closed as the river flowed around a hill and a ridge that butted against steep valley sides. The road south went over this ridge, whilst on the hill sat an old fort called Barmore, and at some point in time the whole location had been fortified. This ridge formed a natural barrier across the road south to Eilean Dearg. The whole position was no more than 200 paces wide.

In Inveraray the newly arrived Government commander, Atholl, received two reports on 1 June. The first was that 200 Islay men were making their way to join Argyll[8] across the Kintyre peninsula to Tarbert. The second indicated that a party of Whigs was in Cowal raising men and foraging for supplies. To intercept the enemy at Tarbert, Atholl ordered Ballechan south with 500 men and dispatched Captain 'Suddley' McKenzie with 300 soldiers across to Cowal.[9] McKenzie crossed Loch Fyne by boat to Strachur[10] and then followed the track up and over the steep pass that winds its way through the valley until it reaches the River Ruel. They then followed the valley as it opened out into the flood plain. The party then followed the tree line at the foot of the mountains before they saw the bridge over the river near Glendaruel, in all 15 miles.[11]

Campbell's sentries at the bridge were watching the only road north, when they saw the Government horse at the top of the valley. As the men rushed back to Campbell with the warning, the Whigs quickly grabbed their packs and mounted up.[12] After recalling his scouts, Campbell ordered a retreat to his boats at Eilean Dearg. With the enemy horse closing fast, the young

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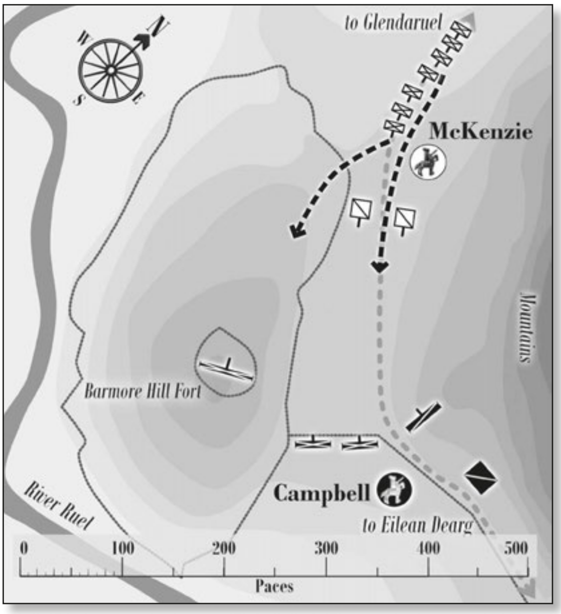
[8] This was old news as the Islay men had already joined Argyll some days earlier.

[9] McKenzie commanded a company in the Earl of Mar's Regiment of Foot (Charles Dalton, *The Scots Army*, p.154). Two companies of this regiment were at Stirling over the winter of 1684/85. This force of regulars also contained a troop of horse, numbering 300 (Ross, *Old Scottish Regimental Colours*, pp.17–18). It is probable that these regular units marched with Atholl from Stirling, and these are the 300 under McKenzie.

[10] This crossing was well documented and the quickest route from Inveraray to the Cowal Peninsula. The ferry was guarded on the Government side of the loch. The march north around the loch head would have taken over a day, being nearly 40 miles. Assuming McKenzie marched at sunrise, his force would have been across by midday on 2 June.

[11] This is the path the old road takes today, and before the straightening and creation of the A886, there is little reason to think it followed another route. If McKenzie had left at eight o'clock that morning, it would have taken him until the early afternoon to reach the bridge over the Ruel, behind which sat the young Campbell's force.

[12] The landscape to the north of Glendaruel is open, and it is hard to see how McKenzie's men could have surprised Campbell. His men would have had at least an hour's warning of the enemy approach.



Opening shots of the Battle of Glendaruel, 2 June 1685. (Author's artwork)

Campbell deployed his men at the old hill fort and along the defensive ridge that sat across the road.[13] Ordering his baggage and supplies back to the boats, Campbell readied his men. They loaded their firelocks and waited for the enemy to come within range. As the first enemy horsemen came within 300 paces, the Whigs opened fire at McKenzie's horse at long range.[14]

As McKenzie approached the ridge, he saw and then heard the snap of musket balls. Seeing that the firing was coming from the ridge to his front, he ordered his horse to dismount and return fire. He had no choice but to wait for his foot to arrive before pushing forwards. As the encounter developed into a firefight, McKenzie was able to press home his numerical advantage. With the old hill fort covering one flank and the steep mountains rising on the other, the officer considered his options. It took time for his soldiers to press forwards, but they made ground. In the centre his men were pinning down the enemy, so he ordered his right flank to assault the hill fort. If he took this position, he could outflank the enemy. He ordered his horse to remount and wait for the enemy to break.[15]

After an hour of firing the outnumbered Whigs were starting to run out of ammunition,[16] and it was clear to Campbell that the enemy were starting to outflank his position. The young Campbell had given his baggage enough time to reach the boats and ordered his troopers to hold their ground for as long as possible. With a rearguard in place he withdrew with his remaining foot back to the protection of Eilean Dearg castle. However, it was not long before the Whig rearguards heard the first musket shots coming from the old hill fort of Barmore. They were now outflanked, and the remaining Whigs raced back to their horses and remounted.

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[13] This is called Barmore Fort, OS grid NS 0023 8236, and this is my interpretation of the events.

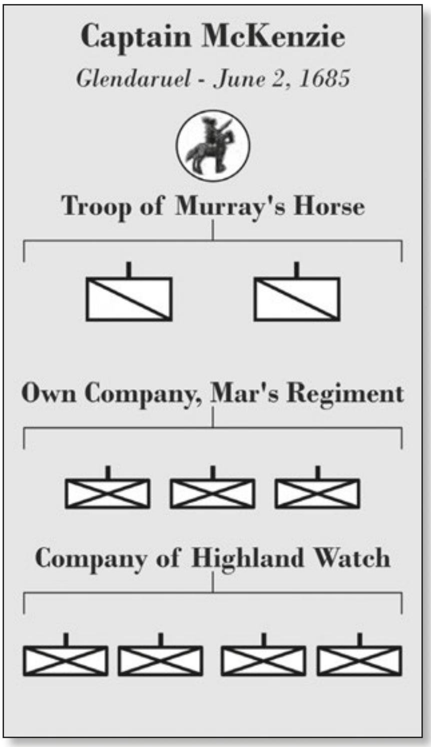
[14] This would line up with the accounts later received by Atholl and published in the *London Gazette*. The distance from Glendaruel to Eilean Dearg is over six miles across open ground. The only way McKenzie's force did not outflank and totally break Campbell's men is if an action took place at Barmore Fort or at Glendaruel. The alternative is that McKenzie's force only reached the Whigs as they were departing in their boats. However, this would not account for the use of ammunition (see Marchmont Papers, Vol. 3, p.48).

[15] This my assessment based on the account of the Government horse chasing the Whigs to their boats.

[16] Marchmont Papers, Vol. 3, p.48, 'and wanting ammunition, was pursued by Atholl's men; and he, leaving his party too inconsiderately to fetch some ammunition, they immediately run after him'.

Seeing the firing stop, McKenzie ordered his horse forwards, and the chase was on. The better mounts of the Government troopers allowed then to close the gap on Campbell's men. When they reached the loch shore, the Government troopers spurred on their horses, looking to catch the enemy before they jumped into the waiting boats. McKenzie's troopers cut down two or three of the Whigs and captured four more,[17] but the bulk of Campbell's men had clambered into their boats and rowed to the security of the island castle. After watching Campbell sail away, that evening McKenzie headed back to Inveraray, arriving the following day.

After leaving a small garrison in Eilean Dearg, the young Campbell returned to his father at Rothesay. He brought the news that Atholl was at Inveraray and that Carrick Castle had been destroyed. With this Argyll resolved to take the war to his enemy, and that evening he ordered that the furniture be removed from Rothesay Castle. Then out of revenge for Carrick and the other wrongs done to his people, Argyll ordered the castle set on fire. That night, with the castle in flames, his men seized all the island's livestock and provisions and loaded the boats. Then the *Anna* and the Whig fleet sailed across the Clyde to the safety of Castle Toward. Argyll now settled in and waited for the return of Ochiltree's expedition.


Captain McKenzie
Glendaruel - June 2, 1685
Troop of Murray's Horse
Own Company, Mar's Regiment
Company of Highland Watch

Battle of Greenock – 3 June 1685

It was late on the evening of 2 June that Ochiltree took the *David* and *Sophie*, loaded with approximately 200 men, including the companies of Lapness, Major Fullerton and Polwarth. They sailed over the River Clyde and headed towards the small port of Greenock. The expedition was to test the enemy's state of readiness, send messages to Lowland supporters, and take all the supplies and recruits it could find. There was a hope that the town would rise in open revolt, and they would be joined by a reported party of Whigs marching north from the borders.

Greenock Kirk sat on the riverbank on the edge of a shallow sandy bay behind which was a long flat ridge called Kilblain-brae.[18] About 600 paces to the east of the kirk was a small harbour into which fishing boats could unload their catch and where a few merchants kept their ships. Around this harbour stood the main buildings that formed the town of Greenock.

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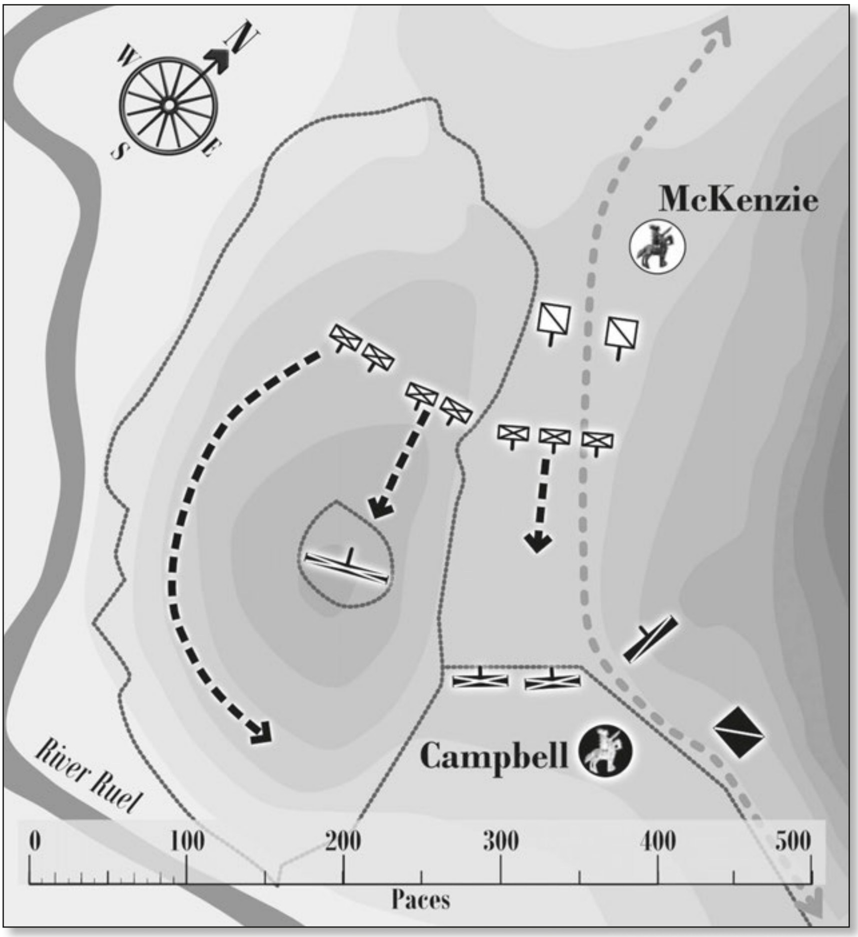
[17] This is based on the accounts in the Blair Archives and the *London Gazette*. With McKenzie's men outnumbering Campbell's by two to one, it is surprising that more men were not killed or captured.

[18] John Galt, *Ringan Gilhaize* (London: Greening & Co. Ltd., 1899), Chapter LXXXVII.



McKenzie attacks the Whig line at Glendaruel, 2 June 1685. (Author's artwork)

On the afternoon of 3 June,[19] the Whig ships approached the shore a little upstream from the kirk. In the distance a strong party of horse could be seen coming towards the town from the direction of Paisley. The Whig officers had expected to find the coast unoccupied and it was now clear they would need to fight their way ashore. Unfortunately, they only had three longboats between the *David* and *Sophie*, and each could only hold a total of 20 men.[20] The Whig commanders agreed to make their landing upstream from the kirk, and Ochiltree ordered Lapness to lead the first attack. Lapness refused the task, stating that the enemy were too close and that the land offered little protection, however, Fullerton had identified a better landing location, one near the kirk, and agreed to lead the assault. He loaded two of the long boats with a dozen firelocks and they headed ashore.

The militia troop of horse was commanded by Lord Cochrane,[21] and after the raid on Largs, he been sent to cover the north western shore by Dumbarton. As they approach the Clyde the militia officer could see two

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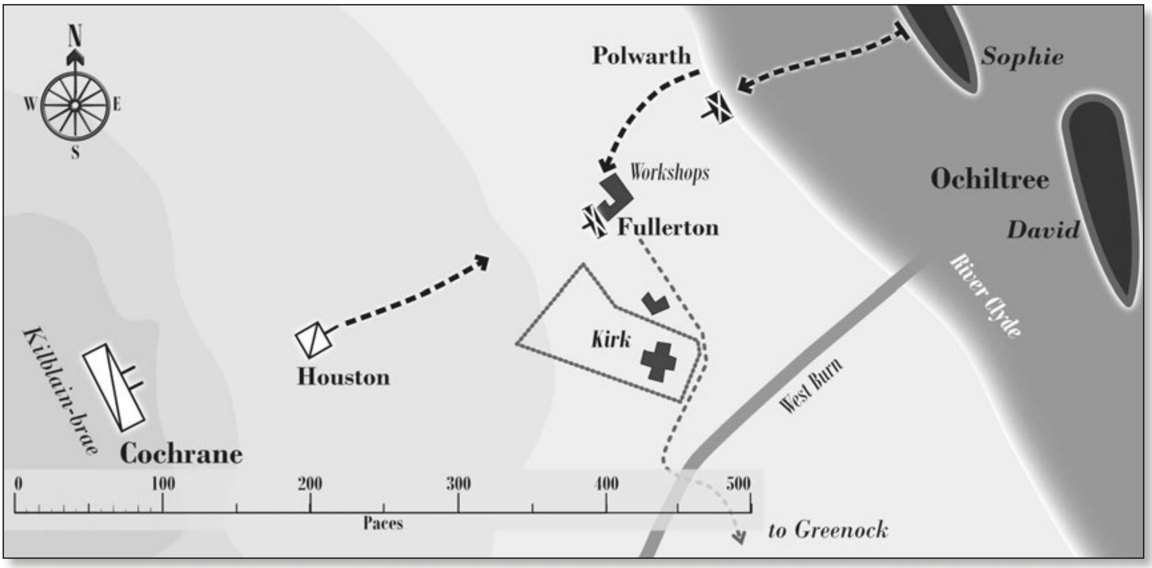
[19] A delegation arrived at HMS *Charlotte* at two o'clock, then under the walls of Dumbarton Castle, but the captain declined to join the engagement due to the wind and tide (see NA, ADM51/3810).

[20] Marchmont Papers, Vol. 3, p.47.

[21] A relative of Ochiltree.



Major Fullerton and Lord Cochrane clash at Greenock, 3 June 1685. (Author's artwork)

unknown vessels near Greenock. As he moved closer, it was clear that the ships had armed men aboard. Suspecting that these were indeed Argyll's ships, Cochrane ordered half his men under Lieutenant John Houston and Quartermaster Thomas Crawfordsburn[22] to cover the enemy. Cochrane took up a covering position on the ridge about 300 paces overlooking the kirk and from here they watched as two boats full of armed men rowed hard to reach the shore. The militia horse advanced down the slope hoping to take the enemy as they landed. As the boats closed, Cochrane saw a flash and smoke erupt from one of the enemy ships. Moments later the iron shot passed close by the militia troopers, thumping into the hillside. As a second shot rang out over the bay, Cochrane ordered his horse to withdraw back up the ridge and out of range.

Onboard the *Sophie* Polwarth could see that the enemy horse was advancing on Fullerton's landing place and ordered the ship's guns to fire. The range was long, but as the second ball flew out towards the enemy troopers, they got the message and started to retire up the ridge. Under the supporting fire from Polwarth, Fullerton landed his men unmolested and quickly deployed his firelocks into the nearby ditches, some 20 paces away, before sending the boats back. Seeing the militia horse had retired safely out of range, Fullerton crossed the open ground into a little yard close to the kirk. Then from over the hill came a dozen militia horse, this time waving a flag of truce. The party stopped and four horsemen came forward. Fullerton realised that any truce would allow time for more men to get ashore, so he advanced with three of his firelocks to take the parley.

Under the flag of truce, Houston was pleased to see four men on foot coming towards him. Once within talking distance, Houston questioned

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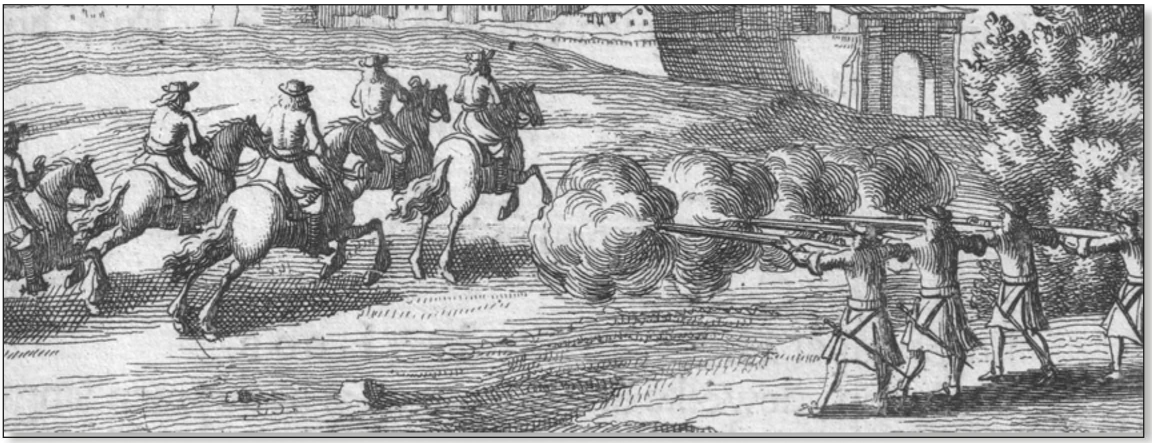
[22] This man appears to be the son of an old friend of Argyll, and later the Earl gave him his sword as a gift.



Musketeers firing at horse *c*.1685. (Author's collection)

them on their invasion and the Whig officer answered that 'they were come to their native country, for the preservation of the Protestant religion, and liberties of their country, and it was a pity such brave gentlemen should appear against them, in the service of a popish tyrant and usurper.' Houston replied 'Liar!' and discharged his pistols, nearly missing the Whig officer.[23] As Houston's men withdrew the Whigs returned fire and the Lieutenant's horse cried and fell to the ground. As more musket balls passed close by, Houston ran as Cochrane and the rest of the militia horse came over the rise.

Polwarth watched as the parley disintegrated into a brisk firefight and could see that Fullerton's men were now struggling to hold back the enemy. He was leading a party of six more firelocks from the *Sophie*, while two more boats loaded with firelocks were coming back from the *David*. Meanwhile, Ochiltree had brought the *David* around and now both ships were firing at the militia. As Polwarth's men rushed ashore, they added their shot to the firefight. Under this intensive fire the militia broke and fled towards Paisley. With the beachhead secured and the militia routed, Ochiltree landed the rest of his men and entered Greenock. Once the harbour had been secured, attempts were made to enlist the local Protestants 'in defence of religion and liberty'[24] but with little success. In the harbour the Whigs only found a small amount of provisions, along with a 'pretty barque'[25] which they seized. After waiting for their scouts to return with news of events elsewhere the small fleet made its way back to Bute.

Some 63 miles to the south at Sanquhar, 300 Whigs had gathered and now posted up Argyll's declaration. They had been encouraged by the news that the Whigs had attacked Largs, and reports that Ochiltree would be landing. They now started their march north. However, the news of this Whig uprising quickly reached the ears of Lord Claverhouse, who was not far from Sanquhar with several troops of horse. The following night as the

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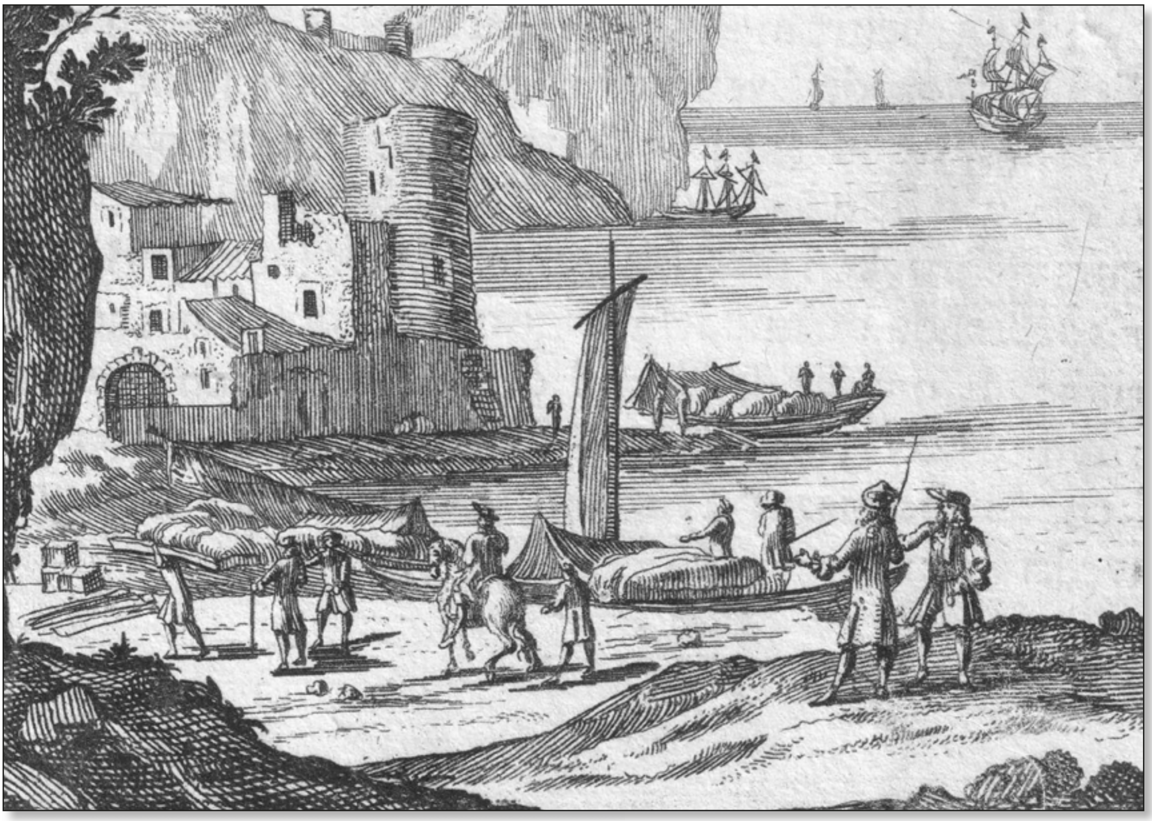
[23] Woodrow, *Sufferings*, Vol. 4, p.293.

[24] Woodrow, *Sufferings*, Vol. 4, p.293.

[25] Marchmont Papers, Vol. 3, p.48.



Unloading stores on a seashore *c*.1685. (Author's collection)

Whigs reached the Entreken Pass,[26] Claverhouse struck. The unarmed Whigs did not stand a chance and were quickly cut down and broken.

On the morning of 4 June, as Ochiltree's ships returned into Rothesay, they received word that Argyll had moved his headquarters to Castle Toward, where later that day they joined Argyll for a council of war. Ochiltree reported that it would be folly to attack the Lowlands with them being so well guarded by militia and regulars. Argyll told the gathered officers that there may be four enemy vessels nearby, and therefore they needed to move to a secure location and unload the arms. He then informed the council that he had reconnoitred the castle at Eilean Dearg and found this to be an ideal location for the army's stronghold. It offered a perfect anchorage, and the Cowal Peninsula could be secured to the north, east and west. Argyll argued that from here the army could build up its strength in safety, while they waited for news from England. Some of the council, including Ochiltree and Polwarth, contended the move but Argyll overruled them. Later that evening Argyll sailed into Loch Ruel and anchored off Eilean Dearg, issuing orders for the rest of the fleet and army to follow. There was also a disappointing report that 'one hundred Highlanders had run away with their arms, selling their guns for a shilling'.[27]

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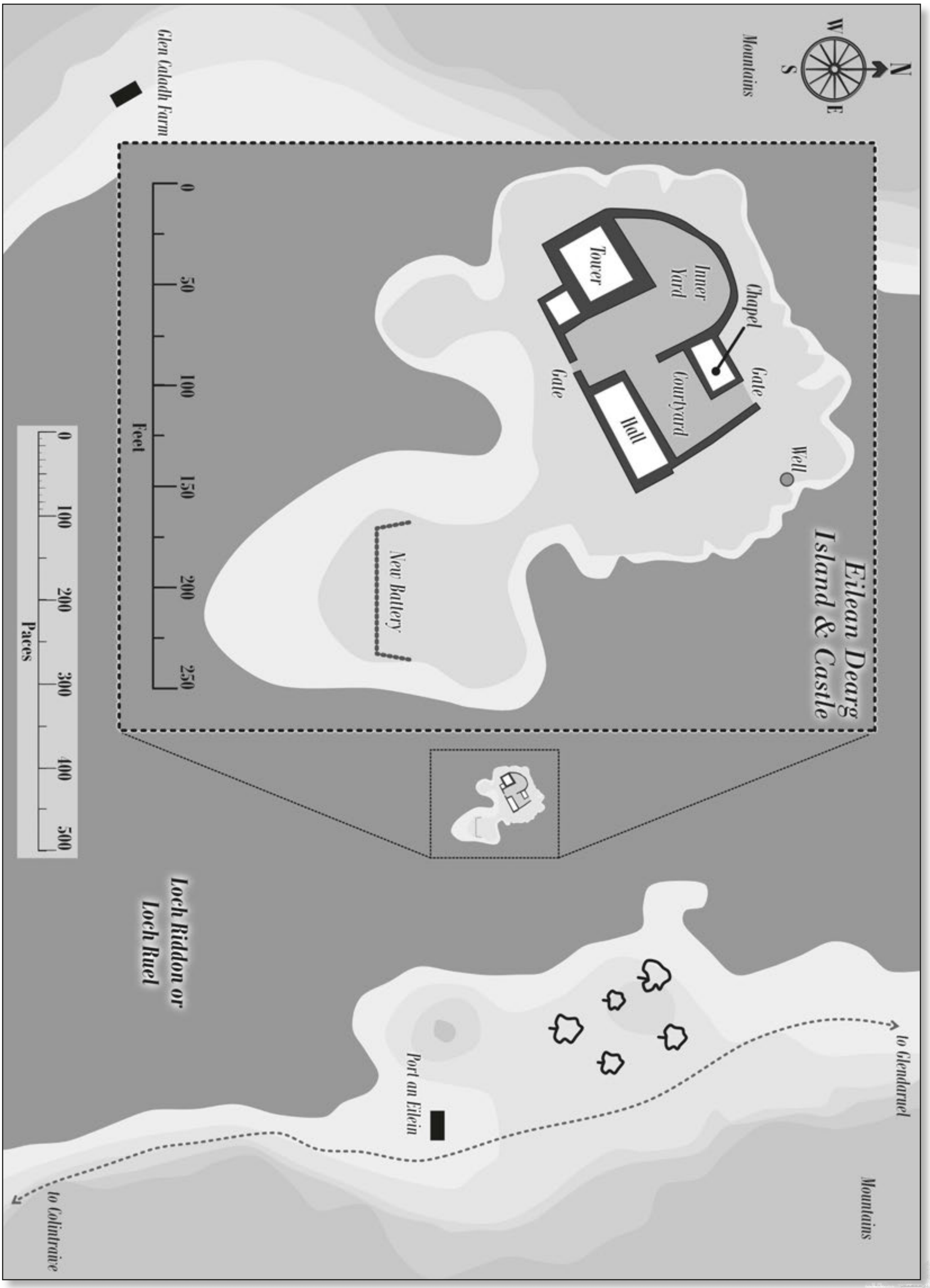
[26] BA, 29.I(A), f.84, possibly near Enterkinfoot.

[27] Erskine, *Journal*, p.123. This may well have been on the news that their Laird Lochnell had joined with Atholl.


N
W
E
S
Mountains
Glen Caladh Farm
Eilean Dearg Island & Castle
Chapel
Gate
Inner Yard
Tower
Courtyard
Hall
Gate
Well
New Battery
0
50
100
150
200
250
Feet
0
100
200
300
400
500
Paces
Loch Riddon or Loch Ruel
Port an Eilein
to Glendaruel
Mountains
to Colintraive

Eilean Dearg Castle and Loch Ruel, based on archaeological evidence. (Author's artwork)

Island of Eilean Dearg. (Author's photograph)

Looking up from the loch head from the Kyles of Bute, Eilean Dearg was an impressive position which controlled the loch.[28] The castle was over 200 years old and consisted of a strong tower about 10 paces square, a chapel and a hall range. This was surrounded by a stout wall. About 100 yards away on the shore behind a craggy bluff stood the main house. Navigation into the loch was extremely difficult, with rocky shoals across the entrance which were exposed at low tide. Therefore, it took several days to move the whole fleet into the safe anchorage behind the island.

Whilst the stores where being offloaded from the transports, Argyll ordered the construction of an earthwork on the western side of the castle to cover the seaward passage into the Loch.[29] Once this bastion had been finished, five of the 4-pounders[30] from the *Anna* were sited and crewed by Dutch gunners. By 7 June[31] Argyll had fully established his base at Eilean Dearg,[32] and as Lapness's Regiment offloaded the stores, Argyll's other two regiments moved inland and set up camp at Glendaruel. To secure the northern entrance into the valley Argyll ordered Rumbold to take his horse and three companies of foot under Major Henderson to capture Ardkinglas Castle on Loch Fyne.[33] Rumbold would seal the northern end of the Cowal Peninsula while Eilean Dearg sealed the southern entrance. To secure the eastern and western approaches,

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[28] I have explored this area: the island dominates the view into and out from the loch and down the River Ruel onto the loch head.

[29] It is not clear if this was on the mainland or Island, both cover the approaches into the loch. Having studied both, my assumption is that these were on the land near the house. This site would dominate the coast and it is hard to see how 'earthworks' could be constructed on such a small craggy island.

[30] Marchmont Papers, Vol. 3, p.51.

[31] In Atholl's account Argyll lands at Eilean Dearg on 7 June, see BA 29.I(4a), f.10.

[32] This castle has been called Allengreg, Ellen Creg, Eylandgrig or Island Greg in the historical accounts.

[33] Many writers have taken the splitting of the army at this stage of the campaign as a military blunder. However, the original plan agreed with Monmouth back in April was that Argyll would secure a strong location drawing out the enemy, then strike once news of Monmouth's landing reached him, originally planned for mid May. He could therefore expect this news any day or by the second week in June at the latest.

Argyll sent out a small party to Otter Ferry, and another to Loch Striven head. Glendaruel became Argyll's centre of operations,[34] and from this small village he could support both Lapness or Rumbold and maintain a degree of tactical flexibility and security. Although not ideal, the valley was rich in corn and offered the Scottish Whigs the stronghold they needed. Now they waited for news of Monmouth's landing.

Whitehall – Early June 1685

On 28 May, an intercepted message gave the authorities in Whitehall advance warning that Monmouth would be landing soon.[35] This was followed by reports of horsemen gathering in Dorset, and on 31 May local officials were concerned enough to call the militia of Wiltshire, Dorset, Devon, and Somerset to muster. With the West in a state of unease, an express was sent to London for the Lord Lieutenants to return to their wards. However, in Whitehall all the reports and intelligence coming from Holland indicated that Monmouth was heading north to support Argyll rather than into the west. Out at sea, Captain Wheeler in HMS *Tiger* was cruising off the Isle of Wight on 31 May[36] when he spied a Dutch flyboat heading west. After a short chase Wheeler boarded the Dutchman. Spread over her decks and in the hold were some 5,000 stands of arms[37] and some Dutch soldiers. The ship's captain showed Wheeler papers that indicated their destination was the Spanish West Indies. Wheeler, fearing that these arms may be heading to Scotland, escorted the Dutch flyboat into Poole.[38]

At the beginning of June, the tension in Taunton was enough for the militia to be called into the streets. Much like the Scots militia, the English militia were part-time soldiers, drawn from the local population. However, they had seen little unrest, and had not been called out to fight in years. By 1685 they only formed for training, or on occasion to stop the drunken revelry that followed one of the bloody village football matches. The militia was organised on county lines based upon the medieval hundreds, with each hundred being responsible for the equipping and supply of a militiaman. These were formed into companies of 100 foot or 50 horse. Each company of foot was split into two divisions of musketeers and one of pike at the ratio of two to one, and commanded by a captain, two lieutenants, an ensign, two sergeants and three corporals.[39] Five or more of these companies formed a regiment which was commanded by a deputy lieutenant, with the overall command of all the county militia falling to the lord lieutenant. Typically, there were three or four colour-coded foot regiments and one regiment of

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[34] This is based upon the accounts of Marchmont and George Brysson.

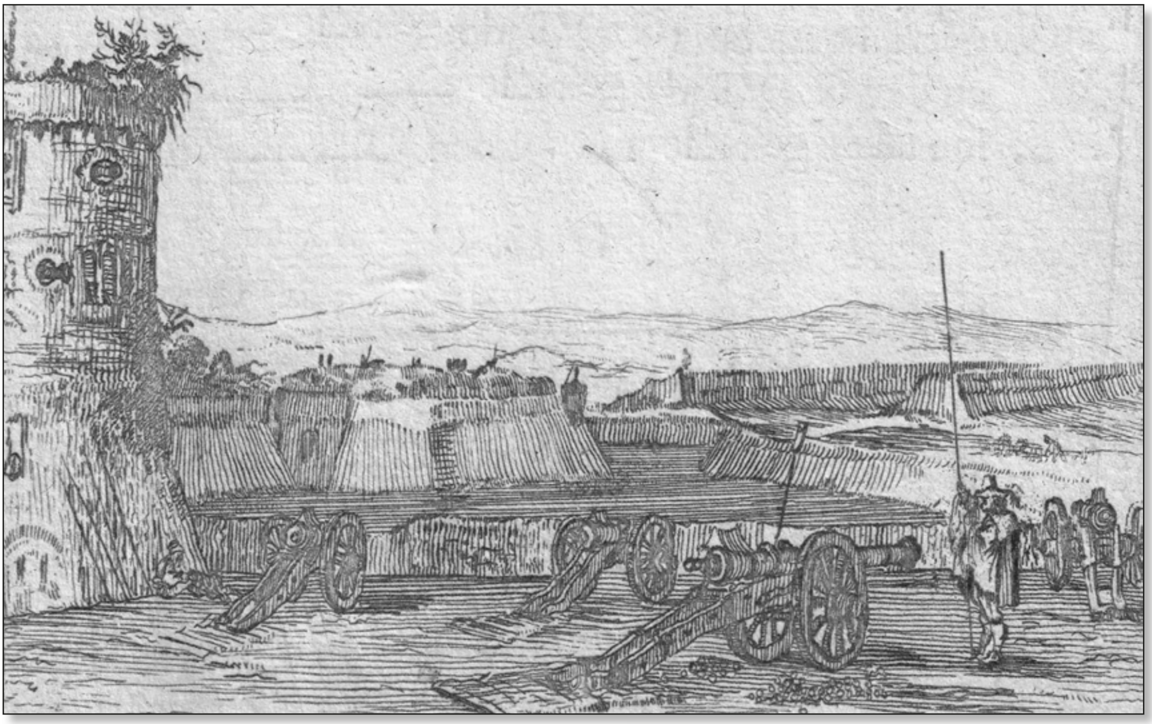
[35] BL, Harley 6845, f.284.

[36] NA, ADM 51/4369, ff.20–21.

[37] Buccleuch, *Fifteenth Report*, Vols 1–2, p.422.

[38] At the time Whitehall assumed these arms were for Argyll. However, it is more likely that this was the fourth boat in Monmouth's fleet and destined for Bristol, Bridgwater, or Chester.

[39] I have been unable to find an organisational structure, so this is my assumption based on other references.



Gun battery under castle walls *c*.1685. (Author's collection)

horse per county. Each major town had an armoury and it was here that men would be mustered. Without royal approval the militia could not fight outside their county boundaries.

Since the Restoration in 1660 the militia, or trained bands, had fallen into a state of neglect. Although they still trained each year, no attempt had been made to update their weapons or their uniforms since the 1670s. As a result, they were 'badly armed'[40] and in some cases lacked the bullet moulds needed for their muskets. When this was coupled with a lack of pay, and no supply chain to provide provisions, there was a general air of discontent in the ranks. The West Country militia had received an injection of seized weapons in June 1684,[41] but this would have done nothing to standardise musket bores or ensure that old equipment was not rusty.[42]

On 2 June the militia were called out to secure the western city of Exeter, only to be dismissed three days later. The next day, near Ilchester, Mr Benjamin Hewling (Snr) and William Jenkins were both arrested after being found to be 'well armed.' By 3 June the constables in Taunton had seen an increase in suspicious men loitering in the town. Based on intelligence from Sunderland, the constables arrested five of the men.[43] Three days later,

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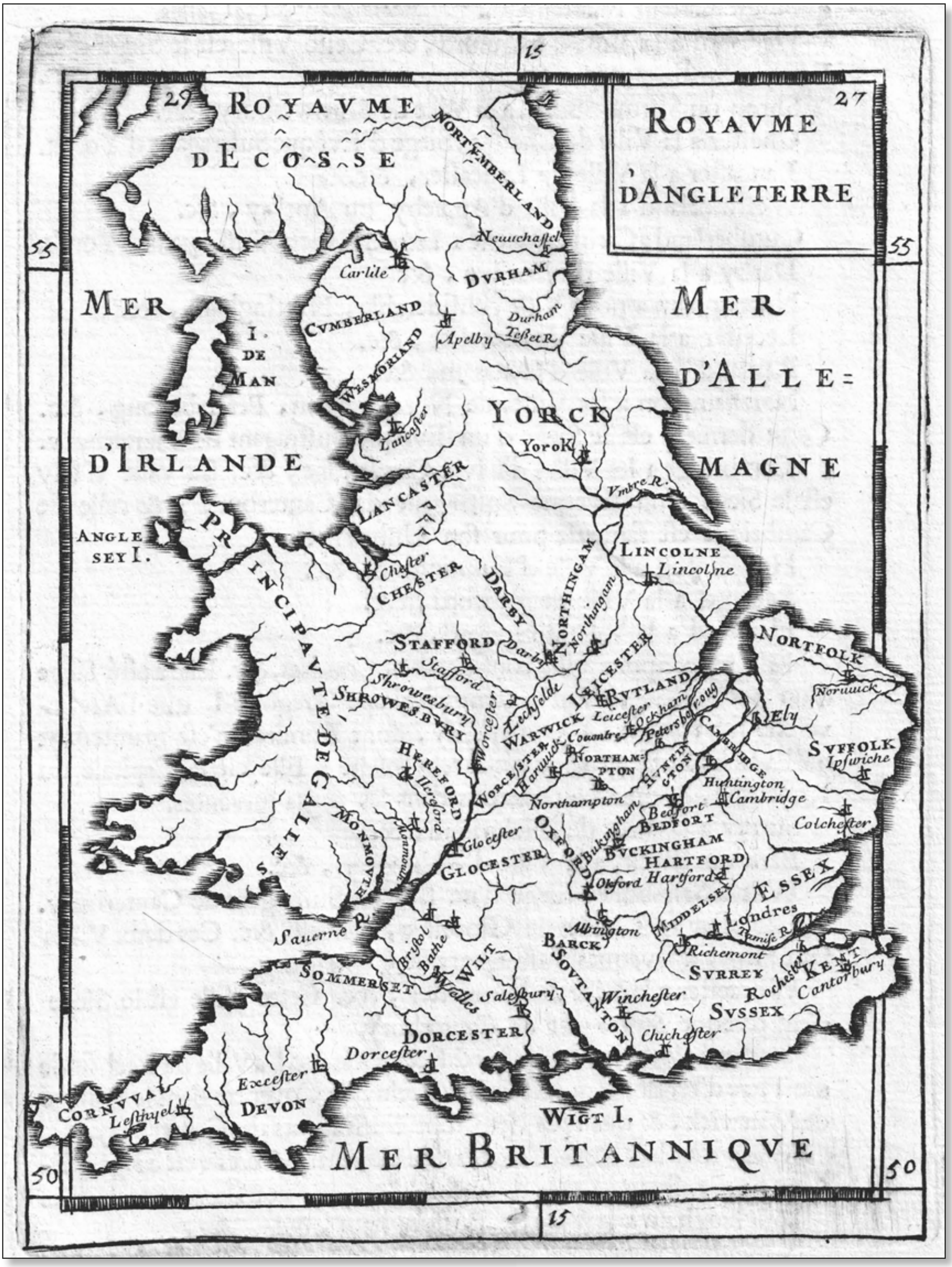
[40] BL, Harley 6845, f.285.

[41] NA, WO55/1760.

[42] BL, Add MS 38012, f.2, '… we could not find a musket where we had found them, neither of them would go off the locks being almost eat to pieces with rust, after this there was never a bullet mould to be had…'

[43] BL, Harley 6845, f.285r, and Northumberland Papers, MS 288, f.13. These were Robert Parrot, William Brand, Humphry Aldwyn, Henry Lisle and Thomas Love.


Royavme
d'Angleterre
Royavme
d'Ecosse
Mer d'Irlande
Mer d'Allemagne
Mer Britannique
I. de Man
Anglesey I.
Principavte de Galles
Nortemberland
Neuuchastel
Carlile
Dvrham
Durham
Cvmberland
Wesmorland
Apelby
Tesse R.
Yorck
Yorok
Lancaster
Vmbre R.
Lancaster
Chester
Chester
Darby
Northingam
Lincolne
Lincolne
Northingam
Stafford
Stafford
Darby
Leicester
Nortfolk
Noruuick
Shrowesbury
Shrowesbury
Lechfelde
Rvtland
Leicester
Ockham
Petersbourg
Ely
Warwick
Couentre
Cambridge
Svffolk
Ipswiche
Hereford
Worcester
Worcester
Warwick
Northampton
Hvntington
Hereford
Northampton
Huntington
Cambridge
Colchester
Monmovth
Monmouth
Bedfort
Bedfort
Glocester
Glocester
Oxford
Bukingham
Bvckingham
Hartford
Hartford
Olford
Essex
Middelsex
Londres
Tamise R.
Sauerne R.
Bristol
Bathe
Albington
Barck
Richemont
Sommerset
Wilt
Wellis
Sovtanton
Salesbury
Winchester
Svrrey
Rochester
Kent
Cantorbury
Svssex
Chichester
Dorcester
Dorcester
Excester
Devon
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55
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50
15

Map of England *c*.1684. (Author's collection)

Sir Francis Luttrell with four companies of the Taunton militia regiment, and Lacey's Troop of militia horse secured the town but they found things very 'peaceable and quiet.'[44] The Lord Lieutenant of Devon was the Earl of Albemarle, and he travelled by a fast coach from London. When he arrived in Exeter on 8 June he immediately called out the militia. In Dorset, Colonel Sir William Portman and Colonel Thomas Strangeways ordered their militia foot regiments to muster based on the continued reports of horsemen across the county. It was now so bad in the West that in early June the authorities openly feared that 3–4,000 men could join Monmouth if he landed.[45]

Sitting in Whitehall on 2 June, James read Orange's letter, which offered his services to personally command the Scots Brigade. In response James wrote back rejecting the kind offer made by his son-in-law.[46] In Holland, the Scots Brigade had finally reached Breda on 4 June, and it was here that Orange reviewed them before their departure. The brigade was commanded by Colonel Hugh Mackay, leaving his regiment under Lieutenant Colonel John Buchan, then came Colonel Barthold Balfour's Regiment and lastly Colonel John Wanchope's Regiment.[47] The regiments were organised in the Dutch way, therefore each had 12 companies with a captain, two lieutenants, two sergeants and three corporals.[48] Before leaving s'Hertogenbosch the regiments had been forced to pay all outstanding debts and then after 'all the squabbles imaginable' Orange 'refused them everything, even powder that he did not want to give to fill the soldiers' bandoliers.'[49] According to Skelton they numbered in total 1,707 soldiers plus officers.[50] At Breda the soldiers swore an oath to James, and marched to the seaport of Vlissingen. The following day they were loaded onto a fleet of 15 English transports before finally sailing to Scotland on 6 June,[51] where they were eagerly awaited.

On 5 June James wrote to Orange, giving him news of the campaign in Scotland and letting him know that Monmouth had not yet landed in Scotland, even after his son-in-law had not stopped the Whig departure from Amsterdam. James also told Orange of the capture of a ship with 4–5,000 arms on board.[52] However, it was clear the deception spread by Le Blon was working, with James writing to the Earl of Queensbury in Scotland on 10 June that 'the Duke of Monmouth, as they write from Holland, is sailed in a ship of 32 guns for Scotland.'[53] However, in Holland a report from a Whig spy landed on the desk of Skelton telling a different story. Its contents detailed the Whig plans for uprisings in Bristol and Chester. More importantly, it

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[44] NP, MS 288, f.13.

[45] BL, Harley 6845, f.285.

[46] Dalrymple, *Memoirs*, Volume 3, p.5.

[47] For more information on the Dutch establishment at this time, see Bruno Mugnai, *Wars and Soldiers in the Early Reign of Louis XVI*, Vol. 1 (Warwick: Helion & Company, 2019).

[48] See BL, Add MS 41817, f.144 and NA, WO5/1, f.127.

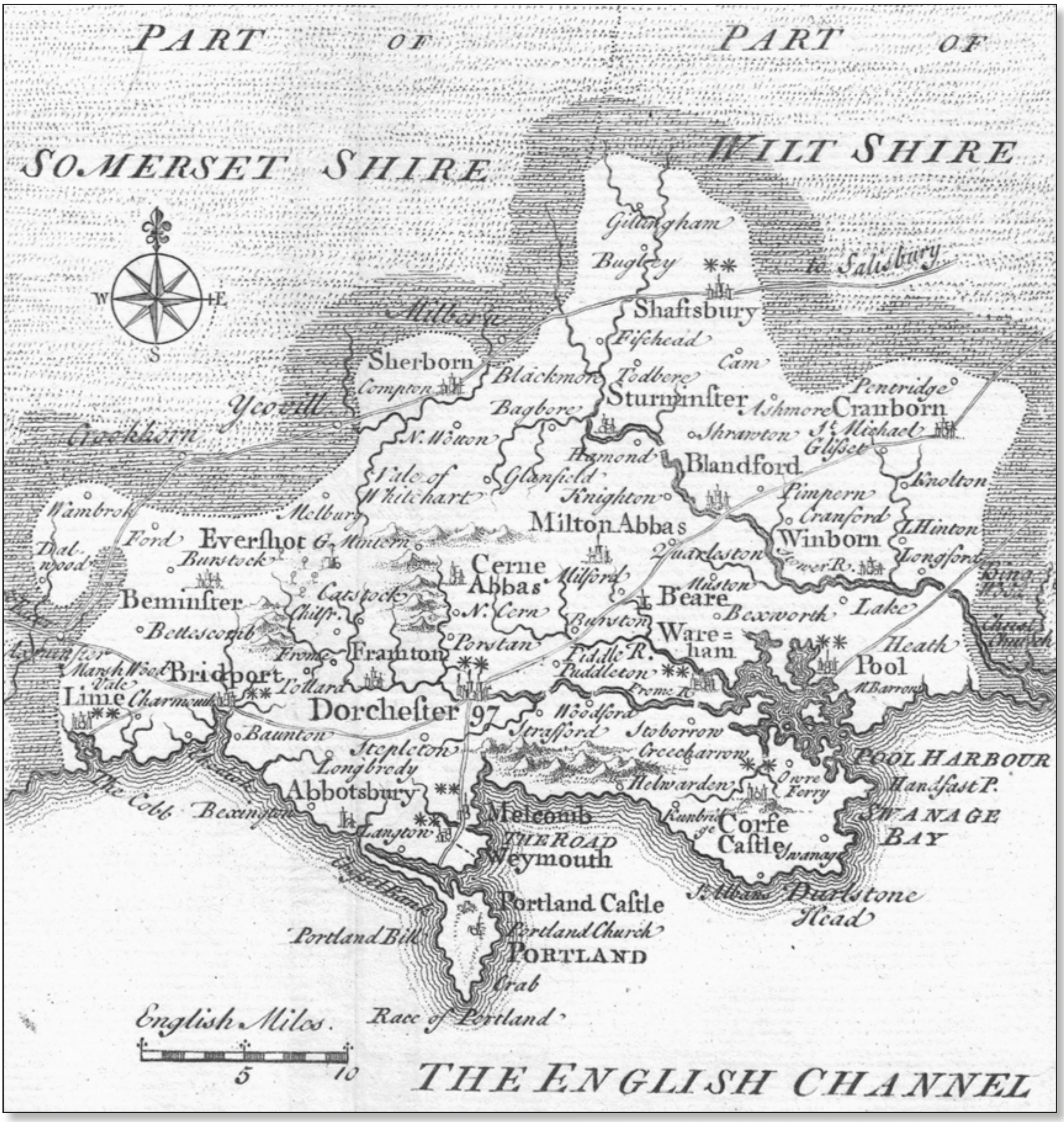
[49] D'Avaux, *Négociations*, Vol. 5, p.63.

[50] BL, Add MS 41812, f.119.

[51] *Gazette* #2041.

[52] Dalrymple, *Memoirs*, Vol. 3, p.6.

[53] Buccleuch, *Fifteenth Report*, Vols 1–2, p.111.


PART OF SOMERSET SHIRE
PART OF WILT SHIRE
W
E
S
Gillingham
Bugley
to Salisbury
Shaftsbury
Fifehead
Cam
Milborn
Sherborn
Compton
Blackmore
Todbere
Sturminster
Ashmore
Pentridge
Cranborn
Yeovill
Crookhorn
Bagbore
N. Wotton
Hamond
Shrawton
St. Michael
Glisset
Blandford
Knolton
Vale of Whitehart
Glanfield
Knighton
Pimpern
Cranford
Wambrok
Melbury
Milton Abbas
Winborn
L.Hinton
Ford
Evershot
G. Mintern
Dal-wood
Burstock
Cerne Abbas
Milford
Quarleston
Longford
Muston
Beminster
Catstock
Chilfr.
N. Cern
Beare
Bexworth
Lake
Bettescomb
Burston
Christ Church
Marsh Wood Vale
Frome
Frampton
Porstan
Piddle R.
Ware=ham
Heath
Pool
Bridport
Tollard
Puddleton
Lime
Charmouth
Dorchester
97
Frome R.
Woodford
Baunton
Strafford
Stoborrow
Creechbarrow
POOL HARBOUR
Stepleton
Longbredy
Owre Ferry
Handfast P.
Abbotsbury
Helwarden
SWANAGE BAY
The Cobb
Bexington
Langton
Melcomb
THE ROAD
Weymouth
Corfe Castle
Swanage
Portland Castle
St. Albans
Durlstone Head
Portland Bill
Portland Church
PORTLAND
Crab
English Miles.
Race of Portland
5
10
THE ENGLISH CHANNEL

Dorsetshire *c*.1742 showing the major roads and towns. (Author's collection)

gave the location of Monmouth's landing point as Lyme. On 6 June, Skelton sent his warning to Whitehall.[54]

However, this letter appears to have got lost or been ignored, for on 12 June James wrote to Orange, saying that if Monmouth 'had designed to have landed anywhere in the west of England, as some thought he intended … I must have heard of it; so that I think he must have gone to Scotland.'[55] The following morning news arrived that plotted a new course for the campaign. It came in the person of the Mayor of Lyme, accompanied by his local MP, Sir Winston Churchill and his son John, Lord Churchill. The Mayor had travelled by express having first witnessed Monmouth marching down the main street of Lyme in Dorset, and then setting up his dark green standard on the green, upon which was the motto 'Fear nothing but God'.

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[54] BL, Add MS 41817, f.142.

[55] NA, SP 8/3, f.256, 'if he had designed to have landed anywhere in the west of England, as some thought he intended … I must of heard of it; so that I think he must of gone to Scotland'.

Lyme – 11 June 1685

In the very early hours of 11 June Monmouth's fleet arrived some five miles east off the Dorset coast, near the village of Chideock.[56] After dropping anchor, the *Helderenberg*'s longboat was lowered into the sea, and then two of Monmouth's senior officers clambered aboard. Upon landing the men talked briefly with two fishermen before setting off on different missions. The first was the expedition's treasurer and paymaster, Thomas Dare (Snr). He now set off to meet an old friend and sympathiser to the 'good old cause', Mr Edmund Prideaux at Ford Abbey. As one of the leading Whigs in the south-west, Prideaux had raised £500 for the cause. The old Republican had also gathered horses and a stockpile of weapons for use by Monmouth. From Ford Abbey, Dare quickly sent messages to the leaders in London and Chester with the news that Monmouth had landed.

The other man was Colonel Samuel Venner, brigadier of foot to Monmouth, and he headed north-west towards Taunton. This Somerset town was the meeting place for the Whigs who had travelled from all across the country to join Monmouth. The original plan was for Taunton to rise on news of Monmouth's landing and then after seizing the town armoury, Colonel Bovett would form the men into the Taunton regiment and march to Lyme.[57] However, the arrest of the five leaders on 3 June and the presence of Colonel Luttrell's militia stopped any thought of the Whigs rising. After meeting with Colonel Bovett and the other Whig commanders, it was agreed that as many men as possible should slip south to join Monmouth over the coming days.[58] The leaders agreed that for now the town would not rise until the militia had marched away.

The crew that returned from Chideock brought the news that there were no militia in the area and indeed, Lyme was undefended. As the sun rose Monmouth's three ships tacked west towards Lyme bay. Once in sight of the town, the ships sat off the coast waiting for the tide to change. This delay also gave Dare and Venner the time they needed to reach their destinations. While the small fleet stood off from the coast, it drew enough speculation from those ashore for a customs boat to be sent out to inspect

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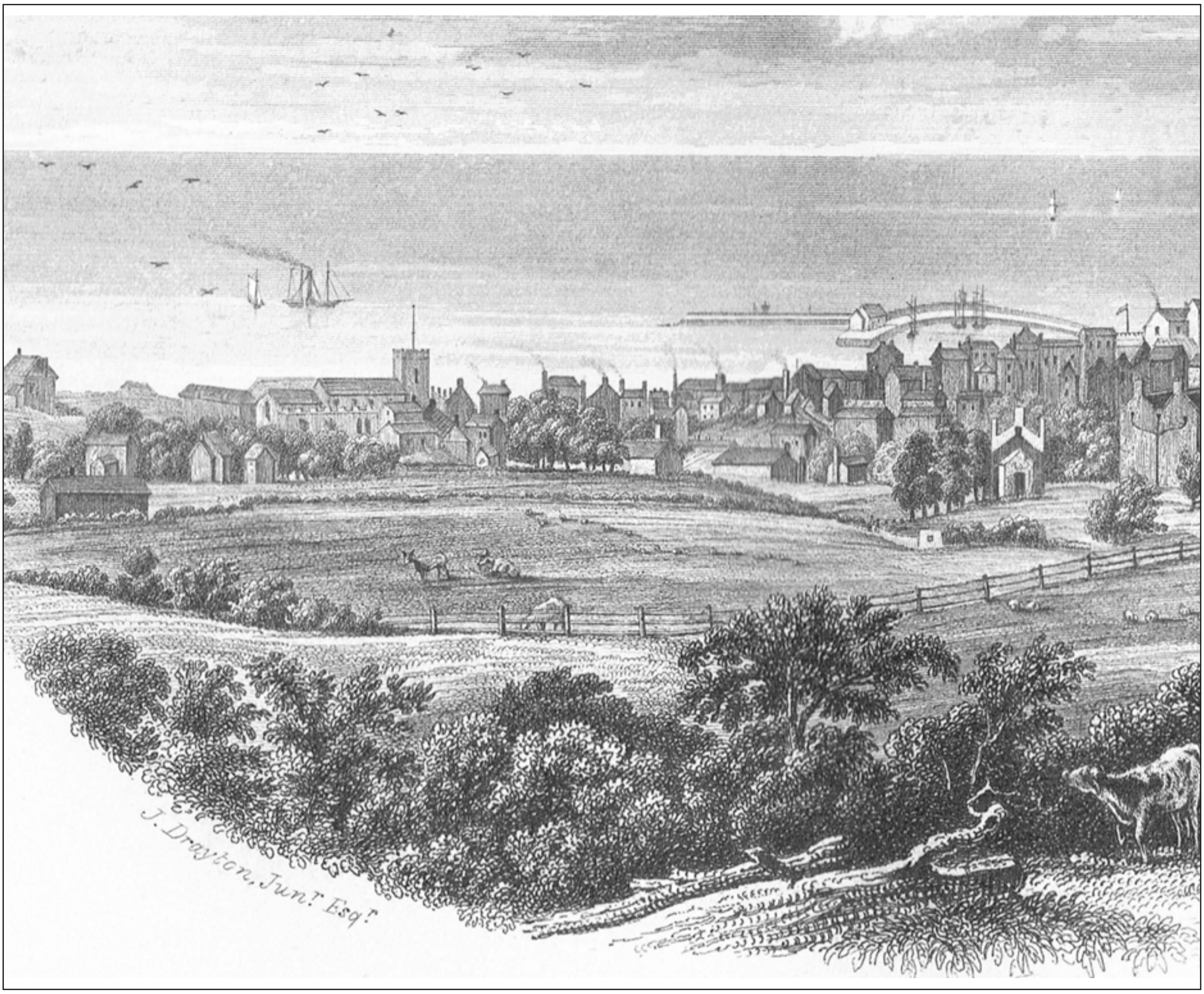
[56] Near Seatown in Dorset, Thomas Dare (Jnr) spelled this as 'Chidwick'. See BL, Add MS 62453, f.43.

[57] This is my assumption based on Mr Hewling (Snr) being arrested near Taunton on 5 June. This was the same man who purchased blue colours and purple coats. It would therefore be plausible that the original plan was for Bovett to raise his 'Blue Regiment' in Taunton and then march to join Monmouth at Lyme with Colonel Venner.

[58] BL, Harley 6845, f.287.


J. Drayton, Junr. Esqr.

Lyme Regis looking towards the Cobb, from George Roberts *c*.1844. (Author's collection)

the strangers. The customs boat approached one of the smaller ships which was commanded by Captain James Hayes. To avoid any warning being raised ashore, Hayes let the officials board his ship. Hayes quickly seized the men, before they could discover that the ship was carrying gunpowder and raise the alarm.[59] After questioning, the customs men gave the same intelligence as the fishermen, Lyme was unguarded. Then in the early evening, around seven or eight o'clock,[60] the *Helderenberg*, possibly still flying the Jack, tacked towards the cobbled shore to the west of the town. The other two lighter vessels approached the Cobb beach but did not attempt to land.

With the custom boat and the *Helderenberg*'s two longboats loaded with soldiers, Monmouth crossed the short distance to the shore.[61] He disembarked first, followed by a dozen or so of his officers, each armed with pistols and

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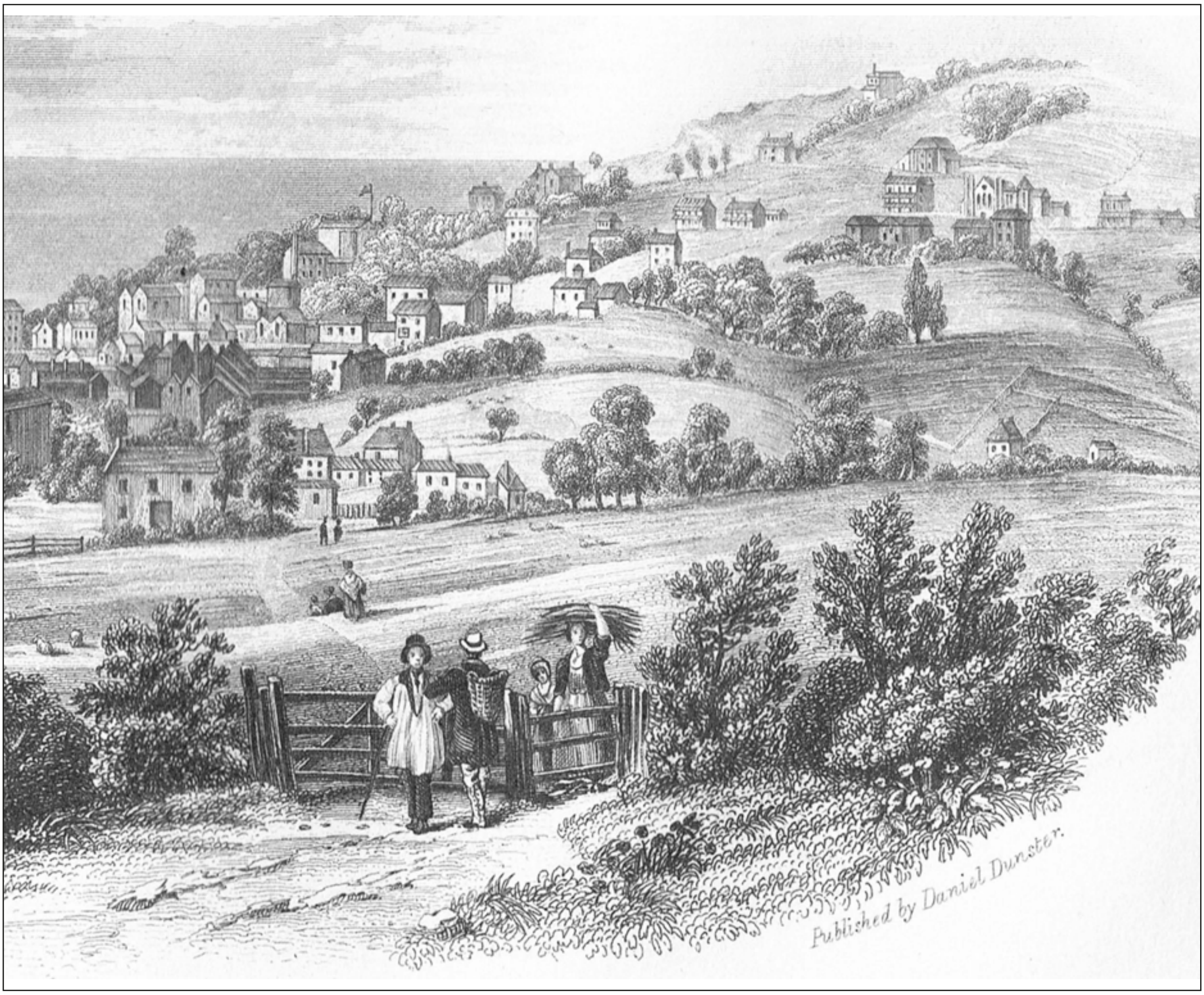
[59] BL, Harley 6845, f.274r.

[60] BL, Add MS 41803, f.292.

[61] Now called Monmouth Beach.


Published by Daniel Dunster.

the latest Dutch firelocks or long carbines.[62] All the men were dressed in the 'purple coats lined with red'[63] that had been purchased in Holland. Within a moment the company of around 50 soldiers formed up, and Monmouth's dark gGreen standard emblazoned with his motto 'Fear Nothing but God'[64] was unfurled. The local population knew that the 'Protestant Duke' would return, and on seeing him marching up the beach, they rallied to his standard.

With over 100 followers, Monmouth marched down West Street[65] into Lyme. Behind him were his officers, in front of him was a street filled with cheering masses, waving green branches. Lyme had been liberated and the

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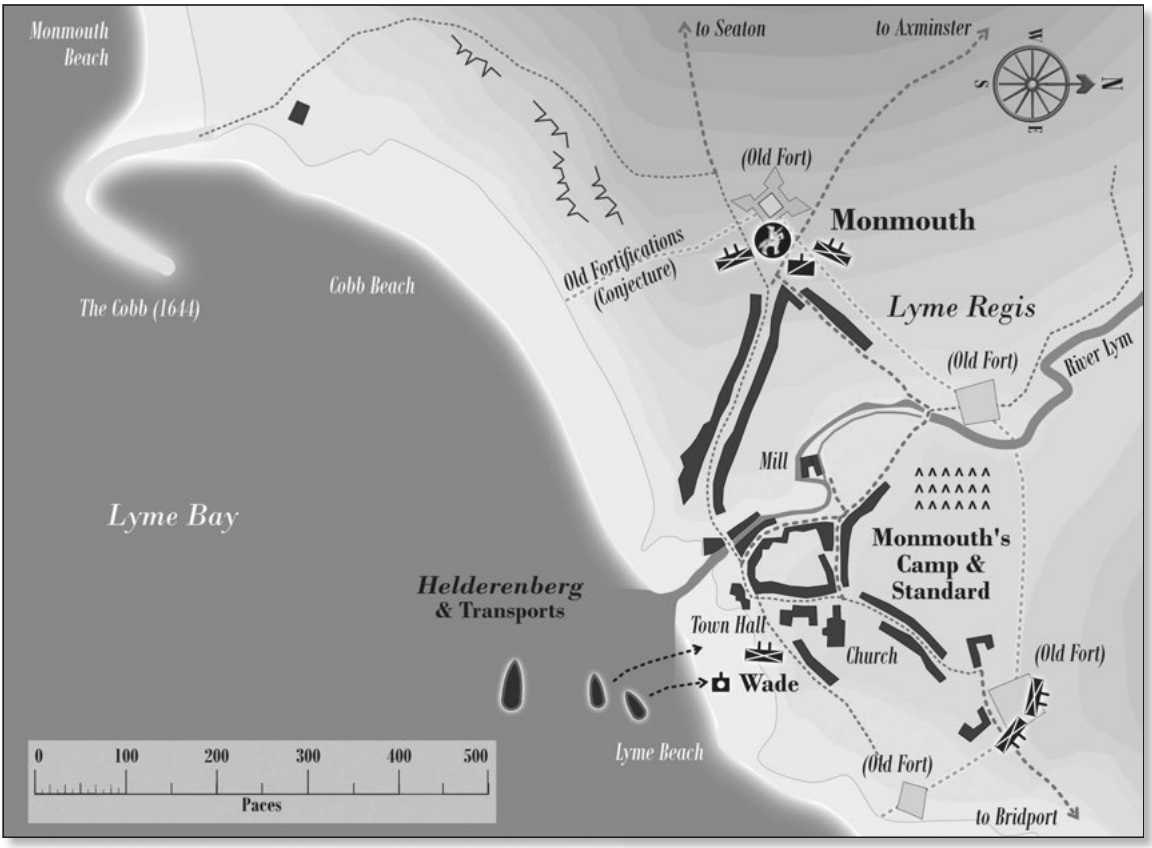
[62] BL, Harley 6845, f.254r, '… Lord Grey which stood there with a musket on his shoulder and a pair of pistols at his gridle as all of most of the Rebels had at that landing the late Duke was in Purple…'

[63] BL, Harley 6845, f.254r, and BL, Add MS 41812, f.72.

[64] BL, Add MS 31956 '*Dummer*', f.2 and BL, Egerton MS 1527, f.81r.

[65] Now called Board Street.


Monmouth Beach
to Seaton
to Axminster
N
S
W
E
(Old Fort)
Monmouth
Old Fortifications (Conjecture)
The Cobb (1644)
Cobb Beach
Lyme Regis
(Old Fort)
River Lym
Mill
Lyme Bay
Monmouth's Camp & Standard
Helderenberg & Transports
Town Hall
Church
(Old Fort)
Wade
0
100
200
300
400
500
Paces
Lyme Beach
(Old Fort)
to Bridport

Monmouth's deployment on the first night at Lyme. (Author's artwork)

crowd started chanting 'Monmouth, a Monmouth, and the Protestant cause!'[66] Such was the welcome, that all the town sheriff and mayor could do was watch the spectacle. On reaching the town hall, Monmouth established his military headquarters and split his men into three divisions.[67] Two divisions advanced to the outskirts of the town and established defensive positions in the old forts, whilst the other division started to unload the ships that now lay at anchor off the beach. With guards set around the town, during the night the four cannons together with hundreds of crates, baskets, and barrels full of arms and ammunition were unloaded and ferried to shore, before being moved to the town hall.

The next morning, whilst Ferguson published the declaration, other messengers raced out to hammer up the proclamation in the nearby towns. As word quickly spread that the Protestant Duke had returned, recruits started to arrive at Lyme. At first it was just a trickle of men that arrived at Ensign Vincent's dark green standard. This had been set up in a field above the town, and underneath the words 'Fear Nothing but God' sat Mr Barnard Browne ready to take down the recruits' names. Once the volunteer had been listed, he met a messenger waiting nearby.[68] When there was a score or so

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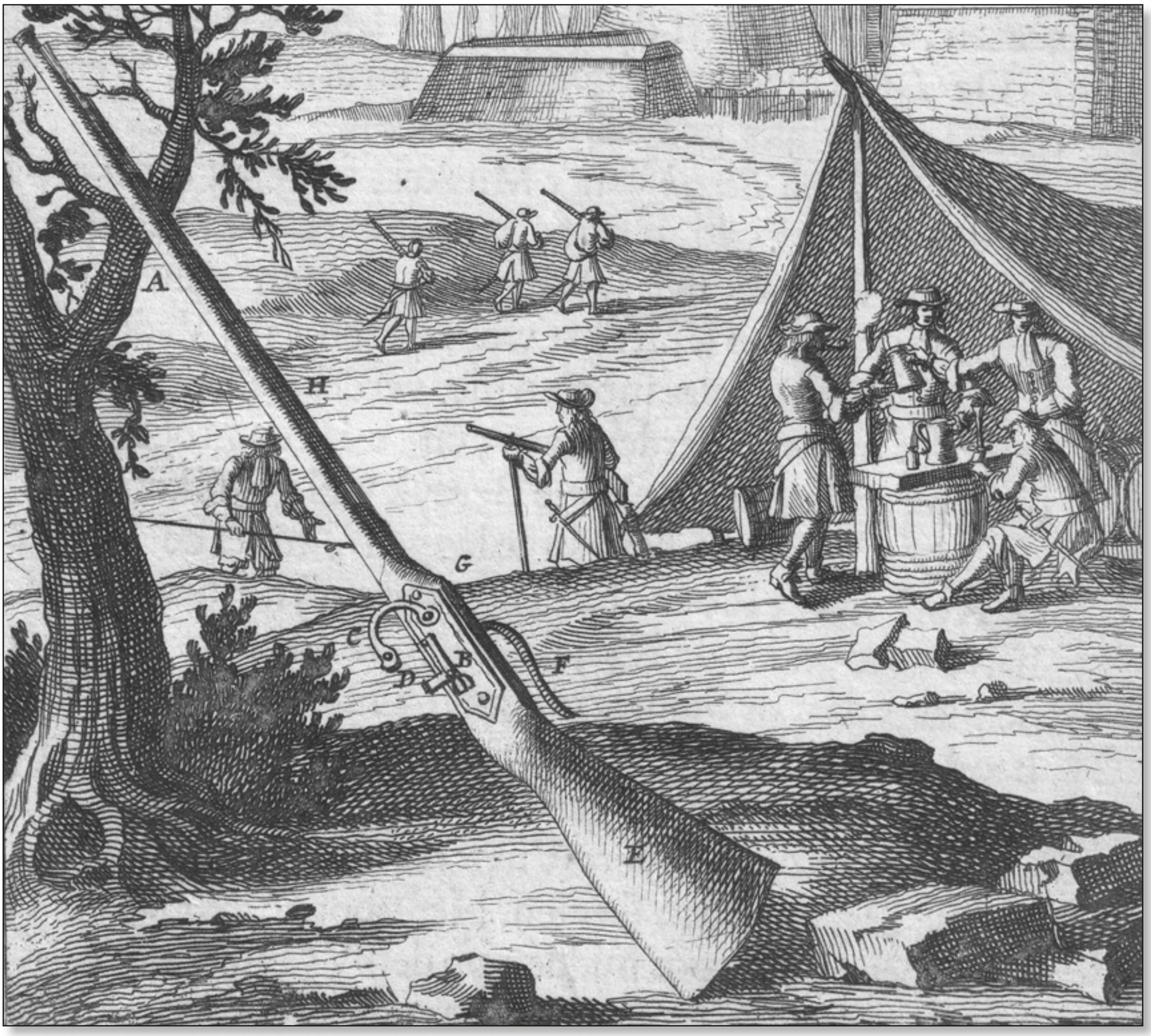
[66] BL, Harley 6845, f.254r.

[67] BL, Harley 6845, f.274.

[68] BL, Harley 6845, f.254r.



Soldiers in camp with a matchlock musket in the foreground, *c*.1685. (Author's collection)

new soldiers with the messenger, they were marched to the town hall. Here their names were checked off on the list, they were issued arms, equipment, and ammunition. The heavier men were given pikes, whilst the others were issued with new firelock or matchlock muskets, and a collar of flasks. Then the new file of soldiers was taken to one of the officers in the outposts. Slowly the files were formed into divisions, and then into companies.[69] They now started military drill and exercise. Those with any military or militia experience became the corporals and sergeants for each unit. By the end of the first day, the trickle had turned into a flood of recruits and nearly 1,000 foot, and some 200 horse had joined the new Whig army.

During the day word reached the Duke that the sheriff of Bridport was arresting men looking to reach Lyme. To assess the situation, Monmouth sent Major Manley[70] with a party of 15 troopers towards Bridport. As Manley's patrol approached Chideock they encountered a party of militia horse from Gloucestershire under Captain Haynes.[71] On seeing the riders Haynes demanded that they identify themselves. Manley replied, 'For the Duke of Monmouth.' Haynes responded with the words 'For God and King James' and then the militia fired their pistols. The Whig troopers returned with their own shots, and in the skirmish that followed two of the militia were killed. As both sides withdrew, the first casualties of the English War lay on the ground. That night the wounded Manley returned with the intelligence that the militia were gathering at Bridport. As more recruits arrived, a rumour was spreading through the Whig Army that Albemarle was approaching with the Devonshire Militia. Fearing an attack that night, Monmouth ordered three cannon, 800 foot and 150 horse to march to the edge of town. To act as a mobile reserve, Monmouth left 200 of his foot, 50 horse and the other cannon in Lyme. That night the army slept on its arms, giving some of the volunteers from Holland their first rest after two long days.

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[69] BL, Harley 6845, f.275, '… sent by a messenger with the list of their names to the town hall where the arms were & persons to give them out who immediately armed them and sent them … to the officers … where they were put into order and exercised.'

Thomas Dare arrived at Lyme early on Saturday morning mounted on a fine 'dappled grey gelding' given to him by Mr Prideaux. Dare was accompanied by 40 mounted recruits, and he was carrying bags of coin worth £500.[72] During the morning six boats landed from Devon with more supporters, and later Colonel Venner arrived with a large party of men from Taunton. Venner brought the news that Luttrell held the town with a strong militia force, and that some of the Whigs had been thrown into the prison.[73] There was also a report that a militia foot regiment had arrived in Bridport, joining the existing troop of horse. These were stopping recruits coming from West Dorset and Hampshire, including Captain Norton's squadron of horse from the New Forest, and Colonel Matthews and others coming from London.

Before Monmouth could take further action, the army needed to be modelled. The captains of the foot companies mustered their men on the green. As with the militia or trained bands, each company contained three divisions: two of 34 musketeers, and one of 32 pike.[74] Each company was commanded by a captain, two lieutenants, an ensign, two sergeants, two drummers and three corporals. As the captains had already been commissioned[75] they quickly formed their companies into the planned regiments of foot.[76]

The first was Monmouth's own regiment, with five companies under Colonel

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[70] BL, Harley 6845, f.274.

[71] BL, Add MS 41803, f.303.

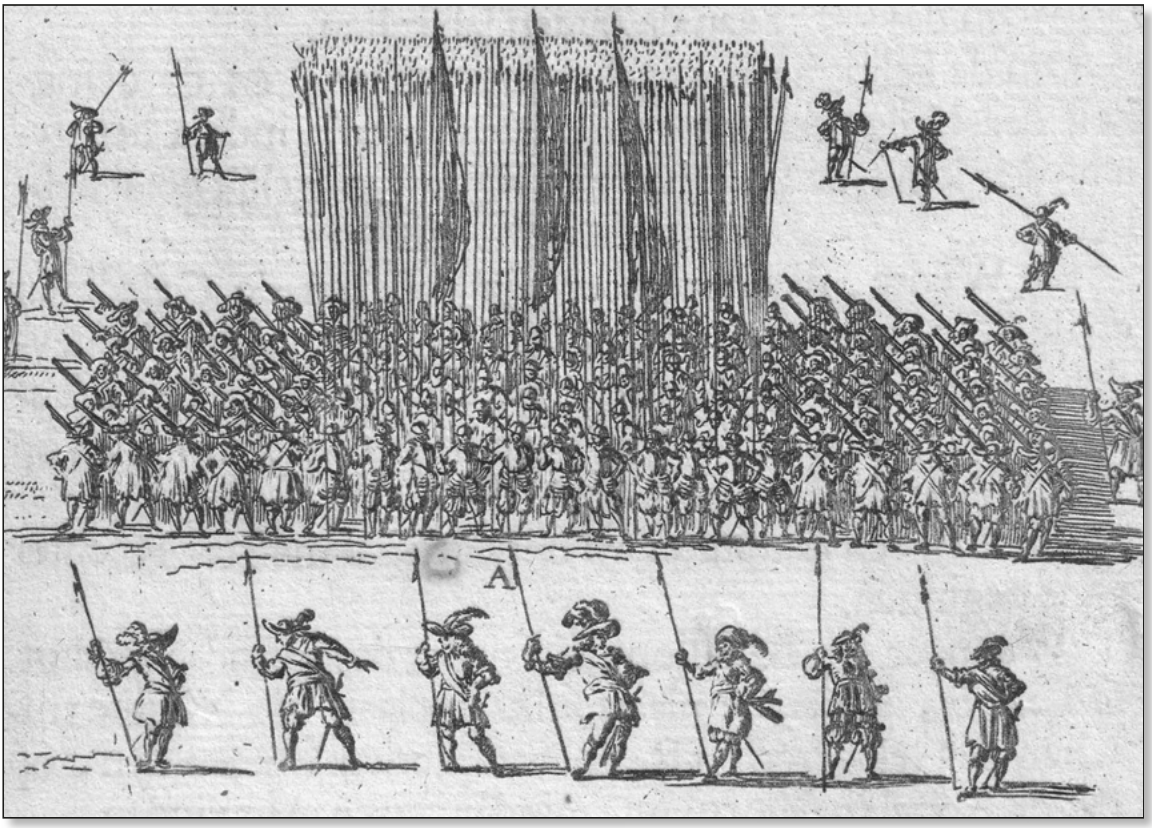
[72] BL, Add MS 62453, f.125.

[73] BL, Harley 6845, f.287.

[74] BL, Harley 6845, f.285r '… he saw about 12 companies or parcels of men in several parts of the town … these Companies one Hundred men a piece'.

[75] To speed up the mustering of the units, most of the commissions had been given out on board the *Helderenberg* during the crossing or were pre-agreed before the landing.

[76] This is based on Wade's account (see BL, Harley 6845, f.275), plus cross-references to unit strengths and the standard military practice of the time in Holland and England (see also NA, WO 24, Earl of Orrery, *A Treatise of the Art of War dedicated to the King*, and Bull, *Military Discipline*).



Forming a regiment into battalia. This image shows the three divisions, the pike in the centre and the musketeers on the wings, *c*.1685. (Author's collection)

Venner and Major Wade with red colours. Colonel Holmes, newly arrived from London, mustered his five companies with green colours. Colonel Foulkes formed his regiment with white colours, but he only had three full companies and one division. In the absence of Colonel Matthews, Major Fox started forming new companies under yellow colours, as Colonel Bovett was not able to form the Blue Regiment with the men from Taunton. For now, these men enlisted in the other regiments of foot. The horse would be organised into squadrons[77] of three troops under a major, with each troop containing 50 troopers commanded by a captain, lieutenant, quartermaster, cornet, trumpeter, and three corporals. Major Manley commanded the first squadron, with his troop, together with Captain Benjamin Hewling's (Jnr) and Captain Hucker's[78] troops. The artillery train of four light cannon was manned by Dutch and German professional gunners under Captain Anton Buyse.

Alongside Monmouth as captain general, his chief-of-staff was Colonel Brandt, the Count of Horne, an experienced Dutch officer known for his valour.[79] The general of horse was to be Forde, Lord Grey, with Colonel

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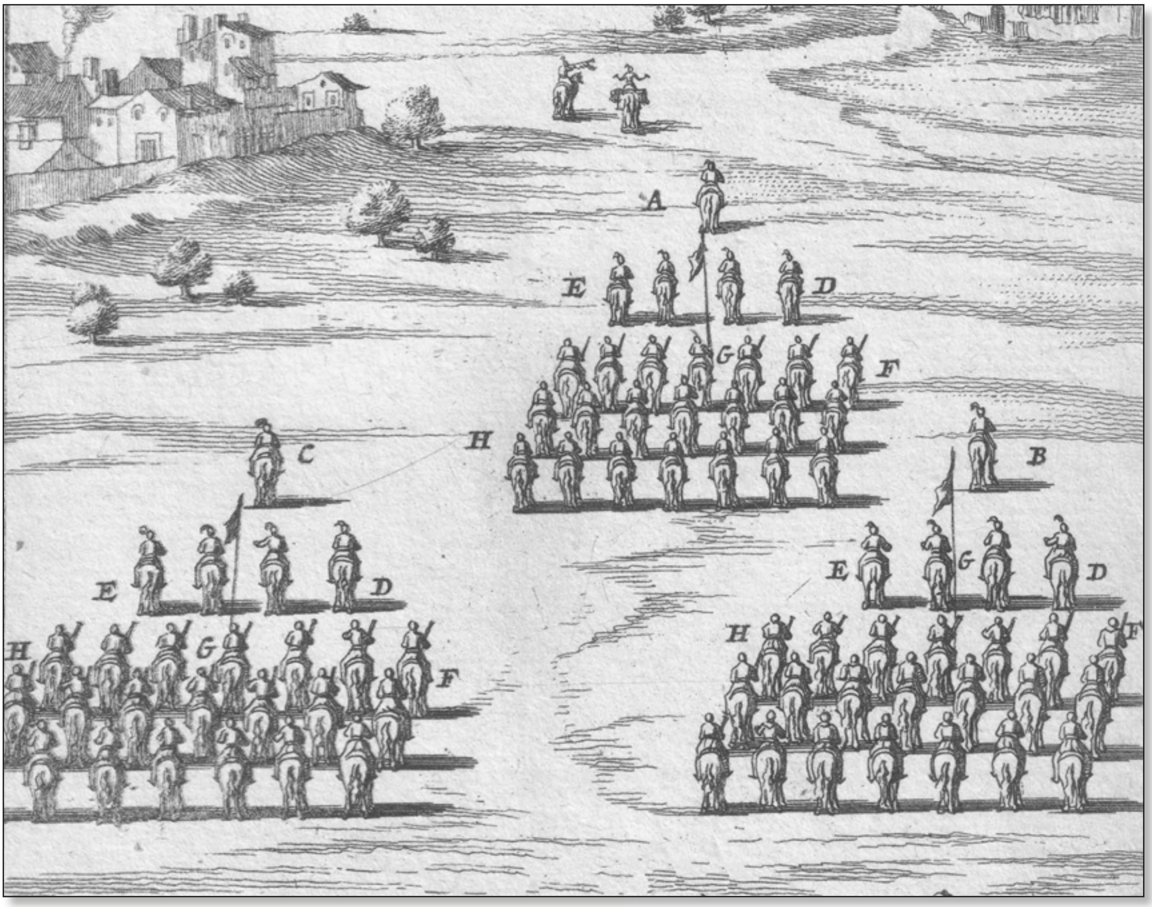
[77] BL, Harley 6845, f.275.

[78] BL, Add MS 62453, ff.62–65 and see MacDonald Wigfield, *Rebels*, p.176.

[79] In a number of histories, Captain Anton Buyse has been referred to as the Count of Horn, however after the battle of Sedgemoor a Dutch newspaper printed the following: '… following Monmouth they met Colonel Brandt, (who had been in the service of the Dutch for a long time, and then gave the name of the Comte du Hornes) …', see Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Amsterdam,



Three troops of horse arrayed in squadron formation *c*.1685. (Author's collection)

Fletcher as his brigadier of horse. The foot brigadier would be Colonel Samuel Venner. Thomas Dare was paymaster, while Major Fox acted as adjutant major for the army. These men plus the regimental colonels and majors formed the Council of War.

As the day progressed, Monmouth called an army council. With the enemy holding Taunton and Bridport, it was clear that the original plan to rendezvous at Lyme, and then march on London, would not be possible. The enemy in Bridport outnumbered the Whig army, whilst recruits from Taunton and the west of Somerset could not join while Luttrell held the town. It was also clear that Albemarle with the Devonshire Militia was marching towards Lyme. Therefore, the council agreed to march to Taunton, but to secure their flank and rear they decided to beat up the enemy quarters in Bridport. Colonel Fletcher would lead the attack, taking four companies of foot and a troop of horse. They would assault the enemy that night.

KW Pflt 12343 and Morrice, *Entring*, Vol. 3, p.20, 'and Count Horne amongst others that noted Soldier for Conduct and Valour, who commands all the rebels'. Yet Captain Buyse was from Brandenburg (Prussia), and the seat of Horne is in the United Provinces. In addition, a colonel would not take the rank of captain. One man came from Brandenburg and the other from Holland, therefore Horne and Buyse must be different people.

Dare had been at the town hall, helping with the issuing of weapons, and was returning to the Bear Inn when he met Fletcher, who was riding his grey gelding. Dare protested that Fletcher had stolen his horse, but the Scotsmen declared that as brigadier, he should have this fine animal. Dare was determined to take back his gelding and reached across to grab the reins. Fletcher drew back and Dare then reached for his sword. Seeing this act, Fletcher drew his pistol and fired at the army's paymaster. Dare fell to the ground dead.[80] Moments later Fletcher was seized and dragged to Monmouth. Before the Duke stood his senior horse commander, who had just killed his dear friend and treasurer. Monmouth had no choice but to strip Fletcher of his command and ordered him to be put under close arrest on the *Helderenberg*.

With the death of Dare, a wealthy network of Whig sympathisers was lost to Monmouth. In Dare's place, Monmouth appointed Captain Richard Goodenough as his paymaster and turned to Lord Grey to be his sole general of horse, a post that Grey and Monmouth both knew was beyond his abilities. However, it was felt that there were experienced squadron and troop commanders under Grey to compensate for his lack of knowledge. With Fletcher gone, Grey was now given overall command of the attack on Bridport. The objective was to beat up the enemy in their quarters and neutralise them as a fighting force for a few days. To support Grey, Brigadier Venner was appointed as his second. They would take three companies from the Duke's regiment: Wade's, Thompson's, and Richard Goodenough's, plus Francis Goodenough's company from Foulkes' Regiment and a troop of horse. In great secrecy, the Whig army left Lyme and reached the hill above Bridport in the early hours of 14 June. Below them the town was covered in mist.[81]

Battle of Ardkinglas – 12 June 1685

After Argyll's raid on Greenock, Dumbarton moved his army closer to Glasgow. However, it was clear that the Whigs had the initiative, and the commander-in-chief was still unwilling to act before more regulars arrived, especially the Scots Brigade from Holland. These had been reported sailing past Leith a week ago, but hopes were dashed when it turned out to be HMS *Mermaid*, which was now cruising in the waters between Kintyre and Islay.

As for the other Royal Navy vessels, the *Charlotte* had been under the guns of Dumbarton Castle since 31 May. During the strike on Greenock, Captain Clements had been pressed by the townsfolk to set sail and attack the Whigs, but even though the crew could hear and see the fighting at Greenock, the tide was against them. Lacking knowledge of the waters, the *Charlotte* had lingered at anchor under the castle walls.[82] The *Falcon* arrived at Ayr on 3 June, and after reading the reports that Argyll's fleet was closely packed together near Bute, Captain Talbot started readying a fireship. The last to

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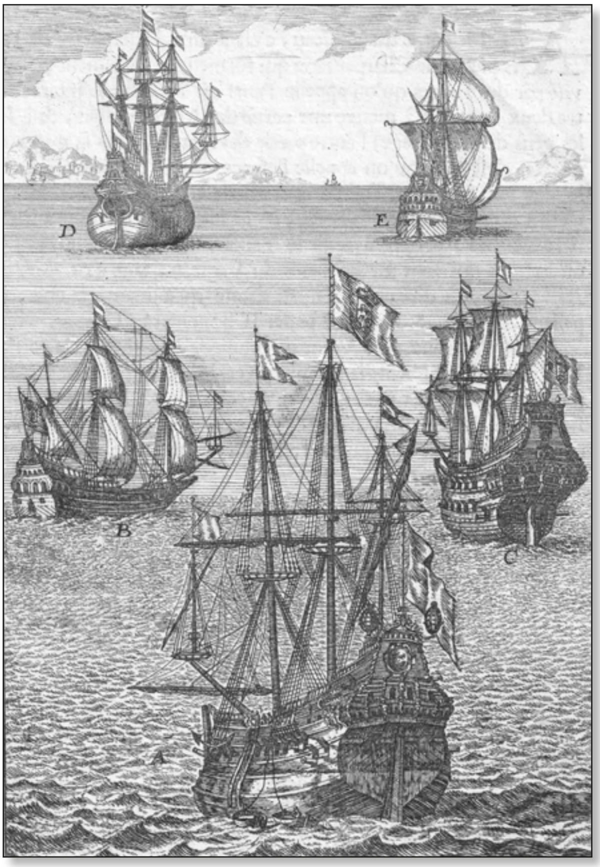
[80] BL, Add MS 62453, f.43.

[81] BL, Harley 6845, f.275r.

[82] NA, ADM 51/3810, 3 June 1685.



Seventeenth-century ships, *c*. 1683. A. Galleon or large merchantman; B. Frigate of war; C. Carrack; D. Flute or pike; E. Fireship. (Author's collection)

arrive was Captain Hamilton in the *Kingfisher* on 5 June. As senior Captain, Hamilton would be the squadron commodore, and after a meeting with Dumbarton, it was agreed that the squadron should attempt to blockade the Whigs' ships. While the *Charlotte* remained in the Clyde, the *Falcon* and *Kingfisher* started to cruise off Bute covering the shipping lanes and the *Mermaid* was ordered to join them. On the other side of the Irish sea, the Earl of Granard was waiting to reinforce Dumbarton with 1,000 Irish soldiers.[83]

At five o'clock on 9 June, the *Falcon* appeared at the entrance of Loch Ridden and was joined by the *Kingfisher* with the fireship at around 10 o'clock that evening. From the earthwork on Eilean Dearg, the Whig gunners fired some shots at the Navy vessels. However, at such long range the balls simply bounced off the wooden hulls of the enemy warships. The arrival of such powerful vessels forced Argyll into action: his first order was for his fleet to attack at once. However, the Dutch crews openly refused to waste their lives in such a futile action, remaining resolutely against any form of naval engagement. This rebuff was the turning point for Argyll, who had faced opposition and dissent within his council at every step of the campaign. If he could not attack the Navy, he would attack Atholl. Leaving Eilean Dearg under Lapness with three companies of foot, Argyll marched north with the bulk of his army to attack Inveraray and defeat Atholl.

On 10 June,[84] Colonel Rumbold with his mixed brigade of around 400 men arrived at Strachur,[85] and from here they advanced up the coast road along Loch Fyne. After passing through St Catherines, the final stretch of the route was within sight of the enemy at Inveraray, just a mile away over the loch. Continuing towards Loch Fyne head they reached the small castle of Ardkinglas, and settlement of Cairndow. This position blocked the road into the Glendaruel valley and afforded good views down the loch and across to Inveraray. From here Rumbold could watch for any Government movement and seal off Inveraray from Glasgow. To the north of Ardkinglas Castle, the fast flowing Kinglas Water cut across the road, blocking easy access into the enclosed ground behind which Rumbold's men now encamped. As a veteran of Cromwell's army, Rumbold ensured that the Whigs secured their position and began patrolling the road back down to Strachur. That evening, he

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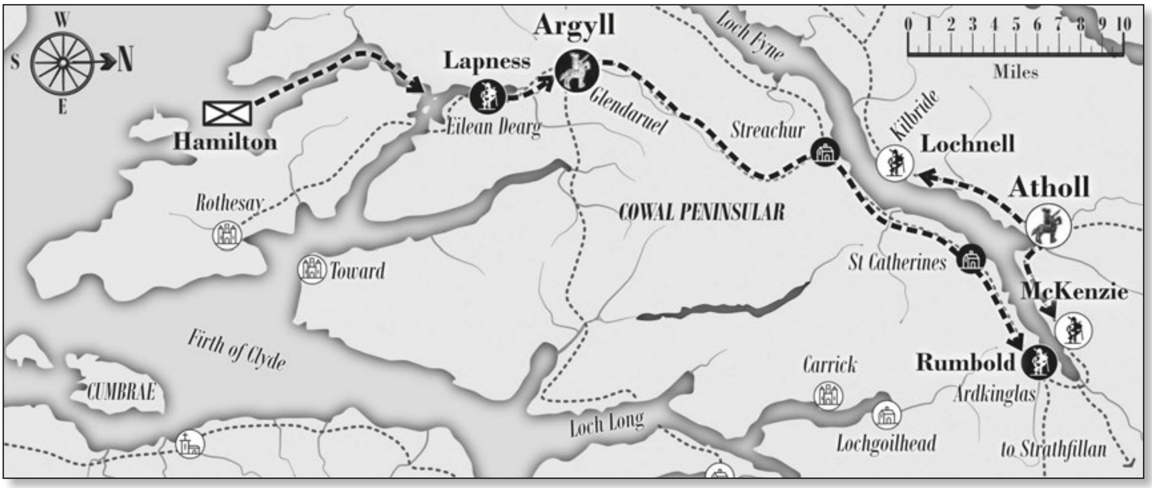
[83] BA, 29.I(4), f.84.

[84] This date is based on letters dated 10 June, see BA, 29.I(4), f.95.

[85] Marchmont Papers, Vol. 3, p.51.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Hamilton
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Kilbride
Lochnell
Atholl
Rothesay
COWAL PENINSULAR
Toward
St Catherines
McKenzie
Firth of Clyde
Rumbold
Ardkinglas
CUMBRAE
Carrick
Loch Long
Lochgoilhead
to Strathfillan

Argyll seals the Cowal Peninsula, 11 June 1685. (Author's artwork)

placed Captain Duncanson and his company on the outcrop called Rubha Mor. This location gave Duncanson a clear view down the loch and was only 500 paces from the opposite shore. To protect the army's rear, Rumbold also dispatched a party of horse down to St Catherines[86] to watch for movement across the loch from Inveraray.

Across the loch, the lookouts in Inveraray had spotted Rumbold's men moving south through St Catherines, and that evening Atholl ordered Captain McKenzie with 300 soldiers[87] to block any attempt by the Whigs to advance around the loch head. However, Atholl's primary fear was that Argyll's large fleet would sail up Loch Fyne and land to the south of Inveraray near Kilbride.[88] To counter this, Atholl had deployed three lines of defence. Closest to the ferry landing were 15 Perthshire horse under Lord William Murray.[89] These troopers were covered by a company of Maclean Highlanders at the crossing of Douglas Water. Finally, the road into Inveraray was guarded by a Highland company of Brea of Mar men. It was hoped that these concentric lines of defence would give Atholl enough warning of any pending attack. Atholl had also received a communication from Dumbarton advising him that he 'need not fight but as you think fit, and I intreat you not to precipitate or hazard anything.'[90] With this Atholl elected to sit back, rather than make any offensive moves.

That evening Lieutenant Colonel Buchan from Lord Mar's Regiment of Foot[91] had arrived in Inveraray. He had been sent by Dumbarton to aid

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[86] BA, 29.I(4a), f.10, 'that very night we discerned him marching back towards St Catherines'.

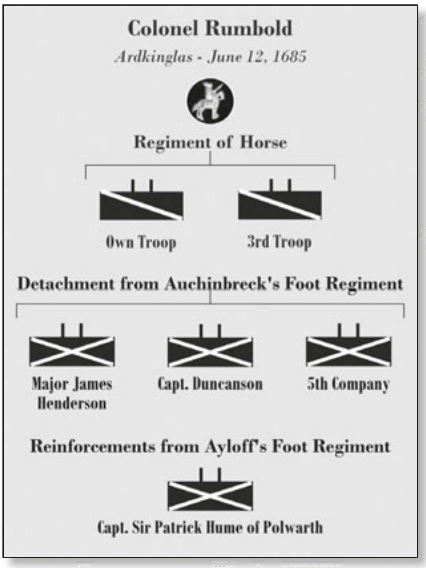
[87] These were probably regulars from the three companies of the Earl of Mar's Regiment and a detachment from Lord Murray's Horse.

[88] BA, 29.I(4), f.95, f.97 and 29.I(4a), f.10.

[89] Some histories refer to these men being from the Lifeguards. However, the only officer in the Lifeguards was Lieutenant Colonel George Murray, whilst it was Lord William Murray who commanded this troop.

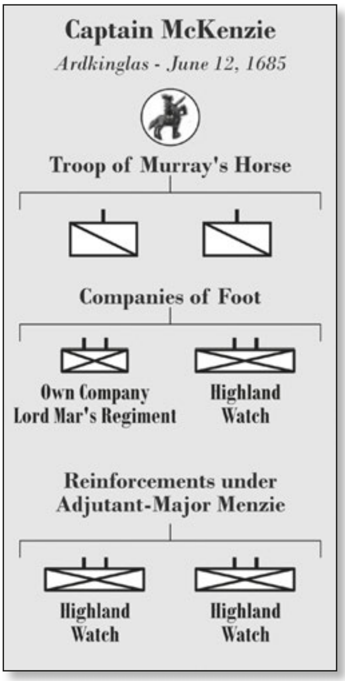
[90] BA, 29.I(4), f.92.

[91] He is described as Major General Buchan in *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families*, Vol. 1, p.234, however I can only find a Lieutenant Colonel Buchan in the Scottish service at this time.


Colonel Rumbold
Ardkinglas - June 12, 1685
Regiment of Horse
Own Troop
3rd Troop
Detachment from Auchinbreck's Foot Regiment
Major James Henderson
Capt. Duncanson
5th Company
Reinforcements from Ayloff's Foot Regiment
Capt. Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth

Atholl in all military matters and heard the reports of Whigs crossing the loch. Possibly without consulting his new commander, Buchan ordered Lochnell with 200 Highlanders to march south and hold the ferry.[92] Expecting the worst, Lochnell ordered his men to be ready for a fight as they marched south. Close to Inveraray they encountered the Brea of Mar men who merely watched them hike through their line. But noone thought to inform Lochnell that the Macleans were holding the ground a mile or so further down the road.

As Lochnell advanced, his scouts reported that the enemy were just ahead. As the Highlanders readied themselves for combat and crept forward, disaster was averted when one of Lochnell's officers recognised the Maclean men as friends. Returning swords to scabbards, Lochnell marched through the Macleans and on towards the ferry. This time they spied mounted troops ahead, possibly dressed in Lowland garb, and the game was on. Once more Lochnell's men readied muskets, drew swords and moved forward. They charged the enemy, and within moments five of Lord Murray's troopers were dead, and several more wounded. As the death toll rose, a call from the dark stopped the fighting, the horsemen had finally been recognised as friends, but it was too late.[93]


Captain McKenzie
Ardkinglas - June 12, 1685
Troop of Murray's Horse
Companies of Foot
Own Company Lord Mar's Regiment
Highland Watch
Reinforcements under Adjutant-Major Menzie
Highland Watch
Highland Watch

This unfortunate incident was over in seconds, but it had a demoralising impact on Atholl's army. Rumours quickly spread that Lochnell, a cousin of Argyll, had deliberately attacked the Murray men, and would likely do it again. It was whispered that you should never have Lochnell at your back if you faced Argyll in open battle. It was this tainted view of events that reached the Secret Council in Edinburgh. Upon this information they wrote to Atholl with a warning about Lochnell, further undermining the trust in the Campbells. For Atholl this incident demonstrated that his army, now numbering over 4,000,[94] was disorganised and in need of modelling. His only reliable men were the three companies of Lord Mar's, Lord Murray's Troop of Horse and three or four companies of Highland Watch. Therefore, it must have been with some relief that he had Dumbarton's orders to avoid an engagement with the enemy.[95]

McKenzie with his 300 men[96] had advanced along the north bank of Loch Fyne and possibly encamped at Dunderave Point. From this spot he could clearly see that the Whigs were encamped at Ardkinglas, but could not see their strengths. Leaving some foot and horse watching Ardkinglas, McKenzie returned to Atholl with his report of the Whig movements. However, Atholl was unsure if those seen at St Catherines that

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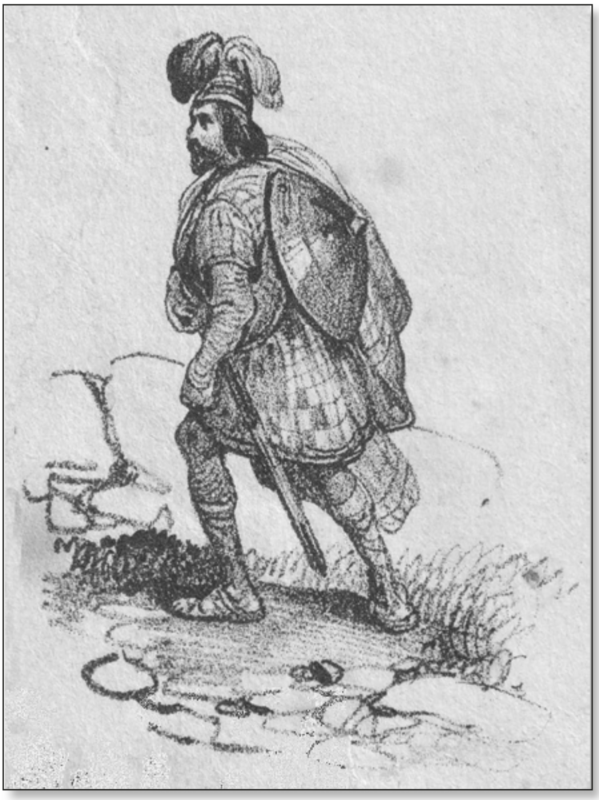
[92] BA, 29.I(4), f.95.

[93] Erskine, *Journal*, p.128 and Atholl, *Chronicles*, Vol. 1, p.234.

[94] BA, 29.I(4a), f.10.

[95] BA, 29.I(4), f.62.

[96] BA, 29.I(4a), f.10, 'On this [June 11], that night, I ordered Suddie McKenzie with 300 men to march up our side of the water'.



Highland soldier, *c*.1700. (Author's collection)

evening were Argyll's army. Atholl now sent a boat south to find out about the situation at Eilean Dearg and sent McKenzie back to watch the enemy around Ardkinglas.

Early on 12 June McKenzie advanced to Clachan, and from here sent a boat with eight men across the loch to better understand the enemy's dispositions.[97] However, Captain Duncanson saw the boat departing from the far shore and launched his own vessel to investigate. The larger Whig vessel moved to intercept McKenzie's boat, and forced the Government soldiers onto the Whig side of the loch.[98] Quickly disembarking, McKenzie's scouts ran up the bank to take shelter in an enclosure they had seen on a small rise halfway between Ardkinglas and the loch head.[99] This position was some 1,200 paces from the Whig positions, Rumbold saw an opportunity to capture the Government men and sent out a party of horse to seize them. However, the scouts had found a strong position which enabled them to hold the Whig horse at bay for the moment. Intent on victory and seeing the situation not going in his favour, Rumbold ordered Captain Duncanson with his company of foot out to support his horse.[100]

Meanwhile, from his position on the opposite bank of the Loch, McKenzie could see the danger that his scouts were in. The experienced officer now ordered a division of 50 men around the loch head to secure the scout' route of escape.[101] The Government detachment reached the enclosure just in time to engage Duncanson's newly arrived company and McKenzie's men now started a fighting retreat around the loch head back to their commander. McKenzie had watched as two companies of Whig foot advanced up the valley side to outflank the Government men before they reached safety. However, the reinforced scouts managed to withdraw in good order and cross the river before the trap was closed. With the enemy coming on in force McKenzie drew up his main body in line across the rolling plain on the western side of the loch head near the village of Clachan.[102] The small army covered the approximately 250 paces from the loch shore to the chapel that sat on the hillside.

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[97] BA, 29.I (4a), f.10, 'Suddie sent a boat with 8 men to scout the enemy'.

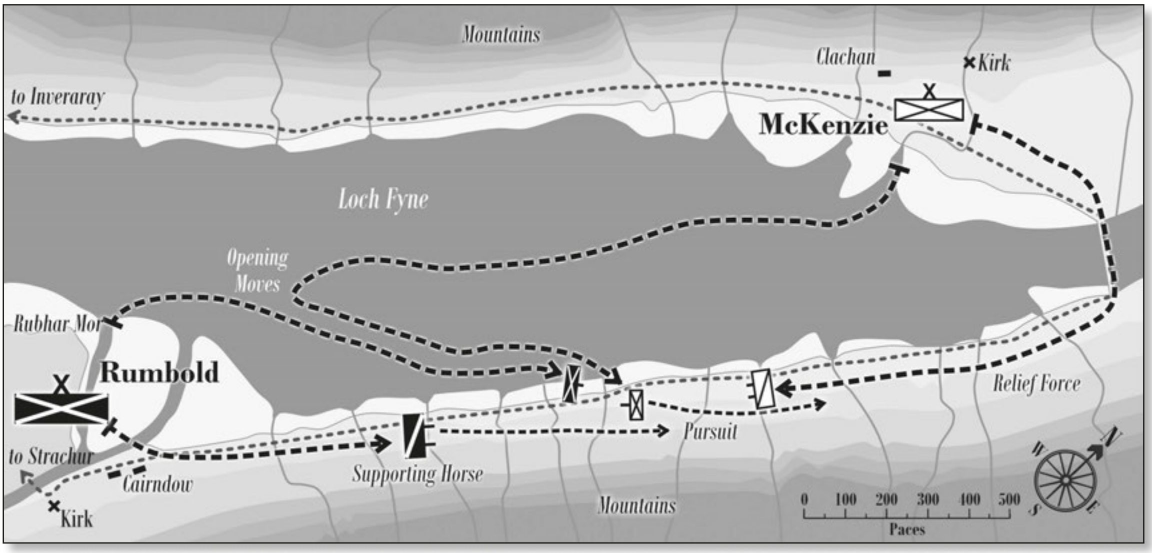
[98] Woodrow, *Sufferings*, Vol. 4, p.293, 'Duncanson manned out a boat and chased the enemy to with pistol shot of the town'.

[99] BA, 29.I(4a), f.10, described as a hill, and may have been at Glaschoine, 'the 8 men reteired to a hill, & secured themselves from the horse'.

[100] BA, 29.I(4a), f.10, 'but a bodie of ffoot being sent to cut them off'.

[101] BA, 29.I(4a), f.10, 'Suddie sent off ffiftie men to bring them off'.

[102] Woodrow, *Sufferings*, Vol. 4, p.293, 'and the enemy, finding their mistake, halt at head of Lochfine'.



The first clash at the Battle of Ardkinglas, 12 June 1685. (Author's artwork)

Rumbold did not refuse the offer to fight the Government army, and bringing up his two troops of horse he marched around the loch head to face McKenzie's battle line.[103] The small skirmish now turned into a major engagement. Using his two horse troops and superior numbers Rumbold must have extended his line to overlap McKenzie's left flank. Repeatedly, McKenzie was forced backwards up the road and into the rolling hills.[104] But with McKenzie's right flank resting on the loch, and the left on rocky crags interspersed with streams, Rumbold's advantage in numbers was lost. On Rumbold's right the fighting was now extremely hard going, as McKenzie's men contested each ridge and crag.[105]

Argyll with 10 companies of foot and his son's horse troop was marching from Strachur, when the distant sound of musket fire rolled down the loch. The Earl arrived at Ardkinglas in time to see the battle unfolding a mile away at the loch head. It is possible that he had seen the Government reinforcements advancing up the loch side, in parallel to his own marching army. Sending Polwarth's volunteer company forward to support Rumbold, Argyll waited for the rest of his men to come up before advancing against the Government position. As he advanced, Argyll left Auchinbreck with several companies of foot to act as a rearguard at Ardkinglas, and then set off to support Rumbold, with six fresh companies of foot, and a troop of horse.[106]

Rumbold placed Polwarth and his fresh company on the right flank and they quickly made an impact. After taking over from the exhausted men fighting on that flank, they started to push McKenzie's men back. Polwarth

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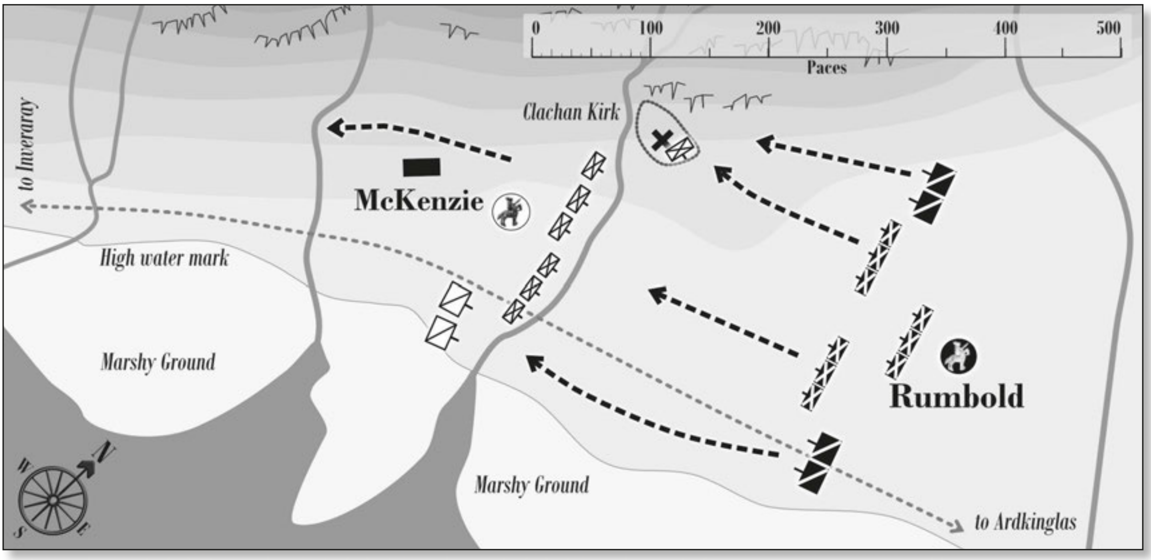
[103] Marchmont Papers, Vol. 3, p.51, 'Athole's men came marching about the Lochhead a short way towards them; they engaged'.

[104] BA, 29.I(4a), f.10, 'So he returned to stronger ground, but wes not able to stand, it being warmly attacqued by Rumbold'.

[105] Marchmont Papers, Vol. 3, p.51, 'could not force them to a close fightor from their strong grounds, where they made a show of salying and skirmishing'.

[106] BA, 29.I(4a), f.10, 'Be this tyme the whole body of Argiles people were come up'.



Rumbold attacks McKenzie near Ardkinglas – 12 June 1685. (Author's artwork)

made painful progress against the Government soldiers, as his 'men assaulted, they [the enemy] took to the rocks and strong grounds.'[107] The Whigs made repeated attacks, but the ground was unforgiving. Each rush just pushed the enemy into stronger and tighter positions.

Following on from McKenzie's first reports, Atholl had dispatched Major Menzie with his two companies of Highland Watch to reinforce the hard-pressed Government troops.[108] These fresh companies arrived in time to enable McKenzie to launch a counter-attack on the left flank. McKenzie now ordered part of his line to withdraw up a rise, and the Whigs followed up thinking they had finally broken the enemy.[109] The fresh Government soldiers charged downhill, taking the Whigs by surprise, and pushed their exhausted enemy back towards the loch head and out into the open plain.[110] However, McKenzie's came face to face with Argyll's new companies and once more the Government army was outnumbered. Captain McKenzie now sent several boatloads of men across the loch to outflank the Whigs.[111]

Back in Ardkinglas, Auchinbreck saw the enemy boats coming across the loch and launched his own boats. The Whigs had the better of the ensuing firefight and pursued the enemy vessels back down the loch. With dusk coming on the Whigs watched the Government army retreating down the road towards Inveraray. Realising that any further pursuit would be to the enemy's advantage, Argyll withdrew to the camp at Ardkinglas. Although both sides had lost about 20 men, it was a Whig victory and Argyll held the initiative.

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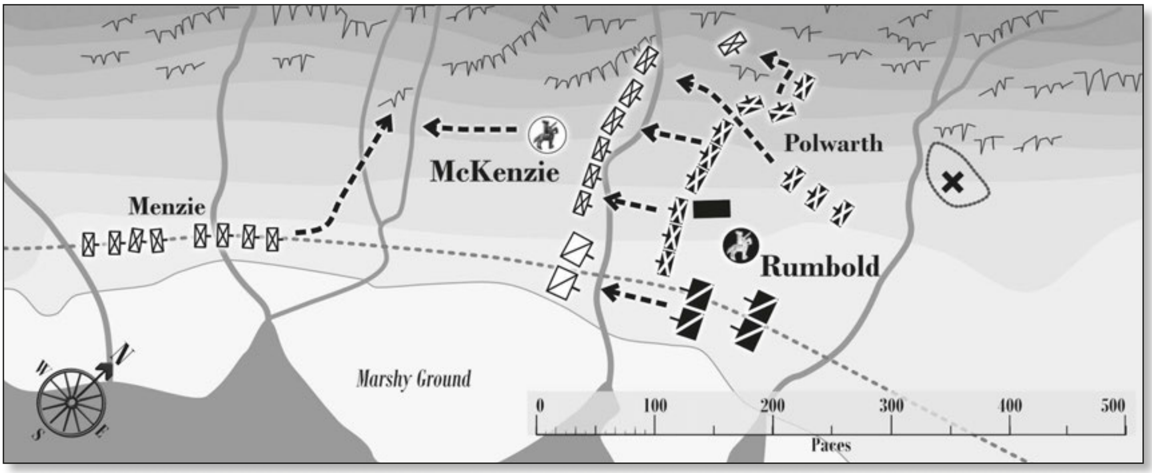
[107] Marchmont Papers, Vol. 3, p.52.

[108] BA, 29.I(4a), f.10, 'I sent Major Menzies with 300 to inforce Suddie'. This was either the aid major of Mar's Regiment, Lieutenant Menzie or Major Menzie commander of the Highland Watch from Inverlochy.

[109] BA, 29.I(4a), f.10, 'Takeing for retreat they advanced in haist up the hill'.

[110] BA, 29.I(4a), f.10, 'Descended brisquely on the enemie and the enemierunn down the hill to the plaine'.

[111] Woodrow, *Sufferings* Vol. 4, p.293, 'sent off some of his men in boats, to land upon the earls rear'.



Rumbold pushes McKenzie from crag to crag near Ardkinglas – 12 June 1685. (Author's artwork)

While the Whig soldiers celebrated their victory, around the table at Ardkinglas Castle the Whig Council of War planned their next move. Argyll found himself in a powerful position. From this base he could attack Inveraray, advance into the Highlands or even strike south to Glasgow just 50 miles down the Glen Croe pass.[112] The council's discussion was cut short when a message arrived from Eilean Dearg. It was not good news: the *Falcon* and *Kingfisher* had closed the channel into Loch Ridden and were threatening the castle. The Whig gunners in the battery had opened fire, but the small-calibre guns had made no impression on the warships.[113] It was obvious that the enemy ships were waiting for a high tide before launching an attack on the stronghold. With this sudden danger at his rear Argyll had no choice but to rush back to Eilean Dearg with three companies of foot. Following close behind were Rumbold and Auchinbreck, with orders to take up a defensive position at Glendaruel. The attack on Inveraray would have to wait.

Whitehall – 13 June 1685

In Whitehall, the news that Monmouth had landed at Lyme resulted in a flurry of activity in the Government. Sunderland sent orders to the fleet in Portsmouth that all available warships should sail to Lyme,[114] and that all officers of regiments and garrisons should rejoin their units.[115] With the West Country militia already mustering, all regular units on the English establishment now moved onto a war footing. On the death of Charles, James had inherited a small English army with three troops of Lifeguards, one regiment of horse, one regiment of dragoons, two regiments of Guards and five regiments of foot. In addition to these units there were 24 independent companies of foot spread

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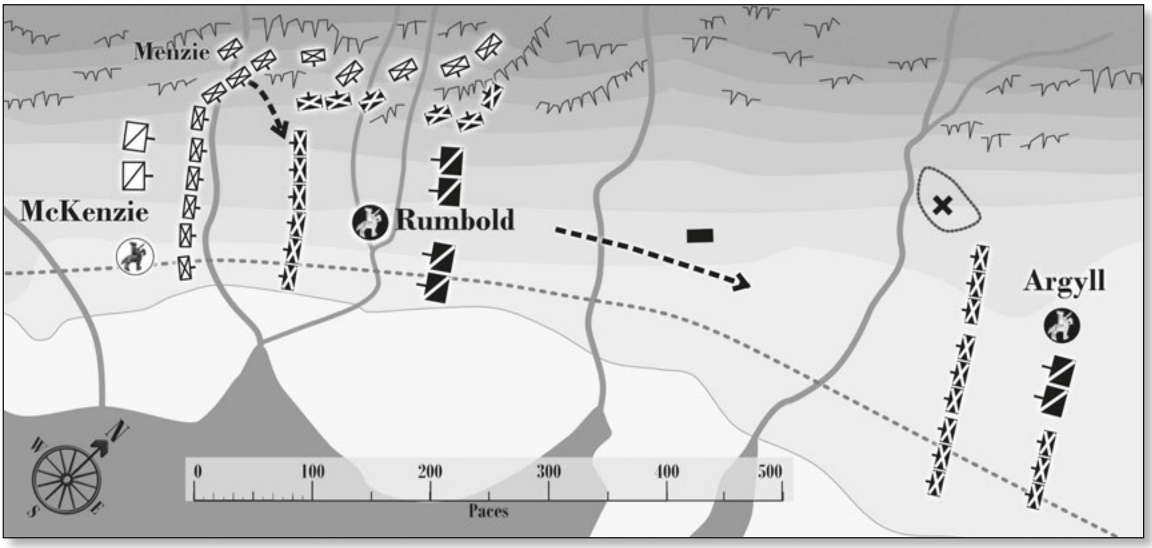
[112] BA, 29.I(4a), ff.10–11. That evening Atholl's council of war acknowledged that the enemy could either advance into the Highlands or march south-east to Stirling.

[113] NA, ADM 51/345, 12 June 1685.

[114] NA, ADM107/374, f.253.

[115] NA, WO 5/1, f.44.



McKenzie's counter-attack forces Rumbold back to Argyll's line near Ardkinglas – 12 June 1685. (Author's artwork)

across the major garrison towns. In June 1685, Sunderland and his office issued the marching orders, statutes, and commissions to the army. Reporting to Sunderland was William Blathwayt who ensured that all units received their orders as directed. The master general of the ordnance was Lord Dartmouth, and his office was responsible for the supply of weapons and equipment to the navy and army. Dartmouth and the Board of Ordnance were also to provide a train of artillery in times of war.

Since the removal of Monmouth from his post as captain general in 1679, this senior position had remained vacant, falling back on the seniority of colonels starting with the Lifeguard troops. In June 1685 as both the 1st and 2nd troops were commanded by Lord Lieutenants of counties,[116] the senior officer of the English establishment was the colonel of the 3rd Troop of Lifeguards, Lewis Duras, Earl of Feversham. A French Huguenot by birth, Feversham had served under Monmouth in the Third Dutch War and was nephew to the great French feneral Turenne. With the colonel of the Royal Regiment of Horse being an honorary title, the next in line was the colonel of the Royal Regiment of Dragoons: John, Lord Churchill.[117] Like Feversham, Churchill had fought under Monmouth in Holland and served very briefly in Tangiers, but he owed his swift promotion from ensign in 1667[118] to second-in-command of the army in 1685 to both Monmouth and James.[119] Like Churchill, most of the general officers and senior field officers had served under Monmouth in Europe. They

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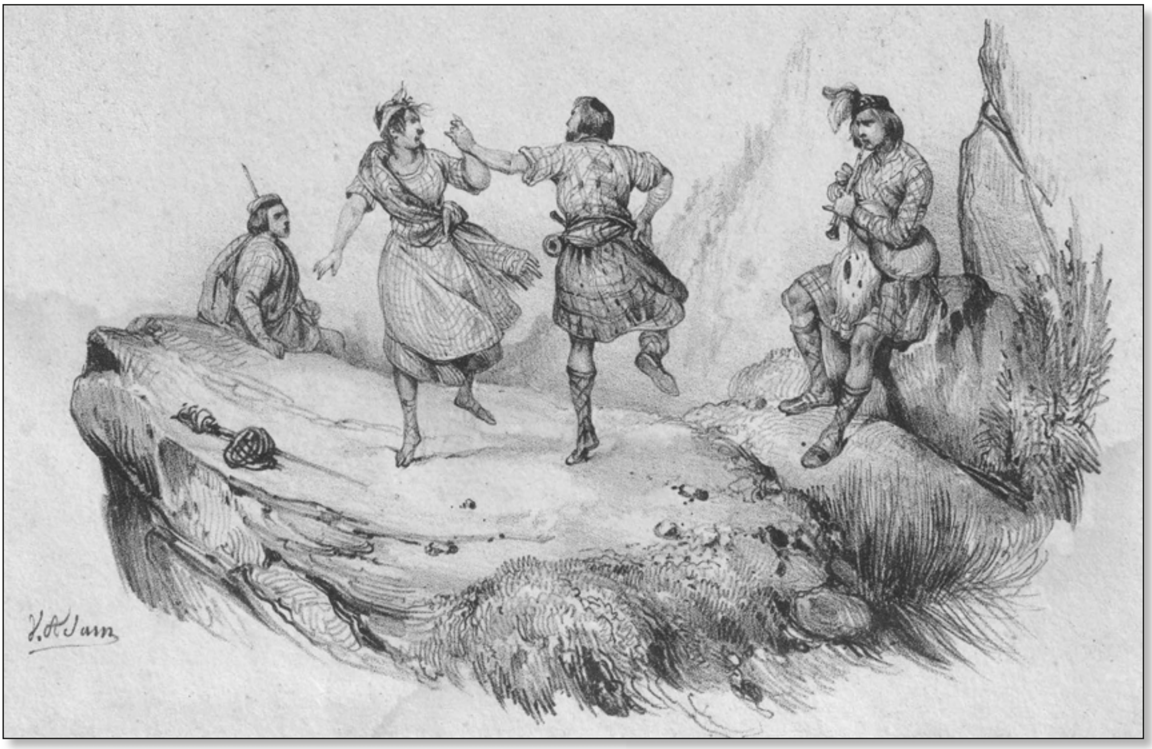
[116] George, Duke of Northumberland was colonel of the Second Troop, but he was also a Lord Lieutenant, therefore it fell to Feversham as colonel of the 3rd Troop of Lifeguards.

[117] The Earl of Oxford was colonel of the Royal Regiment of Horse but not a captain, and therefore only an honorary colonel.

[118] Churchill was commissioned as an ensign on 14 September 1667.

[119] Historians have much play around the relationship between Feversham and Churchill, and Churchill's upset over Feversham taking command. However, noone has considered the fact the Feversham had military seniority so, dare I state, why would Churchill expect to outrank his superior in the field, especially as Churchill had never held an independent command?



Highlanders dancing *c*.1700. (Author's collection)

had learnt their craft in the French, not Dutch service, under both Turenne and Monmouth, therefore many knew their new foe's military thinking intimately.

The first step for James and the commanders at Horse Guards was to send a covering force close enough to Lyme to protect London and support the militia if needed. Skelton's intelligence indicated that there could be uprisings in Bristol, Chichester, and Chester. Therefore, rather than rushing to intercept the unpredictable Monmouth, the wise policy pushed by James was to evaluate the enemy movement, and it was agreed to send a brigade to Salisbury. This Wiltshire city was on the main road from the capital to Lyme, via Dorchester. It was also just south of the main western road that ran through Andover, crossed the great plain, and on to Warminster. Therefore, from a strategic perspective Salisbury made the perfect forward base from which Monmouth could be observed. As second to Feversham, Churchill was selected to lead this brigade, and that evening prepared himself for his first independent command.

The closest infantry formation to the Whigs landing at Lyme was the Queen Dowager's Regiment of Foot under Colonel Percy Kirke.[120] Kirke's Regiment was normally quartered in Plymouth, but in April five companies, including the grenadiers, had marched to London. On 12 June these companies were ordered to Oxford. They had reached Staines when these orders were countermanded with instructions to now march to Salisbury.[121]

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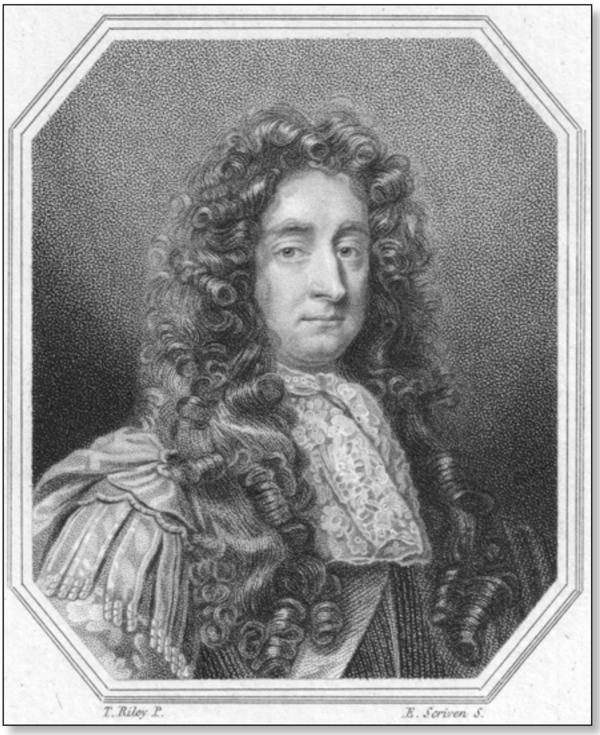
[120] NA, WO 5/1, f.39.

[121] The companies of Captain Thomas St John, Captain George Wingfield, Captain Charles Wingfield, Captain William Matthews (grenadiers), and Kirke's own under Lieutenant Captain


T. Riley P.
E. Scriven S.

Louis Duras, Earl of Feversham, colonel of 3rd Troop of Lifeguards and senior officer of the British Army. (Author's collection)

Kirke's Regiment had been part of the Tangiers garrison, arriving back in England in November 1683.[122] By June 1684 it had been reduced from 16 companies to 11.[123] When they marched from Plymouth, in April 1685, each company contained 50 soldiers, and each had 16 men armed with pikes, six armed with firelocks, and 28 carrying matchlocks. The company officers were comprised of a captain, lieutenant, ensign, two sergeants, three corporals, and a drummer. The 50 grenadiers were armed with hatchets, firelocks, and carried a pouch of hand grenades. This company had a captain, two lieutenants, three sergeants, three corporals, and two drummers. On 13 June an order was issued for the Tower to send the grenadiers 50 bayonets with belts,[124] which may have arrived when they reached Salisbury. Therefore, the establishment strength of Kirke's Regiment was 250 men.[125]

Four troops of the Royal Regiment of Horse were also ordered to head to Salisbury. This regiment was commonly called the Oxford Blues after its honorary colonel the Earl of Oxford, and the soldiers' blue coats. This regiment had a total of eight troops, plus an adjutant and surgeon. Each troop of the Oxford Blues had 50 troopers, commanded by a captain, lieutenant, cornet, quartermaster, three corporals, and two trumpeters.[126] Each trooper had back, breast and pot helmet, while being armed with a sword, pair of pistols and a carbine. Captain Sir John Parsons' and Captain Walter Littleton's troops were currently at Kingston, and Churchill joined them on the evening of 13 June. However, the other two troops of Oxford Blues were further away, Captain Sandys' Troop was at Chichester and Captain Sir Charles Wyndham's was in Portsmouth. Allowing for the speed of a horse, these two troops would not be setting off towards Salisbury until 14 June, and Sandys had an extra day's ride.

These four troops of Oxford's horse were to be joined by two troops of Royal Dragoons. The Royal Regiment of Dragoons was commanded by Churchill and had six troops, each of 50 soldiers. On 13 October 1684 the regiment had been made senior to the foot regiments and aligned with

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Berry.

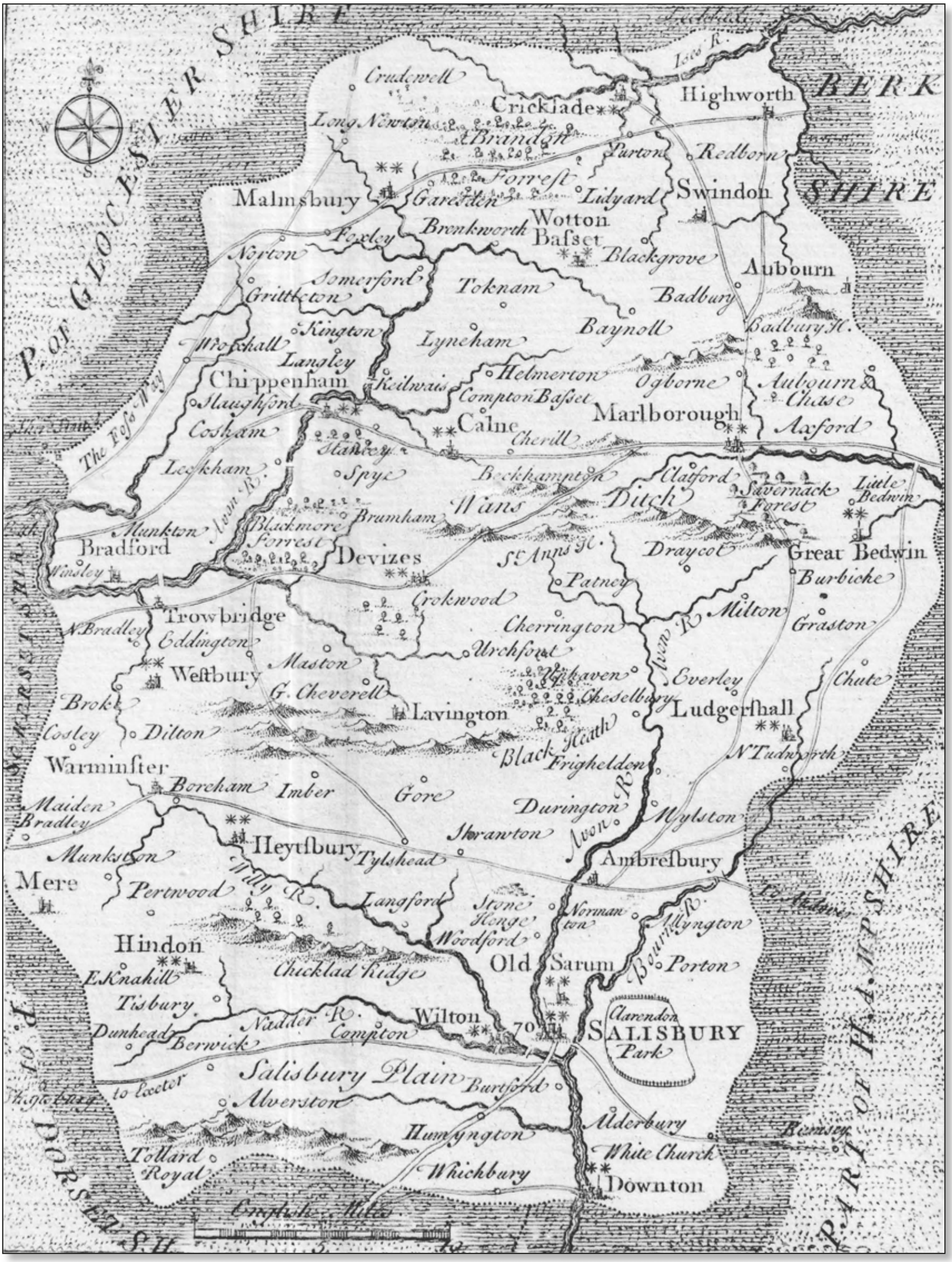
[122] See NA, WO 5/1, CR f.19. For some reason, many historians have Kirke's Regiment arriving straight off the boat from Tangier, and then off to fight in the campaign. In fact, they were in garrison for 19 months before the campaign, and this would have mellowed their rough spirit.

[123] NA WO 24/7/6.

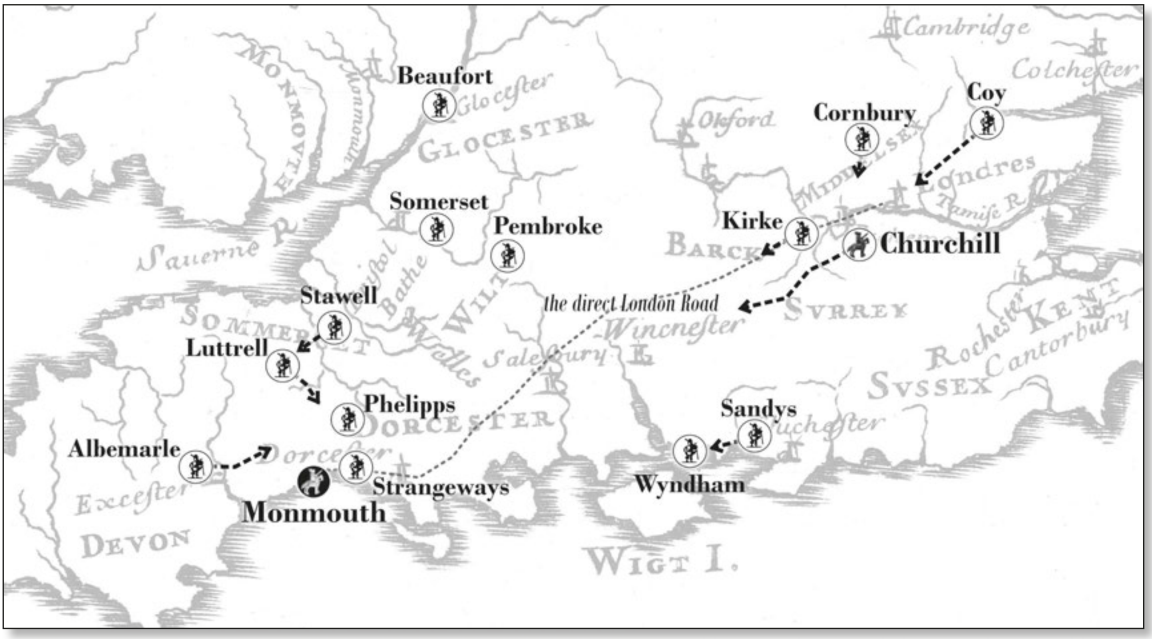
[124] NA WO 47/15 f.22.

[125] NA WO 24/7/6 f.5. They do not appear to have received an order to increase their establishment size.

[126] NA, WO 24/7, f.3 and NA, WO 5/1, JR f.45, f.48. The King's Troop had an additional kettledrummer.


Part of Gloceſter Shire
Berk Shire
Part of Hampshire
Dorſet Sh
Somerſet
Crudewell
Cricklade
Highworth
Long Newton
Brandon
Purton
Redborn
Forreſt
Malmsbury
Garſden
Lidyard
Swindon
Wotton Baſset
Bronkworth
Foxley
Norton
Blackgrove
Aubourn
Somerford
Toknam
Badbury
Grittleton
Kington
Lyneham
Baynoll
Badbury H.
Wroxhall
Langley
Helmerton
Ogborne
Aubourn Chaſe
Chippenham
Keilwais
Compton Baſset
Marlborough
Slaughford
Calne
Cherill
Axford
The Foſs Way
Coskam
Stanley
Leekham
Spye
Beckhampton
Clatford
Savernack Forest
Little Bedwin
Avon R.
Wans Ditch
Munkton
Blackmore Forrest
Brumham
Bradford
Winsley
Devizes
St Anns H.
Draycot
Great Bedwin
Patney
Burbiche
Crokwood
Trowbridge
Milton
N. Bradley
Eddington
Cherrington
Graston
Urchfont
Maston
Westbury
Upavon
Everley
Chute
G. Cheverell
Cheselbury
Ludgerſhall
Broke
Lavington
Cosley
Dilton
Black Heath
N Tudworth
Warminſter
Frigheldon
Boreham
Imber
Gore
Maiden Bradley
Durington
Wylston
Heytsbury
Shrawton
Munkston
Tylshead
Ambreſbury
Mere
Pertwood
Willy R.
Langford
Stone Henge
Normanton
Allyngton
Bourn R.
Hindon
Woodford
Old Sarum
Porton
E.Knahill
Chicklad Ridge
Tisbury
Wilton
Clarendon Park
Nadder R.
Compton
Dunhead
Berwick
70
SALISBURY
Salisbury Plain
Burtford
to Exeter
Alverston
Alderbury
Humyngton
White Church
Tollard Royal
Whichbury
Downton
Ramsey
English Miles
5
10

Wiltshire *c*.1742, showing the roads into Salisbury. (Author's collection)


Cambridge
Colchester
Beaufort
Glocester
Coy
Cornbury
Oxford
Monmouth
GLOCESTER
Londres
Tamise R.
Somerset
Pembroke
Kirke
Churchill
Sauerne R.
BARCK
Bristol
Bathe
Stawell
the direct London Road
SVRREY
SOMMERSET
Wincester
WILT
Luttrell
Salesbury
KENT
Rochester
Cantorbury
SVSSEX
Phelipps
DORCESTER
Sandys
Chichester
Albemarle
Dorcester
Wyndham
Strangeways
Excester
Monmouth
DEVON
WIGT I.

The Government forces on the morning of 14 June 1685, and their movements during the day. (Author's collection)

the horse.[127] The regulation structure was for each troop to have a captain, two lieutenants, cornet, quartermaster, two sergeants, three corporals, two drummers and two hoboys.[128] Besides a long carbine on a swivel, each dragoon was armed with a sword and a bayonet. The troops ordered west were Captain John Coy's, marching from Chelmsford, and Lord Cornbury's Troop from Barnett. Given the distance from London, it is unlikely either troop left their quarters until the following day. On 13 June, orders were issued to increase the size of each troop of dragoons and horse from 50 to 60 troopers.[129] However, it is unlikely that any of the troops had time to follow this order before leaving on campaign.

For now, the rest of the army would remain in quarters. In London, around Whitehall where the Guards which consisted of the three troops of Lifeguards, and two regiments of Foot Guards. Each Lifeguard troop was in practice a core of experienced officers with double ranks, field, and troop. They had seniority over their equivalent rank in the other regiments. The concept was that they could quickly be turned into new regiments in time of war. The 1st Troop had 200 gentlemen, with a captain, four lieutenants, a cornet, quartermaster, four corporals, four trumpeters, and a kettledrummer. The 2nd and 3rd troops only had two lieutenants but were in all other respects identical.[130] Attached to each Lifeguard troop were 64 horse grenadiers, with two lieutenants, two sergeants, two corporals, two drummers and two hoboys.[131] The field rank for the captain was colonel; the lieutenants were lieutenant colonels; the cornet was a major and the quartermaster was a captain, the troopers were also either captains or lieutenants.[132]

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[127] NA, WO5/1, f.135.

[128] NA, WO 24/7/6, f.7r.

[129] NA, WO 5/1, f.45.

[130] NA, WO 24/7, f.2.

[131] NA, WO 24/7, f.3 and NA, WO 5/1, JR f.45, f.48 The King's troop had an additional kettledrummer. Each troop had two hoboys (or hautboys), these were musicians with an instrument like an oboe.

The Foot Guards contained two regiments, the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards and the 2nd Foot Guards or Coldstream Guards. Monmouth's half-brother, the Duke of Grafton, was the colonel of the 1st Foot Guards which had 24 Guards companies each with 60 soldiers, and two grenadier companies each with 50 grenadiers. The Earl of Craven was colonel of the smaller Coldstream Guards, with only 12 companies of 60 guards plus one of 50 grenadiers. The grenadier companies were equipped with long carbines, hammer hatchets, bayonets, and a pouch of grenades. The grenadiers were officered by a captain, two lieutenants, three sergeants, three corporals and two drummers, whilst the Guards companies had 36 soldiers armed with firelocks, and 24 wearing back and breast and carrying pikes. Each company had a captain, lieutenant, ensign, two sergeants, three corporals and two drummers.[133] On 13 June each regiment was ordered to increase the company strength to 100 guards, with the addition of either 50 grenadiers, or 24 firelocks and 16 pikes, plus an extra sergeant and drummer for the Guards companies.[134]

The other large regiment that had been moved to London was the Royal Regiment of Foot, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Lord Douglas. This regiment had been the Earl of Dumbarton's but as a Catholic he had been excluded due to the Test Act when it returned from Tangiers. However, most people still recognised the regiment as Dumbarton's or as the Royal Scots. The regiment had returned from Tangiers in November 1683, but prior to this it had fought in the Third Dutch War. The Royal Scots had 21 line companies,[135] and one grenadier company. Each company contained 50 soldiers, and each had 16 men armed with pikes, six armed with firelocks, and 28 carrying matchlocks.[136] The 50 grenadiers were armed with hatchets, firelocks, and carried a pouch of hand grenades. Unlike all other foot regiments, the Royal Scots had a captain, two lieutenants, an ensign (except the grenadiers), three sergeants, three corporals and two drummers per company.[137] Of the 21 companies, nine were based in Southwark in early June. As with the other regiments, on 13 June Lieutenant Colonel Douglas was ordered to add 28 matchlocks, six firelocks and 16 pikes to each line company. However, no new drummers or sergeants were added.[138]

Beyond London all the other foot regiments and independent companies were sent instructions by Blathwayt to increase their establishment size. This included the Queen Consort's Regiment of Foot, commanded by Colonel

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However, it is more likely they acted as horse-holders while on campaign. In 1686 they became attached to the regimental staff.

[132] For a complete description of the Lifeguards, see Stephen Ede-Borrett, *The Army of James II 1685–1688* (Solihull: Helion & Company, 2017), pp.28–35.

[133] NA, WO 27/7, f.4.

[134] NA, WO 47/15, f.28.

[135] The term was not used in the seventeenth century, however, I have chosen to use this to differentiate between the types of soldier and company.

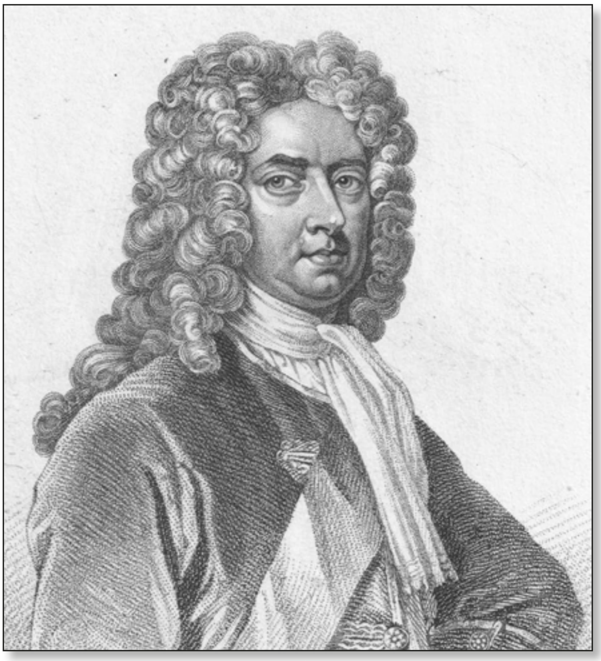
[136] NA, WO 47/15, f.37.

[137] NA, WO 24/7, f.5r.

[138] NA, WO 5/1, f.39.

Charles Trelawny in the garrison town of Portsmouth. It had been quartered there since arriving in England from Tangiers in November 1683. As with Kirke's, it had been reduced from 16 to 10 50-man line companies and one grenadier company. It was instructed to recruit an extra 50 men: 28 matchlocks, six firelocks and 16 pikes, plus a drummer and a sergeant. This would bring its establishment strength up to 100 soldiers per company.[139]

With Feversham overseeing the wider campaign, the four troops of Oxford Blues, two troops of dragoons, and Kirke's Foot all received orders that on their arrival at Salisbury they would fall under the command of Churchill.[140] Early the following morning Churchill, accompanied by Parsons' and Littleton's troops, rushed south through Bagshot to stop near Odiham on the night of 14 June. It would take at least four more days for all the units to assemble at Salisbury. In the meantime, the militia were ordered to avoid engaging with Monmouth.



John, Lord Churchill, colonel of the Royal Regiment of Dragoons. (Author's collection)

Battle of Bridport – 14 June 1685

On 13 June the South West was mobilising, and the Earl of Pembroke had ordered the Wiltshire Militia to muster at Devizes after reports that a large body of mounted men had travelled across the county the previous day. The Devonshire Militia had already mustered at Exeter under Albemarle and was now marching east towards Lyme. The Gloucestershire and Monmouthshire militia regiments had been ordered to muster locally before marching to Bristol. The Somersetshire Militia regiment of Colonel Phelipps was at Crewkerne, and Colonel Stawell was marching to reinforce Luttrell's Regiment in Taunton. The Lord Lieutenants of Somersetshire and Gloucestershire, the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Beaufort respectively, were in London and hastily packing for the upcoming campaign. The Dorset Militia regiments of Colonel Strangeways and Colonel Portman had been ordered to join Captain Haynes' Troop and about 200 volunteers mustering at Bridport.[141] In the early hours of 13 June, Strangeways' Red Regiment arrived in the town and established a camp on the far bank of the Asker.

The town of Bridport sits on a hill in the fork of two rivers, the River Brit on the west and the Asker to the east. These two rivers are crossed by stone bridges and joined by one broad street running west to east. In places this

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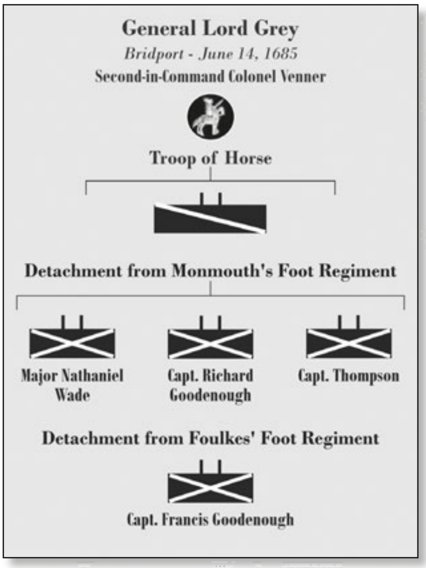
[139] NA, WO 5/1, ff.39–43.
[140] NA, WO 5/1, ff.51–52.
[141] BL, Harley 6845, f.285.



street is 30 paces wide, or enough for two companies to deploy in order. From the bridge over the River Brit, West Street climbs 350 paces to the crest of the hill where it is joined from the right by South Street. It is here East Street begins, and the ground levels out for 50 paces. Like both West and East Street, South Street is wide enough for a full company to deploy in open order. From the junction, South Street continues downhill towards open meadows. As East Street starts its descent to the River Asker, it passes Downe Street on the left, and after another 200 paces there is a shallow ridge. It was here the dwellings ended and East Street opened into an open meadow, and then continued down a gentle slope before reaching the bridge over the River Asker, 300 paces further on. On the eastern bank, meadows flank the river, and it was here that Colonel Strangeways camped his 10 companies of the Red Regiment militia foot. In the town were Captain Haynes and Colonel Heyler each with a troop of militia horse. Heyler had travelled south from Wiltshire on the trail of a band of horse that had continued to Lyme. These troops had joined about 200 local volunteers who had mustered at the request of the town constable. In all the Government forces numbered approximately 1,000 foot and 300 horse.

On Sunday 14 June the Whig vanguard, under Lieutenant Mitchell, advanced towards the town through the mist. It was four o'clock in the morning and to the surprise of Mitchell and his division of musketeers, the bridge over the River Brit was unguarded.[142] Seeing his advantage, Mitchell doubled his men over the bridge and formed five ranks in close order at the entrance of the broad street that now faced him. Once Colonel Venner, the de facto commander of the Whig forces, saw that the bridgehead was secure, he marched his whole army across the bridge. To protect their line of retreat Venner ordered Ensign Askew to act as a rearguard and hold the Brit bridge. Askew had two files of musketeers and all the pike files from Captain Francis Goodenough's company, in all 10 musket and a stand of about 32 pike.[143]

Before they had left Lyme, Thompson, Goodenough, and the other officers had probably discussed tactics with more experienced soldiers. The drill books prescribed a tactic for this very situation, and it was called 'firing the street-way'.[144] This was a method of fighting in confined areas and it involved a mixed musket and pike division advancing in open order. The five ranks of muskets were supported by two ranks of pikes. The front rank knelt, while the next two ranks closed to fire, after this the discharged muskets filed to the rear, and while these men reloaded, the whole body advanced. This ensured that one rank of muskets was always ready and loaded.

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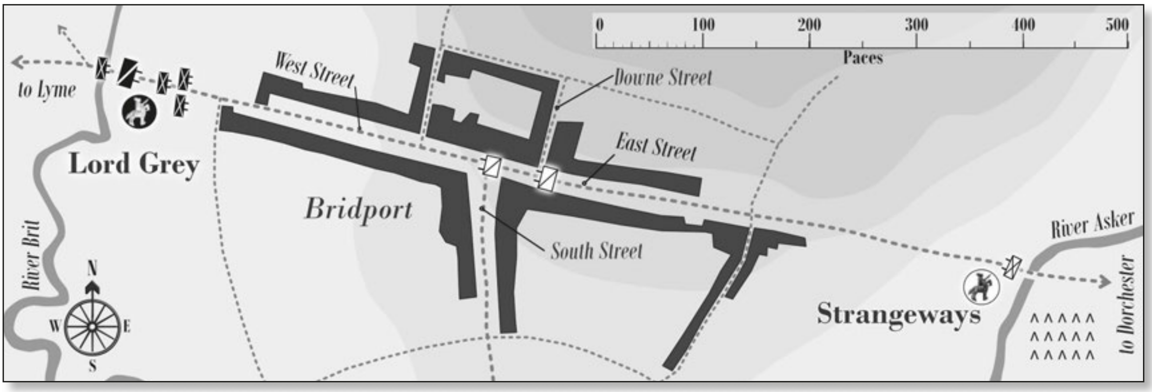
[142] BL, Harley 6845, ff.276–277.

[143] BL, Harley 6845, f.276, 'a stand of pikes and 2 or 3 files of muskquetrs'.

[144] This is assuming that Mitchell and the other officers would have discussed tactics and drill with more experienced men, such as Captain Robert Bruce with over 14 years of experience in Brandenburg service, or Major Fox from an English regiment in Holland.



Bridport, early morning – 14 June, 1685. (Author's artwork)

Venner now ordered Captain Richard Goodenough to make ready to advance. He ordered Lieutenant Lillington to deploy his musket division to the left of Mitchell. Once both musket units were in place, Ensign Dare (Jnr) split his stand of pikes, ordering two files to wheel right behind Mitchell, and two files left behind Lillington. In the centre stood Goodenough and Dare, with the two drummers. With the leading Red Regiment company ready to march, Thompson and Wade deployed their companies into lines behind Goodenough, then came Grey with his troop of horse, and at the rear was Captain Francis Goodenough with an enlarged division of White Regiment musketeers.[145] Finally, the Whigs could advance up West Street towards the crest of the hill.

About 20 paces from the junction with South Street, Goodenough's men received a challenge. With only a handful of disorganised volunteers to his front, Goodenough shouted, 'Company prepare to fire!' His two lieutenants now called out, 'Front rank kneel, third rank only, step to your right.' In reply the Red company men received a splattering of badly aimed pistol and carbine shots which totally missed their mark. Both lieutenants knew the drill, and so did their sergeants, who were busy pushing men into place. The officers' next commands were, 'Second and third ranks only, lay your right hand on your musket, poise your musket, rest your musket, guard your musket, cock your musket, present!' Both men now paused to check that only the second and third ranks had presented, and waited for Goodenough's command. Once the Captain was satisfied, over the rattle of enemy shots he shouted, 'Give fire!' This was repeated by Mitchell and Lillington.

Even while the crash of the volley was rumbling down the street, through the acrid smoke that had engulfed their divisions, the sergeants shouted, 'Recover your muskets and third rank step left, recover your order.' At the same time the corporal kneeling as the right marker of the division, shouted 'Front rank stand, rest and guard your muskets.' With the corporals in command of the front rank, the sergeants now ensured that the discharged muskets were reloaded. Goodenough called out, 'Poise your pikes, charge your pikes', and with this, the Red company was ready to march on. Not waiting for a response from the enemy, the captain shouted, 'Company advance in good

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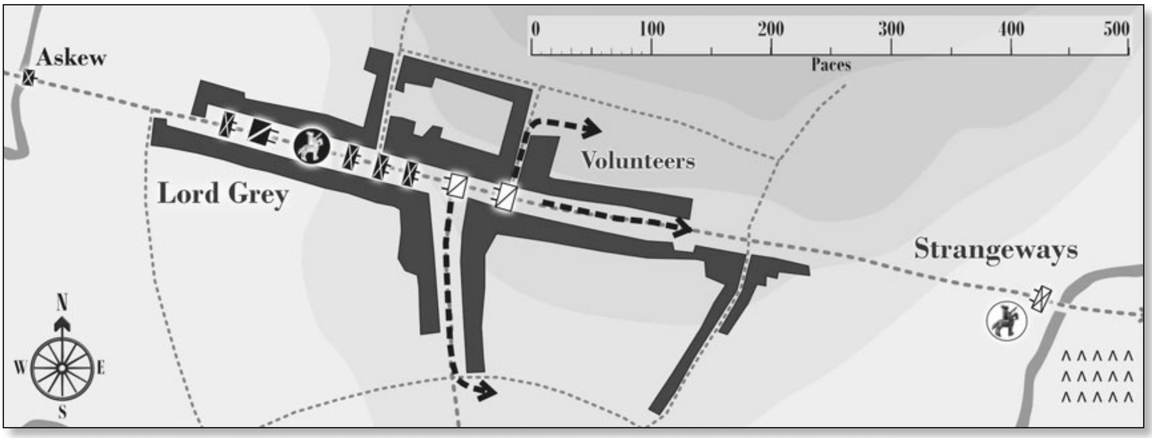
[145] This is based on Wade's account and the events that followed.



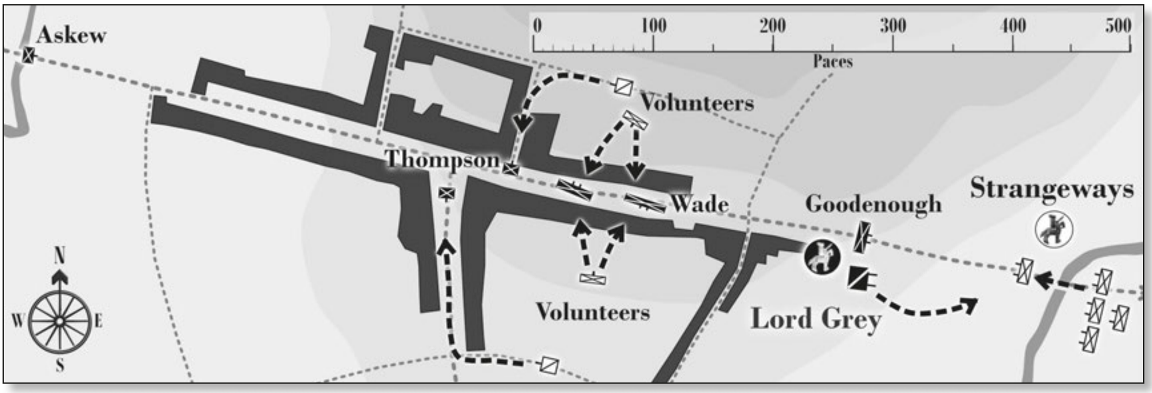
Grey pushes aside the volunteers – 14 June 1685. (Author's artwork)

order.' Goodenough took his men forwards through the smoke, at the crest of the hill they found both the street ahead, and South Street empty of enemies. It was clear that some of their musket balls had impacted amongst the enemy soldiers, as a few men lay on the ground, the rest had shrunk away. Goodenough continued down East Street, and on passing Downe Street, cried out 'Company, company stand!' He then congratulated his men. One brisk volley had broken the enemy!

With Goodenough's division in position beyond Downe Street, Venner ordered Captain Thompson to position Lieutenant Brinscombe's division, supported by a stand of pikes, into South Street. Then Lieutenant Littleton's musket division was placed in Downe Street. With Thompson's company holding the flanks, the town was secured, and the Whigs started their advance towards the bridge over the Asker. In front of them, about 300 paces away, was a full company of militia guarding the bridge.

Venner's plan was possibly for Grey to charge and rout the militia at the bridge, then for Wade's and Goodenough's companies to break into the enemy camp, with F. Goodenough's company acting as the reserve. Venner sent word to Grey that his commander should bring up his 40 troopers and push aside the enemy. Wade's divisions now moved to either side of the road and let the horse trot down East Street towards the bridge. As Wade's men reformed, the enemy volunteers plucked up the courage to come out from hiding: suddenly pistol and musket balls smashed into the walls and cobblestones around Wade's company. Behind Wade, F. Goodenough's men also started to receive fire from the windows. On the flanks, mounted enemy troopers came up South and Downe Street. They would try to cut off and surround the Whigs. Venner's small army faced annihilation and defeat.

As a chaotic combat broke out in East Street, Venner told Grey his plan and ordered Goodenough to support the horse, then turned to investigate the firing that had broken out behind him. Wade had taken control and was organising a counter-attack when Venner appeared. The Colonel was still mounted and became a target for the Government snipers. Then, possibly from Globe Lane, one of the enemy volunteers rushed towards Venner with sword and pistol in hand. Venner turned and levelled his pistol at his assailant but it was too late. As the other man's flint sparked into the pan, Venner saw



Volunteers ambush Grey forces – 14 June 1685. (Author's artwork)

the flash and the small lead ball passed through his purple coat to lodge in his belly. A fraction of a second later, Venner's own pistol ball struck the man squarely, killing him instantly.[146]

As the Whig foot smashed down doors and entered the houses, the engagement turned into a bloody brawl. Back up the hill, F. Goodenough's men had thrown back the enemy assault and taken several of the enemy as prisoners. On the flanks, Littleton and Brinscombe held their ground, and easily beat off the disorganised enemy assault. Then as Goodenough went to take the sword from a young gentleman, the man drew a pistol and fired at him. As the ball smashed into the wall behind Goodenough, the captain ran Mr Strangeways (Jnr) through with his sword, thus killing the son of Colonel Strangeways.

In front of the bridge, Colonel Strangeways sat on his horse behind the stand of pikes. The militia company from Dorset was formed up to face the enemy in six ranks. As the outguards, this company had slept on its arms at the bridge, only to be awoken at four o'clock by warnings from the town. After this they had quickly formed up and marched across the bridge, and as the musketeers lit match and made ready, they could hear musket fire coming from the town. Behind them the rest of the regiment was still attempting to form up. Strangeways knew that this company needed to hold the bridge. Portman's Regiment would be arriving at midday, just six hours away. Just two musket shots away, Strangeways noted that the enemy ensigns also carried red colours.

On the wings, the musketeers had lit their match and finished making ready their old matchlocks. In the soft light of the early morning sun, the militia watched as the grey enemy line advanced into musket range, and the shadowy figures turned into men. Then to the left the enemy horse appeared, trotting out from behind a wing of musketeers. The militia captain urgently called out, 'Pike division, advance your pikes, close your order to the close order, order your pikes to the inside, charge for horse.' Then with the reassurance that the stand of pikes was ready to receive the enemy cavalry, the captain gave the command, 'Musket divisions, make ready to fire.' On

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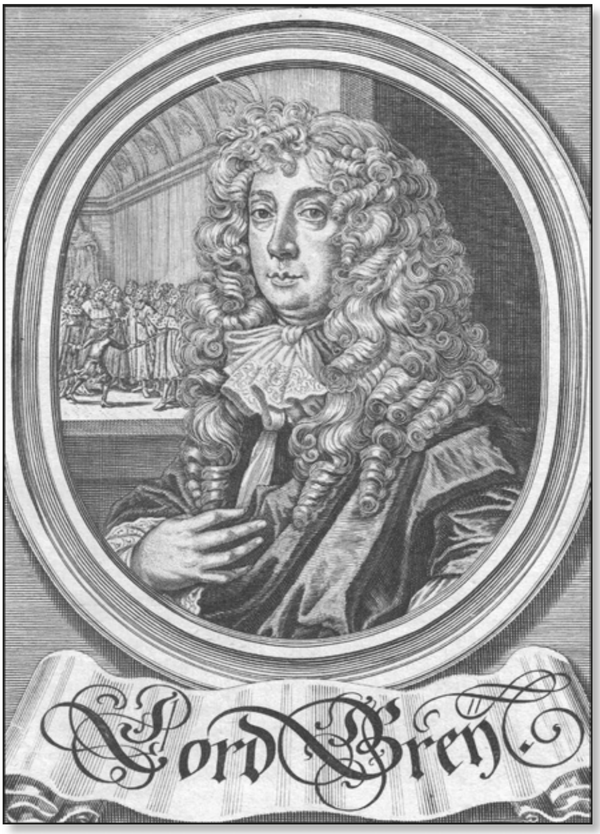
[146] This man was called Mr Coker.



Forde, Lord Grey of Warke, General of Horse. (Author's collection)

either wing the lieutenants and their corporals called out 'Front three ranks only, close your files, step right, lay your right hand on your musket, poise your musket, rest your musket, front rank kneel, cock and test your match, blow on your coal.' But then the flash and crash of the enemy volley rang out, and as musket balls passed close overhead several men fell to the ground. Yet the officers' commands continued over the screams of the wounded, 'Present, give fire!' and the militia men fired their volley.

Lord Grey's troopers were attempting to form two ranks. The noise of the fighting to their rear had made their mounts skittish. In front of them stood the enemy company, possibly only 100 yards away. The riders could see that the militia pike were charged and waiting for them to come on. Grey decided that his troopers should trot forward and fire pistols, rather than charge headlong into the pikes. As the Whig soldiers trotted forwards, the ranks became disorganised once more and the files intermingled. The horses would not or could not stay in order. As they closed, Grey called out 'Front rank, draw and cock your pistols.' However, amongst the troop of Whig horse, it was impossible to tell the ranks apart. Then behind them came the loud crash and boom as Goodenough's musketeers let loose a volley. The untrained horses shifted in fear, but then came the second rumbling explosion of noise in front of them, this time accompanied by bright flashes and long streaks of flame.

The mounts bolted, riders were thrown, the ranks disintegrated into a stampede. As the horse galloped back towards Mitchell's shocked musketeers, they had nowhere to go but back towards the town. On the left flank, Lillington fired his second half-volley, giving the horses fresh wind.[147] Nothing would stop them, and as they raced back down the broad street, they pushed aside the poor foot. All the riders could do was call out that all was lost. It took an hour or so for the first panicked horseman to reach Lyme. Here they told of utter defeat and the mass slaughter of the Whig infantry. Wade was dead, the Goodenough brothers had been murdered, and Venner was mortally wounded.

Wade's men had only just finished rounding up the prisoners when the first of Grey's horseman came galloping up East Street, only to be followed by the whole troop. All the foot soldiers could do was move out the way or face being trampled. When the horse had gone, Wade realised the danger, and with the help of his NCOs and officers, once more reformed his company. He was in time to see Mitchell's men running back in panic. Many were empty-handed having thrown their weapons away. Leaving his sergeants to pull the routing soldiers together, Wade advanced towards the sound of musket fire. As he marched his men down into the open meadow, he found Goodenough had pulled his remaining men back to the crest of the ridge. Major Wade deployed his men into line to the right of Goodenough. Seeing that the enemy was out of range, Wade sent men forwards to gather up discarded weapons and bring in the stray horses. With F. Goodenough's White musket company as a reserve, and what remained of Mitchell's division falling back in line, Wade was ready to advance against the militia. They could still win this battle.

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[147] BL, Add MS 41803, f.308, 'our foot companies lay of our side of the bridge … they fired briskly on them and killed some officers'.

When the wounded Venner reached Wade, the Major told the Colonel of his plan to attack the militia and take the bridge. However, Venner overruled him, and squarely ordered Wade to withdraw as fast as possible to Lyme. Then Venner wheeled his horse around and cantered off. Wade was left with no real choice, his men had 'beat up' the enemy, but he had been ordered back. With Mitchell having lost half his division in the rout, Wade ordered Richard Goodenough to retreat to Downe Street and reform. Wade then ordered the White company muskets to cover the front, while he reorganised his company back into the mixed divisions. Once ready, Goodenough's White company withdrew back up the hill. Meanwhile, the militia had just watched and waited, but Wade could see more companies were ready to cross the bridge, possibly 1,000 men; perhaps it was time to withdraw after all.

Ensuring that the right-hand division was facing the enemy, the left division retired 20 paces back up the hill, before countermarching to face the enemy. Then the right division countermarched, leaving the front rank to withdraw facing the enemy. In this way Wade's company pulled back up the hill. Behind him, the militia company followed up, but was careful to stay out of musket range. Once Wade reached Downe Street, he ordered Thompson's company to form up in South Street and then take over as rearguard, supported by the White Regiment musketeers. Finally, and very carefully, the Whig foot reached Askew's rearguard and the bridge over the River Brit. It had taken an hour or so to retire in good order, and Wade now deployed wings of musket on the opposite bank of the river, while leaving a stand of pikes on the bridge. On the east side of the river he posted mixed blocks of pike and musket on the flanks. The Whigs now waited for the militia to come forward. If they did, Wade planned to give them 'good entertainment.'[148]

However, Strangeways was happy just to watch the enemy retire. He could see the enemy foot was solid and well officered, therefore, once his men had reached the safety of South Street, he was happy for his militia to just shout abuse at the Whigs. He had also received word from Portman that his regiment of 1,000 was only an hour away. It was probably now, with the sun fully up and as Strangeways watched the Whigs marching off, that he learnt of his son's death. The enemy took a dozen or so prisoners, and

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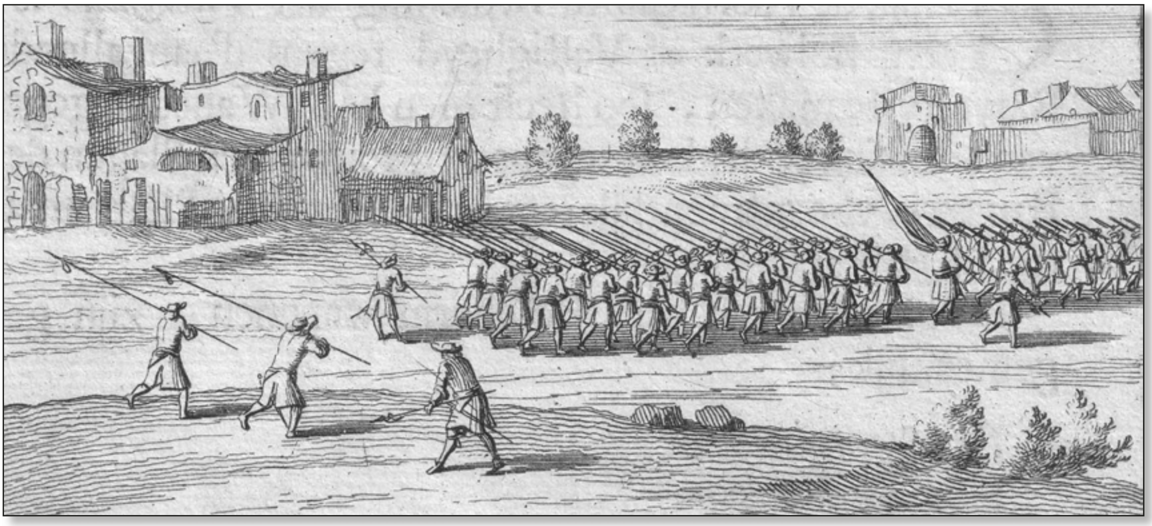
[148] BL, Harley 6845, f.276r.



Company column on the march *c*.1685. (Author's collection)

30 horses with them; in all the Government army lost 20 men. These were mainly from the volunteers and included Strangeways' son. However, they had found three or four dead Whigs, and rounded up about a dozen of Mitchell's men. Strangeways resolved to write to James. He could see that if he was to fight these well-organised and equipped Whigs, he needed to turn his militia into a proper regiment of foot.

In Lyme, the breathless Grey confirmed the story told by the other riders. Monmouth was shocked by such a serious defeat, and relieved when a little later Venner arrived with slightly better news, the foot were broken but not totally lost. With this Monmouth rallied every mounted trooper and officer. Then a total of about 300 riders galloped after the Duke towards Bridport. Monmouth was expecting to find desperate men, running for their lives. Instead when his relief column was only two miles out from Lyme, he was surprised to see a fine body of men marching towards him under red and white colours. Monmouth rode up to Wade and asked if it was therefore true that 'Lord Grey ran away?', to which Wade simply answered 'Yes.'[149]

The first engagement of the campaign in the south was over and both sides claimed victory. Later James would write that Monmouth had lost over 100 men in the battle. However, in all there were about a score of dead from both sides and an equal number taken prisoner. For Monmouth, the Bridport assault had a limited success, his army had tested the militia and come out on top, but it had come at a cost. His foot and Major Wade had proven themselves, but the horse and their general were found wanting. The outcome of Bridport was that most of Monmouth's senior field and staff officers had been removed from effective command: Dare as paymaster, Fletcher as brigadier of horse, and the wounded Venner as brigadier of foot. Only the Dutchman, Colonel Brandt, acting as chief-of-staff, and Lord Grey as general of horse remained. From this point onwards, Monmouth would

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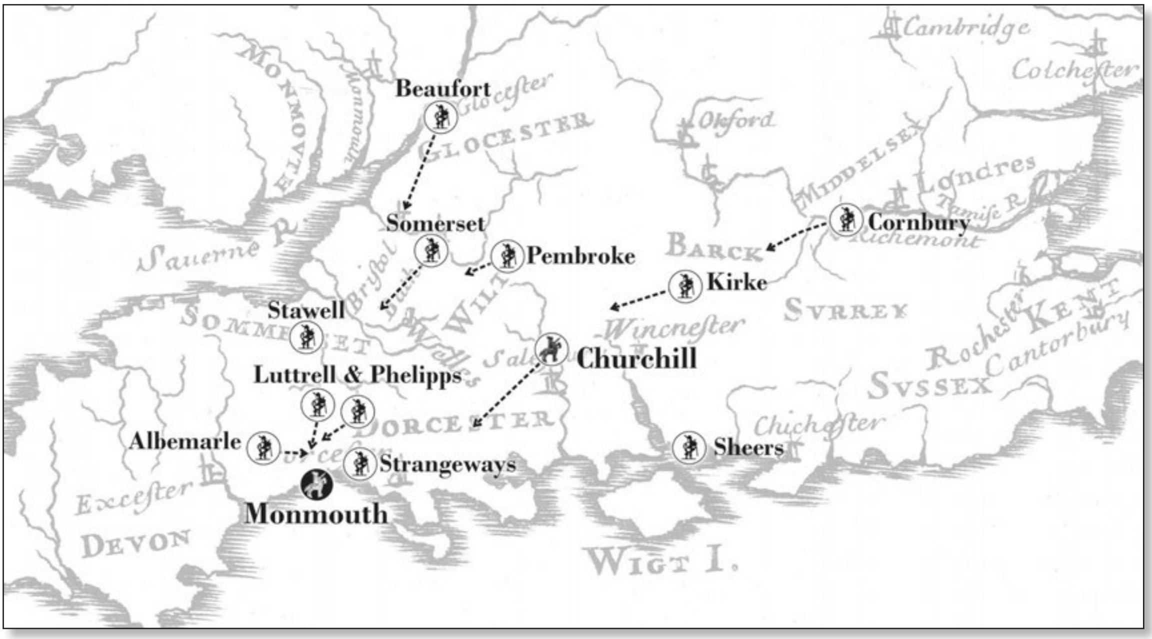
[149] BL, Harley 6845, f.277.


Beaufort
Somerset
Pembroke
Stawell
Luttrell & Phelipps
Albemarle
Strangeways
Monmouth
Churchill
Kirke
Cornbury
Sheers
Cambridge
Colchester
Oxford
Londres
Middelsex
Barck
Richemont
Surrey
Kent
Sussex
Rochester
Cantorbury
Wincnester
Chichester
Glocester
Sauerne R
Sommerset
Dorcester
Excester
Devon
Wigt I.

Racing west, map showing the Government forces on the morning of 15 June, 1685 and their next moves. (Author's artwork)

be looking at his regimental officers: Foulkes, Matthews, Bovett, Holmes, Manley and Wade for guidance and direction.

As the Whigs returned to Lyme, Portman's yellow-coated regiment of militia[150] joined Strangeways at Bridport. After Monmouth's attack on the town, urgent messages were sent to Whitehall, Taunton, and Exeter. With the Dorset Militia in a state of unease, but holding the right flank, it was imperative that the Somersetshire and Devonshire militia came to their support. During the day Stawell's Regiment arrived in Taunton, and this allowed Colonel Luttrell to march to Chard, while Colonel Phelipps held Crewkerne.[151] If the militia held these important towns, they could stop Monmouth advancing to Taunton or north towards Bath. However, Albemarle held left Exeter with his militia and was close to Shute on 14 June, heading east towards Axminster. As the Lord Lieutenant marched, he ordered the Somerset Militia join him at that town. If the militia could reach it before Monmouth, the Whig army would be trapped in Lyme. With the Dorset Militia holding Bridport, and by seizing Axminster, they would cut off Monmouth from his power base and from provisions. Then Churchill, who was coming from Salisbury, could besiege him, or force Monmouth west towards Colyton.

On the afternoon of 15 June, Lord Churchill reached Salisbury with two troops of horse.[152] This journey would have normally taken four days, but Churchill had managed to do it in just two. With news that Monmouth had

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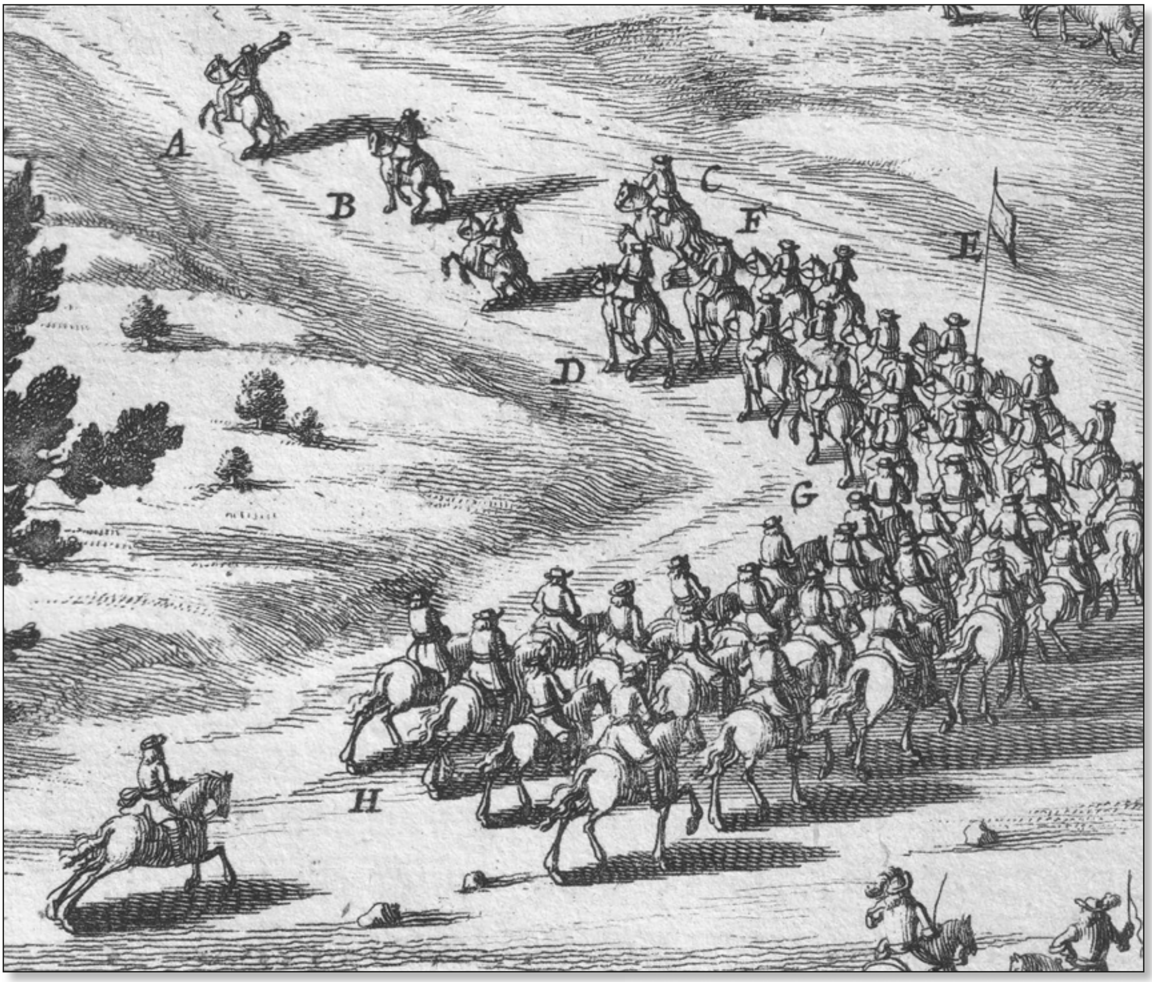
[150] *The Harleian Miscellany*, Vol. 6 (London: Osbourne, 1745), p.295 'Sir William Portman, for the same end, had taken care for strong Watches to be set, made up of his Yellow-Coats and others'.

[151] *Report on the Manuscripts of Mrs Stopford-Sackville*, Vol. 1 (London: Historic Manuscript Commission, 1904), p.1.

[152] Travel times are based on the movement orders found in the National Archives (WO 5/1 & WO 5/2) with rest days removed. This is my estimation based on his reaching Bridport on 17 June.



Troop of horse in marching column *c*.1685. (Author's collection)

attacked the militia at Bridport the previous day, Churchill could not wait for the rest of his brigade to arrive. He needed to act now, or miss his chance of seeing action. Before Churchill departed from Salisbury, he left orders for Colonel Kirke. These stated that the brigade should march to Dorchester as soon as it had assembled, and early the following morning he set off for Bridport.[153]

Eilean Dearg – 15 June 1685

In Scotland, Argyll arrived back with his fleet at Eilean Dearg on 14 June,[154] to see first-hand that the enemy fleet was closing in. The Earl ordered that his four prizes, together with the *Anna*, *David*, *Sophie* and the 30 smaller vessels should make ready for war. His plan was to embark the army into the smaller boats. These could quickly close and board the enemy ships, whilst his larger vessels covered the attack by firing into the enemy and absorbing the frigates' broadsides. Once more the Dutch crews mutinied and refused to sail against the heavily armed and much larger enemy warships. They argued that they had not been paid to fight a full naval action, only to bring Argyll to Scotland. With this Argyll now only had one option, march east into the Lowlands and seize Stirling or Glasgow. It must have been with a heavy heart that he abandoned his stores, weapons, and stronghold on the Cowal Peninsula. Leaving Lapness with a single company at the castle, Argyll ordered the rest of the army to leave Glendaruel and join him at the head of Loch Striven. The next day they would cross the hills to Loch Long, and then to Loch Garehead.

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[153] NP, MS 288, f.35.

[154] NA, ADM 51/345.

On 14 June Atholl finally received a message from Lord Gordon that his 1,000 East Highland militia[155] were blocking the road north at Strathfillan. After the battle at Ardkinglas, his scouts reported that Argyll had retired to Glendaruel the following day and was busy fortifying that location. Feeling it safe to advance, Atholl ordered the regular elements of his army to cross Loch Fyne and secure Strachur. Then to ensure he had a clear picture of the enemy's deployment he sent his trusted Captain McKenzie south to locate the enemy. Finding the village of Glendaruel deserted, McKenzie pressed on further down the valley to Eilean Dearg. From the crest of the old hill fort overlooking the loch, the officer could see the Whig fleet at anchor, however there was no sign of Argyll's army. The following morning, fearing that Argyll had slipped east down Glen Croe towards Glasgow, Atholl sent Lochnell with his Highlanders towards Loch Goil head.[156] With his flank and rear covered, Atholl then advanced cautiously towards Glendaruel with his whole army.

At nine o'clock on Monday 15 June, the *Kingfisher* weighed anchor. The tide was high, and the pilot took the 46-gun frigate through the narrow and rocky entrance into Loch Ruel. Following Captain Hamilton in the *Kingfisher* was the *Falcon* and the fireship being pulled by the longboats from both warships. Over the past few days they had been joined by the *Mermaid*, plus yachts *Arran* and *Charlotte*, who waited outside while the frigates manoeuvred through the shallows which were only 800 paces wide. After scraping her hull on the loch bed, by one o'clock the *Kingfisher* had safely navigated the dangerous waters around the narrowest point. In front of the *Kingfisher* sat the castle of Eilean Dearg on a small island, and behind the castle the loch was full of masts. Dominating these was the *Anna* and the two large merchantmen. Together, these Whig ships could have easily stopped the *Kingfisher* entering the loch, but they remained at anchor.[157] She was now in range of the enemy fleet and the castle's earthwork battery possibly 2,000 feet away. At two o'clock with the *Falcon* and the fireship moved into position the *Kingfisher* fired a shot at the castle. Then to the surprise of Captain Hamilton, a small boat came out from the castle waving a white flag.[158]

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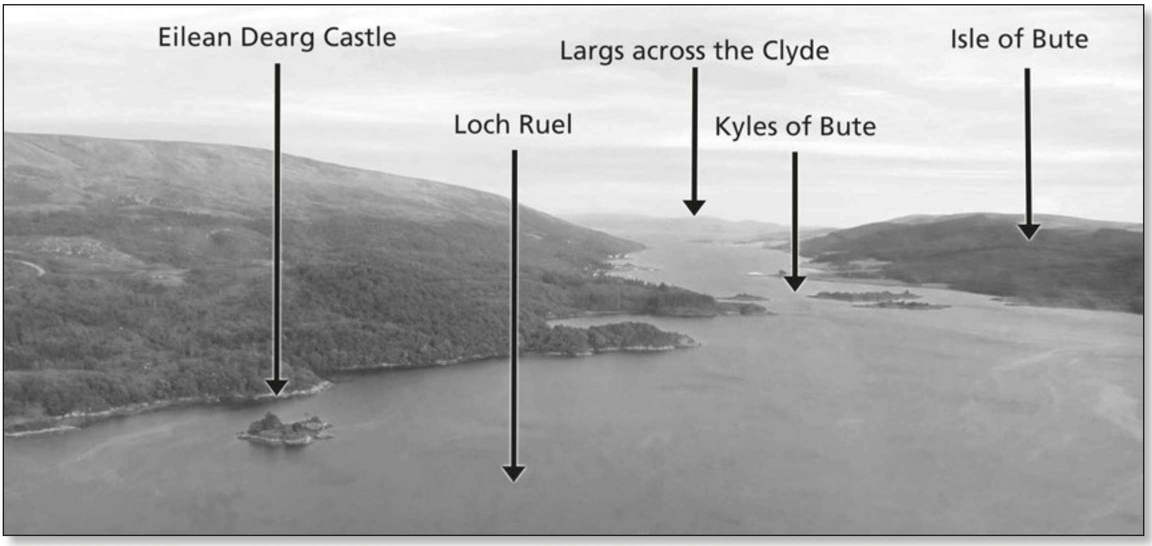
[155] Near Lochearnhead.

[156] BA, 29.I(4a), f.10.

[157] Loch Ruel is not wide or long, and the Whig ships would have covered the available space, dominating the view from the Loch entrance.

[158] NA, ADM 51/3875,15 June 1685.



Looking from the castle of Eilean Dearg down the Kyles of Bute. (Author's photograph)

The occupants of the little boat were the men captured on Orkney some five weeks earlier. Once on board, they informed Hamilton that the enemy had fled, and moreover, they had left all their supplies and set a slow fuse into the ammunition store. They warned that at any moment the castle could explode and sink both Royal Navy frigates. Seeing there was not a moment to lose, Captain Hamilton sent his longboat across to the castle with a landing party. The crew quickly scrambled into the abandoned hall and here they found a burning slow match. The sailors had arrived just in time, as the cord was only minutes away from reaching an open powder barrel. Without a single shot the castle of Eilean Dearg, thousands of weapons, more than a dozen cannon and the Whig fleet had fallen to the *Kingfisher*.

Later that afternoon, the advance elements of Atholl's army arrived at Eilean Dearg to find that Argyll had slipped east. The Orkney men explained the Whigs had left the previous day, leaving only a company under Lapness to man the fortification. These men then fled when the *Kingfisher* crossed the shallows. Inside, the Government forces found a vast supply of arms and ammunition. This included 'Powder, Ball, and pikes … such stores, as if the whole kingdom had been conquered with Drums, Trumpets and Ammunition without men and horses.'[159] Amongst the captured stores they discovered two stands of colours including those of Captain Dawson, and special double-barrelled muskets with daggers. Out in the loch, the *Falcon* took the *David* as her prize.[160]

Argyll's small army quickly moved east, crossing Loch Long and reaching Loch Garehead on the evening of 15 June. Here they were surprised to be joined by Lapness, who told Argyll that Eilean Dearg had fallen. The following day, Argyll marched 15 miles through the wide valley of Glen Fruin to the River Leven at Bonhill. This crossing point was just three miles above the town of Dumbarton,[161] and the army camped that night on the eastern bank. So far,

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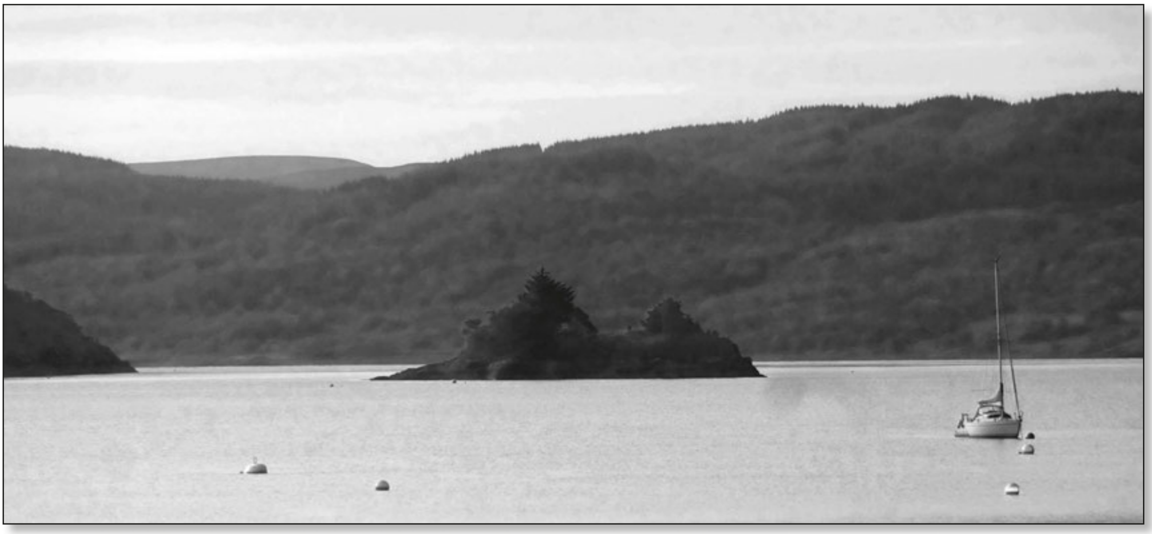
[159] BA, 29.I(4), f.108.

[160] NA, ADM 51/345, 15 June 1685.

[161] Marchmont Papers, Vol. 3, p.57.



Eilean Dearg today, looking across the bay where Argyll's fleet lay at anchor. (Author's photograph)

they had not been spotted by Government forces, and had now entered the low hills to the north of Glasgow. The road to Stirling was open to them.

Axminster – 15 June, 1685

With Major Wade and the Whig foot safely back in Lyme, it was time for Monmouth to march. His agents reported that the Devonshire Militia were on the move east, and that the Somerset Militia were marching to Chard, and already at Crewkerne. Around this time, Colonel Matthews arrived with supporters from London, and they must have brought news that Government soldiers were heading west. Monmouth needed more men and it had been agreed they would liberate Taunton before heading towards London. At 11 o'clock on 15 June, Monmouth left Lyme.[162] It was critical for his army to break out before they became encircled, trapped, and besieged.

Monmouth's men loaded every available waggon with as much arms and ammunition as they could.[163] However, they had no option but to leave some 40 barrels of powder, and nearly 5,000 suits of armour in Lyme. In the van of the army was the Duke's regiment, behind them were some 1,500 foot in three regiments, around six troops of horse,[164] a train of four pieces of light artillery, and about a dozen waggons. A few hours after the Whigs left Lyme, the *Helderenberg* slipped out of the harbour, heading for Portugal with Colonel Fletcher still a prisoner on board.

The settlement of Axminster sits on the eastern banks of the River Axe, just to the north of its junction with the river Yarty. The town dominates the flood plain to the south which was created by these two rivers. All traffic travelling from Dorchester to Exeter passes through the town and over its

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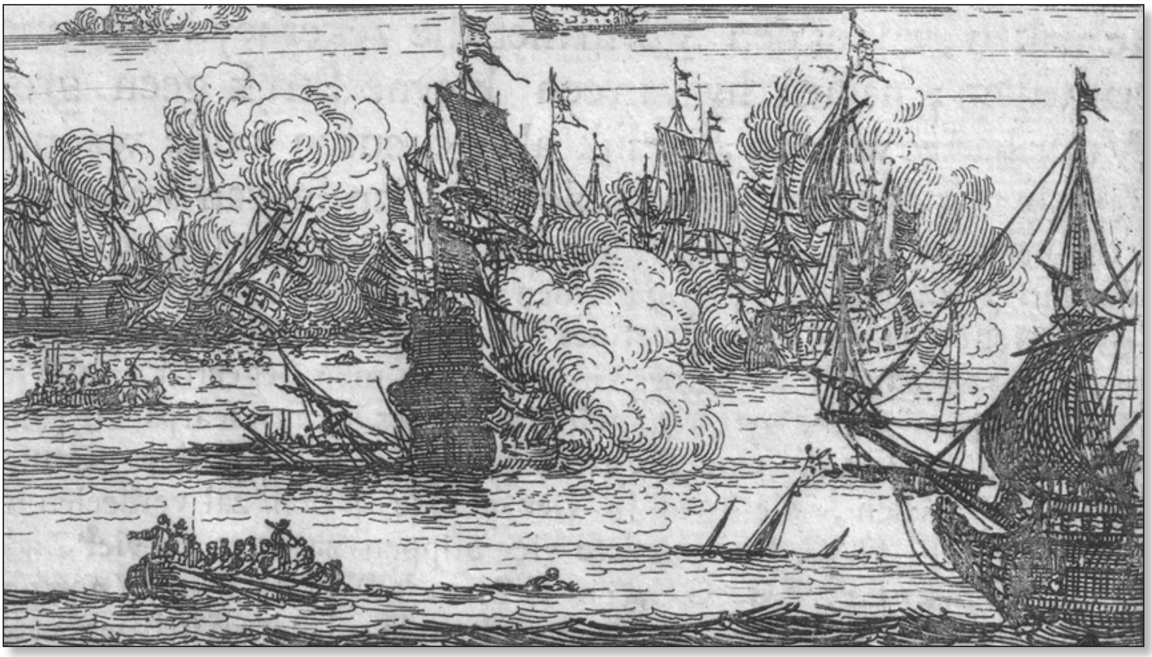
[162] BL, Add MS 62453, f.62.

[163] BL, Add MS 62453, ff.62–65.

[164] Muddiman, *Assizes*, pp.164–170.



Seventeenth-century naval battle *c*.1685. (Author's collection)

two river bridges, and it was down this road that Albemarle and nearly 5,000 militia marched. The road from Lyme winds its way up the downs to reach Axminster. Here it joins the old Roman 'Fosseway' to head north over the Axe, and on to Chard. Earlier in the day, Albemarle had sent a message to the militia commanders urging them to advance to Axminster and wait for him before they marched south. The combined militia army would then number upwards of 6,000 men. With Colonel Phelipps marching from Crewkerne and Colonel Luttrell leading his regiment of the Somersetshire Militia down the Fosseway from Chard, both commanders would have met about a mile north of Axminster.

The vanguard of the Somerset Militia, possibly Captain Littleton's company of Luttrell's Regiment,[165] entered Axminster an hour or so before Monmouth's men reached the town. However, on seeing the Whigs appear, word spread that Albemarle had in fact joined Monmouth and this was a trap. Littleton and his militia panicked and raced back to Luttrell's main body that was still on the road south. With the rumour that the men from Devon had switched sides, fear of the great Monmouth quickly spread down the advancing column.[166] The Somerset Militia regiment dissolved and the men ran from their colours, throwing away hats, coats, and weapons. For those in the militia sympathetic to the Whig cause, like Thomas Coad, this rout gave them the opportunity to slip away and join Monmouth's army during the night.[167] Back in Crewkerne, Phelipps' men also fled into the night as

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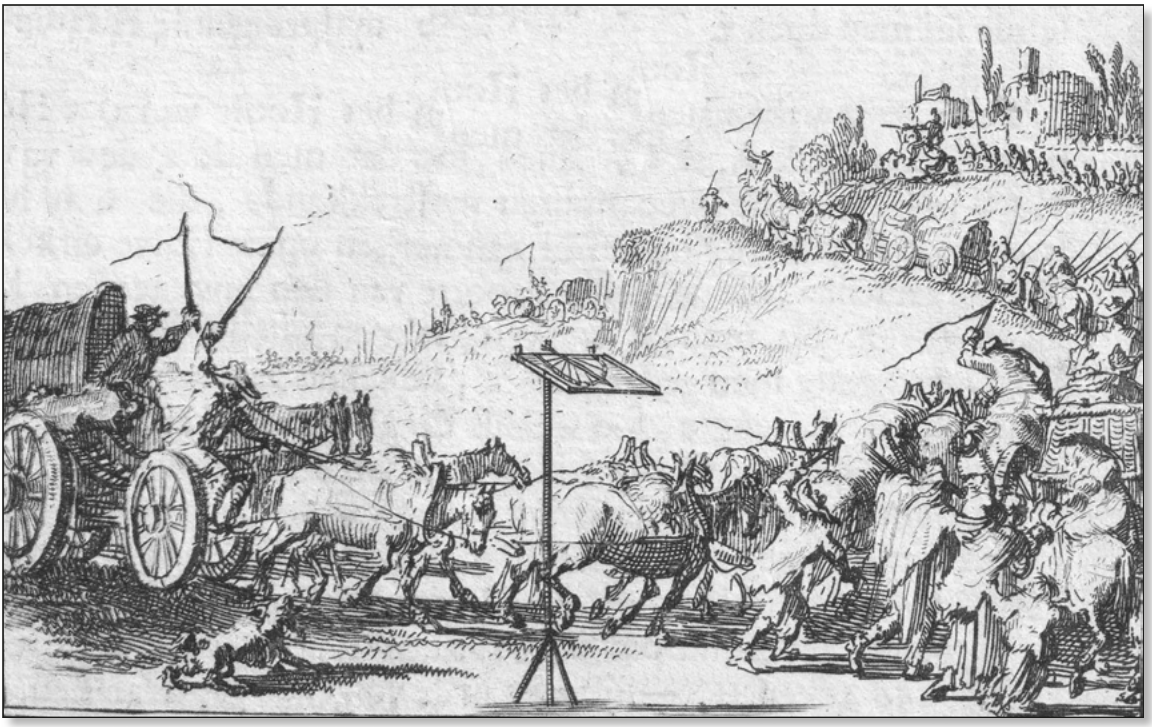
[165] Captain Littleton was later arrested for spreading the rumour of Albemarle's defection.

[166] NP, MS 288, f.111.

[167] John Coad, *A Memorandum of the Wonderful Providences* (London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1849), pp.3–4.



Army on the march over hills, *c*.1685. (Author's collection)

fear spread through the ranks. With no shots fired, simply the name of 'Monmouth' had destroyed Luttrell's and Phelipps' regiments.

As Monmouth's army marched the short distance to Axminster, the officers could see a column of men coming from the west. Rightly taking this to be militia, Monmouth ordered Wade to take the vanguard forward at double time. They needed to reach this important crossroads before their enemies, and Wade made good time and his men reached the centre of the town first. Meanwhile, Monmouth took his column across the fields to secure the Bow Bridge and deploy into line facing Albemarle's army. With the town secured, Wade took his regiment across the Stoney Bridge and with one of the guns under Captain Buyse.[168] Here the Red Regiment deployed into battalia and made ready their muskets before advancing across the wide fields towards the enemy. Wade deployed his men along the hedges facing the main road from Exeter.[169]

Albemarle had left Shute earlier that morning and was expecting to find friendly militia in Axminster, therefore his men were still in column having passed over the Yarty bridge. Then his advance elements received volley fire from a Whig regiment lining a hedge row to his left flank. Realising that the town and fields around the bridge were occupied by Monmouth, Albemarle ordered his men to pull back beyond the bridge, and as the militia retreated over it they panicked as the Whigs advanced towards them. This forced Albemarle to order his men to reform around Shute. Axminster was lost.

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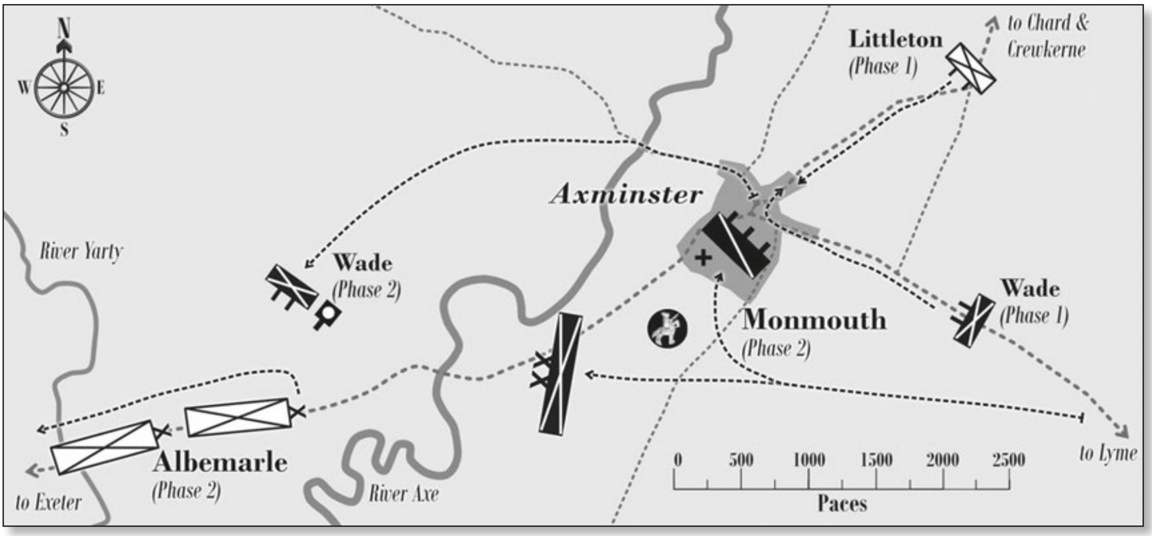
[168] BL, Harley 6845, f.277.

[169] Muddiman, *Assizes*, p.165, 'we marched on in good order and came into the town, lined all the hedges, planted our field pieces'.



Monmouth pushes aside the Militia at Axminster – 15 June 1685. (Author's artwork)

Seeing the enemy withdraw, Monmouth ordered his men to hold their ground and the Whigs let the Devonshire men escape unhindered. It was only five o'clock and Axminster was in Monmouth's hands.[170] After posting guards, patrols headed out to secure supplies, weapons, and recruits. At nine o'clock the following morning, Monmouth's triumphant army of liberation marched out from Axminster. Its objective was to reach Chard, and during the short march the men collected the weapons, ammunition and coats that had been abandoned by the Somerset Militia. The army's ranks had also been bolstered by a good number of deserters from the militia and by new recruits. The action at Axminster had opened the road to Taunton and Monmouth's advance guard reached Chard unchecked by four o'clock on 16 June. As the army settled down for the night, Captain Speke arrived with two troops of ragged horse and this raised Monmouth's cavalry strength to nearly 400 troopers in seven or eight troops.[171] From Chard, the message was spread far and wide across the county of Somerset, and recruits flooded in over the next few days.

In Whitehall the Government was becoming increasingly alarmed and feared a disaster. Sunderland sent orders specifying that the West Country militia should not engage the Whigs until regular forces, under Churchill, could support them, and ordered more regular units to Salisbury. This would contain artillery and more foot. Captain Henry Sheers was commanded to pull together a train of artillery from the Portsmouth armoury.[172] It would contain four iron 3-pounders and four brass falcons, and was to be crewed by eight gunners, supported by eight matroses.[173] The artillery would be

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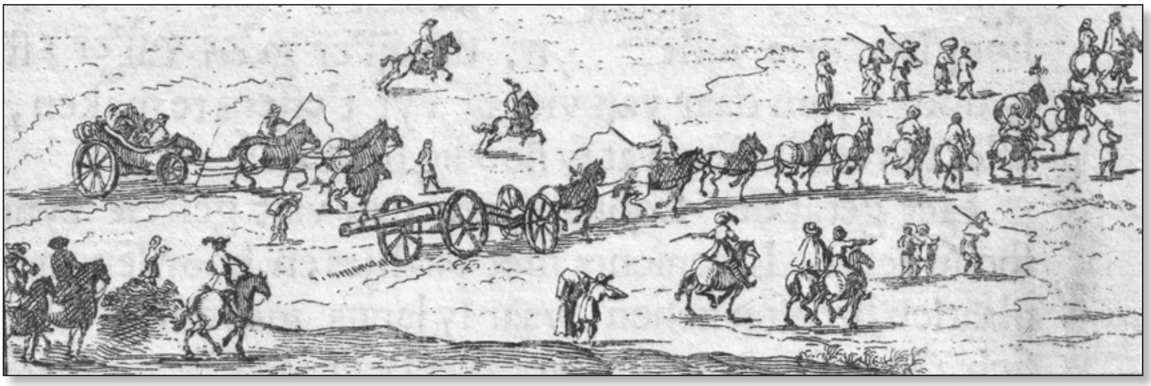
[170] BL, Add MS 62453, f.62.

[171] BL, Lansdown 1152, f.243.

[172] NA, WO 5/1, ff.51–52

[173] NA, WO 47/15, ff.26–27.



An artillery train on the road *c*.1685. (Author's collection)

escorted to Salisbury by Sandys' Troop of Oxford Blues, now in Portsmouth, and four companies from Trelawny's Regiment of Foot.[174]

It is highly likely that Colonel Trelawny had reorganised the line companies into the new establishment strength by merging divisions before they marched west.[175] This would have put the strength of the three line companies at 300, whilst the grenadiers remained at a strength of 50 men. On 16 June, under the command of Lord Churchill's brother Lieutenant Colonel Charles Churchill,[176] the train of artillery marched out of Portsmouth. At the same time a small fleet of ships also left the city's harbour. This fleet contained the frigates *Saudadoes*, *Garland*, and *Swan*, supported by the fireship *Spragg* and the sloop *Fanfan*, but contrary winds slowed their cruise down the coast to Lyme.[177] It is conceivable that Lord Churchill reached Dorchester on the evening of 16 June and now learnt of the disaster at Axminster. Therefore, it was from here that he wrote to Whitehall with a damning report of the situation in the west.[178]

As a result of the growing anxiety that was spreading through the Government, Sunderland had started a major clampdown. Arrest warrants for all known dissenters and Whig sympathisers were issued.[179] Each night Whigs were posting Monmouth's Declaration on street corners and Sunderland now ordered them to be hunted down and arrested. In Lambeth on 16 June, the constables accompanied by 50 soldiers of the trained bands rushed through the streets.[180] An informer had given them an address for the Whig printer. Once they had found the house the soldiers surrounded the property and blocked all the escape routes. With the area secure, the officials smashed down the door, and inside they found William Disney.[181] Around the printer were piles of Monmouth's Declaration, and sheets still in the printing press. Disney, and his accomplice Mr Manning, had been caught red-handed. That afternoon, with the printers in jail, the constables set about destroying the press and burning all copies of the 16-page declaration.[182] Over the next few days, hundreds of Londoners were seized and imprisoned, including the Duchess of Monmouth. London was locked down, the Trained Bands were posted around the streets, and Dartmouth became the military governor. Further afield all travellers were to be stopped, searched, and arrested if they were in any way suspicious.[183] London was secured but Monmouth had broken loose, simply brushing aside the militia. The eyes of Whitehall turned on Lord Churchill.

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[174] NA, WO 5/1, f.51.

[175] NA, WO 47/15, f.37, 'like number of arms wanting before the recruits were added', 18 June 1685. This was written after the four companies had left the garrison and indicated the marching companies took weapons from the other units.

[176] NA, WO 5/1, f.51.

[177] NA, ADM106/374, f.255.

[178] NP, MS 288, ff.71–72.

[179] NA, SP44/336, f.129. For example 'apprehend William Horsley a Cheesmonger in the Strand'.

[180] Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs*, Vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1857), p.348.

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[181] The printer was the son of a famous Royalist spy, who during the Interregnum had carried messages between King Charles II and the Sealed Knot. In 1656 Captain Disney took a letter from the King in Cologne, to Monmouth's mother in London. Disney passed the uncoded message on down the chain in London. Unfortunately, it was this correspondence, addressed to 'my wife', that ended up in the hands of Cromwell. Shortly afterwards, Lucy Walter and her son found themselves in the Tower of London.

[182] Morrice, *Entring* Vol. 3, p.17.

[183] NA, SP44/56, f.214.

3

Breaking Free, Late June 1685

> 'I thought the militia would have kept the Duke of Monmouth shut up in Lyme, but by the fault of those of Devonshire or Somersetshire, he has opened his way towards Taunton … I desire you to lend me the three English regiments that are in your service, and they may be sent over with all possible speed.'[1]
>
> James to the Prince of Orange, Whitehall 17 June 1685

Battle of Killearn – 17 June 1685

As the sun rose on 17 June, Argyll's army was running low on provisions, and many of the soldiers had been on the road since the battle at Ardkinglas. More worryingly for the leadership, there were visible gaps growing in the ranks of the army. Large numbers of Highlanders had fled over the past few nights. The Whigs could now only muster about 900 men[2] and they needed to find a new base urgently. At seven o'clock, 'weary and hungry'[3] the Whigs set off once more. They had only just formed into their column of march when a party of horse appeared at their rear. With this new challenge, Argyll was forced to redeploy into line of battle facing south. However, after an hour his scouts returned, and reported that the enemy was no more than a strong patrol sent by the garrison at Dumbarton. Argyll ordered his men to turn east once more, but instead of taking the road to Glasgow, and risk the garrison attacking his rear, the Whig took the north-easterly Stirling Road.

Argyll's army reached the area near Dryman at 10 o'clock, and here the ranks were rested, and parties dispatched to bring in whatever provisions they could find in the nearby settlements. By two o'clock the refreshed army reformed and moved off towards Stirling. As they started to march, scouts reported that a large body of horse was approaching from the south and was near Strathblane, just five miles away. After reconnoitring the enemy, Argyll called an army council. With the Government army clearly visible marching

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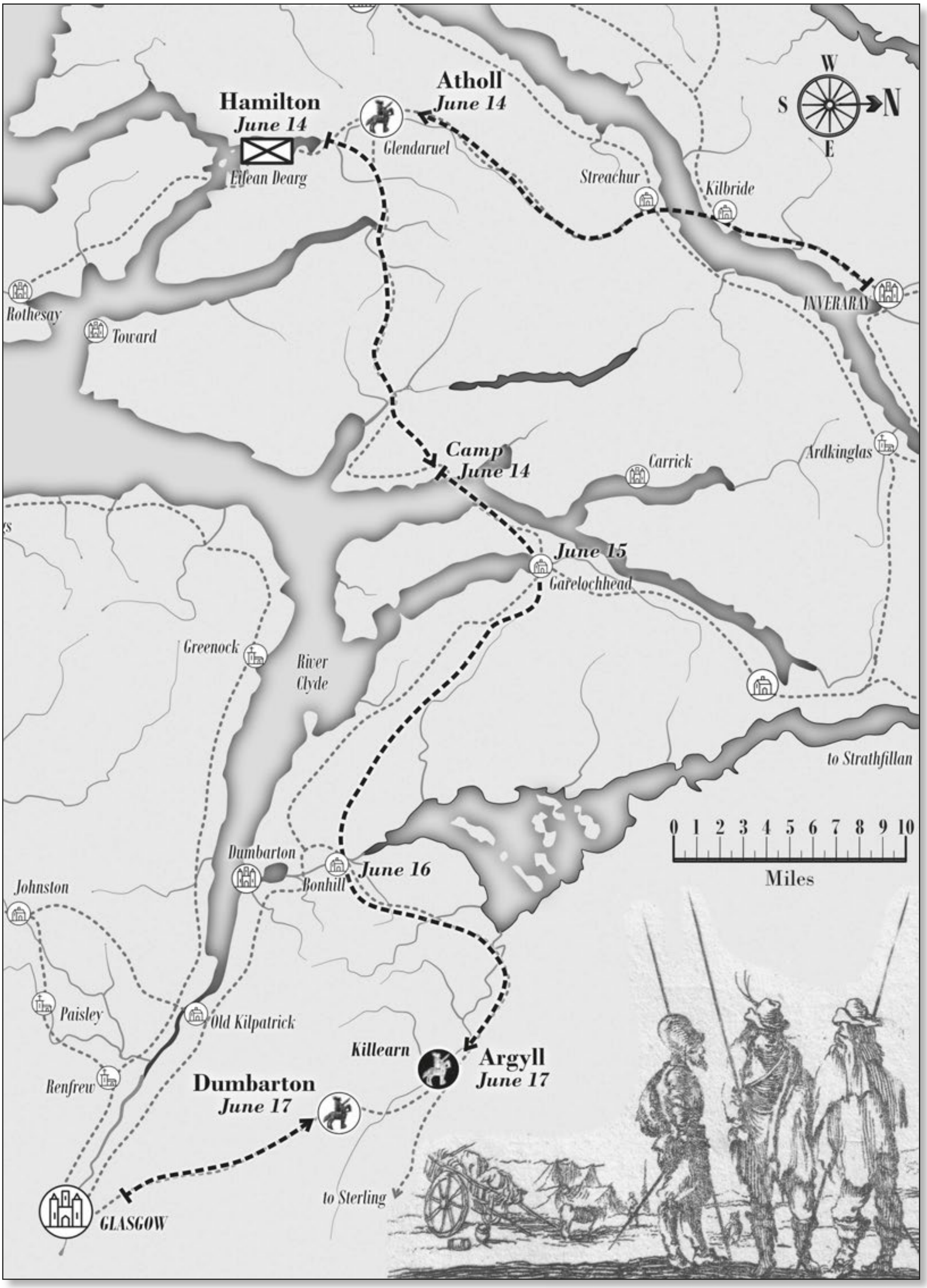
[1] NA, SP 8/3, f.260.

[2] Marchmont Papers, Vol. 3, p.59.

[3] Veitch and Brysson, *Memoirs*, p.318.


Hamilton
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Atholl
June 14
W
S
N
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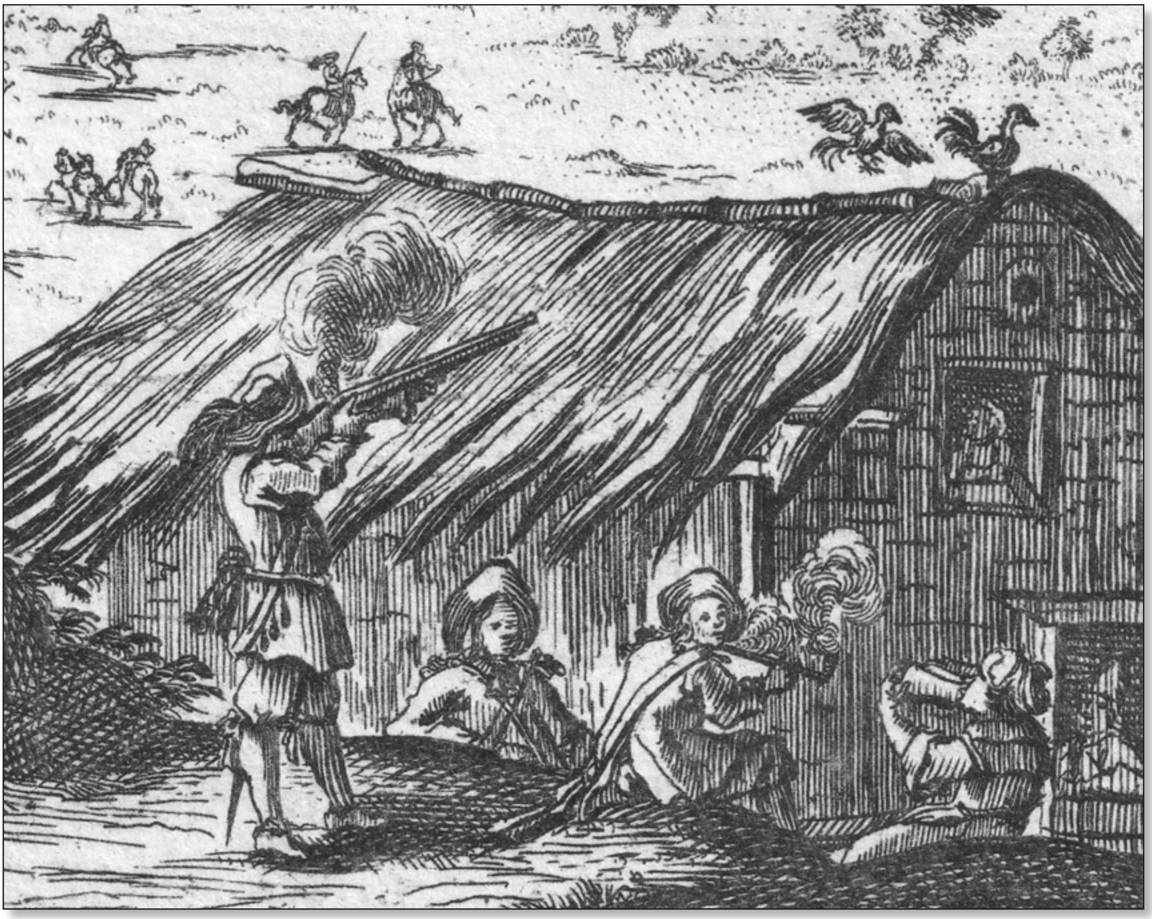
Glendaruel
Eilean Dearg
Streachur
Kilbride
Rothesay
Toward
INVERARAY
Camp
June 14
Carrick
Ardkinglas
June 15
Garelochhead
Greenock
River
Clyde
to Strathfillan
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Miles
Dumbarton
June 16
Bonhill
Johnston
Paisley
Old Kilpatrick
Killearn
Argyll
June 17
Dumbarton
June 17
Renfrew
to Sterling
GLASGOW

Argyll breaks out towards Stirling – 17 June 1685. (Author's artwork)



Soldiers taking provisions from a house *c*.1685. (Author's collection)

over the hills, the Whigs had two options, the first was to push on to Stirling but risk being attacked whilst in column. The alternative was to deploy into battalia on the strong hill line just south of their current position and face the enemy. The council agreed that for now, the best course of action was to ready themselves for battle in a strong position.

Earlier in the week, with Argyll's fleet blockaded in Loch Ruel, Dumbarton had left a small party of militia and regular horse under Lord Grahame at Johnstown,[4] whilst the rest of his army mustered in Glasgow. Dumbarton could call upon a sizeable force of regulars and militia and on 16 June they were in position to block Argyll's reported move east. On the morning of 17 June, he received a warning from the garrison at Dumbarton Castle that they had drawn themselves out of the town and deployed to face Argyll's army near Bonhill. Then the enemy had marched north-east on the road to Stirling. Dumbarton and his staff quickly realised that Argyll was about to outmanoeuvre them, and Stirling was now at risk. Leaving his foot and guns to follow up as quickly as they could, Dumbarton rode north with the Lifeguard, plus all available troops from Claverhouse's Horse and the Scots Dragoons.

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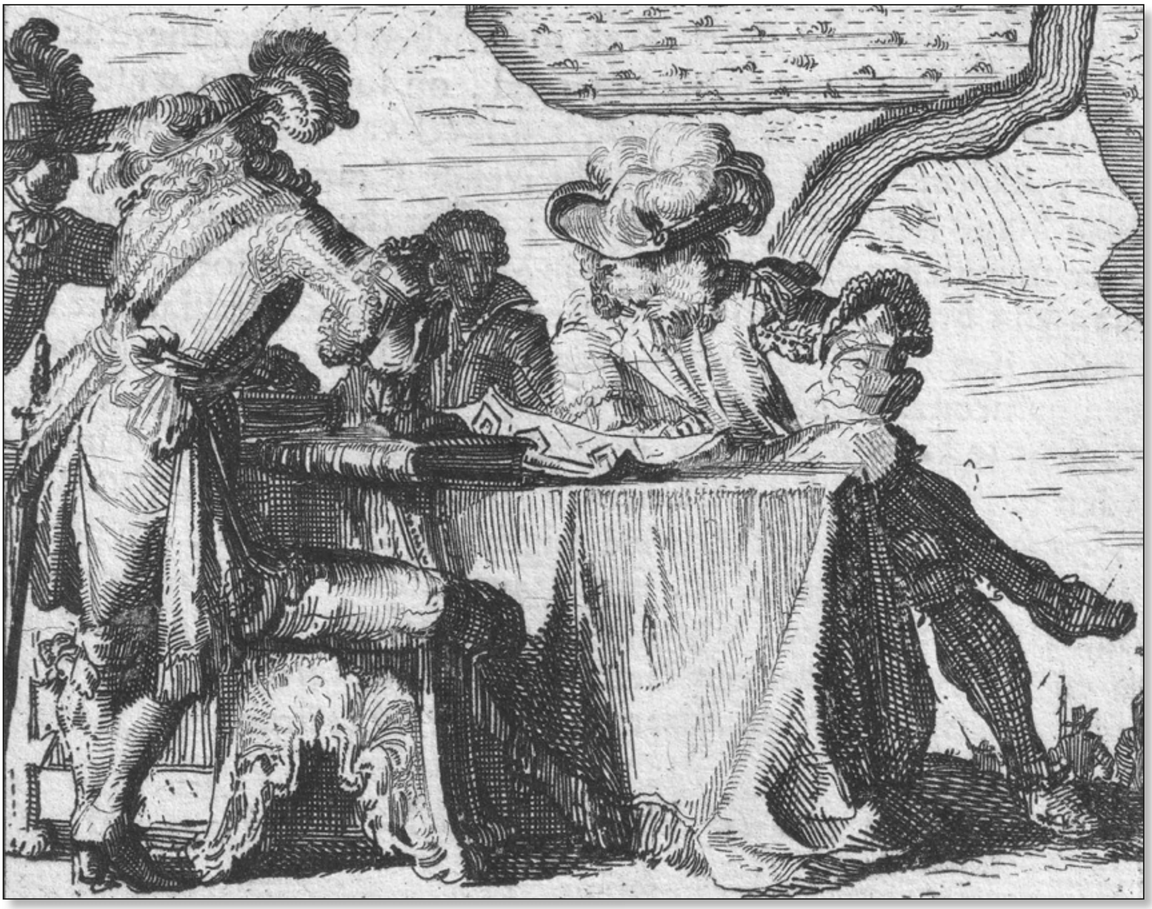
[4] Buccleuch, *Fifteenth Report*, Vols 1–2, p.293.



General officers agreeing a plan of attack *c.*1685. (Author's collection)

As Dumbarton raced north with his horse, the convoy that carried the three Scots Regiments arrived off Leith.[5] The Scotsmen had been at sea for over 10 days and needed fresh water and supplies. During the day this was ferried over to the boats, and the Scots readied themselves to land. At nine o'clock at night on 17 June, Colonel Mackay made the men swear a new oath to the Government in Holyrood. It would take several days for the regiments to be fully resupplied and provided with the powder they urgently needed. In the meantime, the fleet sat in the river mouth waiting for orders.

The possible position selected by Argyll for the battle was a long ridgeline, which overlooked the impressive Finnoch Glen. This natural obstacle covered his right flank, whilst the left flank was anchored on the bridge over Endrick Water.[6] About a mile to the east was the Kirk of Killearn. Argyll had chosen good defensive ground with a steep valley and a stream running across his front. Importantly, the position covered the road north and west giving him alternative options. Over the next few hours the Whigs observed Dumbarton deploy his army into battle array. The Government's right flank was close to the Kirk of Killearn. The Whigs could only watch as Colonel Livingstone's Lifeguard, Lieutenant Colonel Murray's dragoons and Claverhouse's horse were joined by elements of Mar's and Douglas's Foot Regiments.[7] Then in the early evening the light leather guns arrived. The Government army must have numbered around 1,000 foot and close to 500 horse, totally dwarfing the smaller Whig army of only 900, but Argyll was in a very strong position, and the fast-approaching night would stop any immediate attack.

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[5] BL, Add MS 41803, f.316.

[6] See Erskine, *Journal*, p.129. It is difficult to locate the exact location of this deployment. I have selected this ground for its defensive characteristics and view down to Glasgow which reflects the accounts of Dumbarton's army advancing over the hills as detailed by John Erskine: 'Argyll, with the army … set down at night in Fenick moor in Killearn, and the enemy having made haste from Glasgow, pitched at the Kirk of Killearn, about a musket shot from [Argyll].' However, this does require more research and investigation.

That evening it was clear to everyone on the Whig council of war that this would not be an easy victory. As dusk covered the valley Argyll ordered his men to light large fires[8] across their position. Against Ochiltree's and Polwarth's objections, the council had agreed with Argyll that a battle would be futile. With the enemy blocking the road to Stirling, Argyll had argued that their best chance was to slip south. They would march the 15 miles to Old Kilpatrick, take control of the ferry and cross the Clyde. From here they could march south and join with Monmouth. That night, as their great fires illuminated the valley, the Whigs marched south-west without alerting the enemy. With the deep Finnoch Glen covering their southern flank they started across the Kilpatrick Hills.

The army needed to reach the river crossing by sunrise to stand any chance of escape, and for the first few miles of the night march everything went to plan. They probably followed the track west, before cutting south down the Carnock Burn. However, as the path slowly dissolved into a boggy 'moss'[9] and the dark night closed in around them, Rumbold's horse covering the rear of the column became detached. The horse were lost and disorientated, only to end up heading north-west. This took them away from the rest of the army and back towards the River Leven. Meanwhile, amongst the ranks of the Highland companies some took the opportunity to slip away from the army, to head home. Slowly, the column broke apart as whole groups of men took off in different directions. The Whig army was melting away into the night. Ochiltree led the vanguard made up from the Dutch volunteer companies, and they reached the River Clyde in good order. But behind them fewer than 500 men remained. In the town of Old Kilpatrick, the Whigs quickly took whatever provisions they could find.

After rushing the militia company that guarded the ferry crossing,[10] Ochiltree ordered his men to cross the river. Using the two boats available,[11] Ochiltree and Polwarth loaded a dozen men in each craft and started over the

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[7] John Creighton, *The Memoirs of Captain John Creichton* (London: Hunt & Clark, 1827), p.58, although Creighton mixes earlier and later regimental commanders. This matches the Scottish army in Glasgow.

[8] Woodrow, *Sufferings*, Vol. 4, p.295.

[9] Veitch and Brysson, *Memoirs*, p.319.

[10] Woodrow, *Sufferings*, Vol. 4, p.294.

[11] Marchmont Papers, Vol. 3, p.61.

250 paces across the black river. On the far bank was a troop of militia horse and these soldiers could see the ferry approaching in the moonlight. Five of the militiamen dismounted and took up firing positions behind an old boat on the shoreline. As soon as they had clear targets they opened fire on the Whigs, but the range and darkness ensured that these shots missed their mark. In the boats, Ochiltree ordered his men to hold their fire until they were close enough to hit the mounted militia on a rise behind the beach.[12] Once within range, Ochiltree commanded the Whigs to fire. This first volley killed one of the horses and wounded a couple of troopers, and with the enemy on the shore running back for cover, the Whig boats landed. Then the veteran Whig firelocks rapidly formed ranks and advanced towards the enemy, and under the fire of the Whig volunteers, the militia broke and galloped off towards Renfrew. With Polwarth in command of the firelocks that covered the southern shore, over the next hour 150 men crossed the Clyde. In the early hours of 18 June, the way south was finally open to the Scottish Whigs.

Somerset –17 June 1685

The news of Axminster, coming so soon after the action at Bridport, shook the Government to its foundations, especially as it was accompanied by reports that the militia had deserted en masse to Monmouth, and even a rumour that Albemarle had switched sides. With the growing concern that the country could turn to the Whigs, on 17 June James wrote to his son-in-law asking for the return of the three English battalions still in Holland. Alongside this, it is possible that Whitehall now drew up a plan to hold the Whig army in Somerset by using the River Avon as a barrier for any northern or eastern advance. If Albemarle could hold the western flank, the other western militia units and Churchill's Brigade could contain the Whigs in Somerset. This would give Feversham time to march west with more regiments to confront and defeat Monmouth.[13]

On 17 June, new orders were sent to the Lord Lieutenants of the western counties. Beaufort would hold Bristol with the Gloucestershire and Monmouthshire militia. Somerset's remaining regiments would hold Bath. Pembroke, with militia from Wiltshire and Dorset, would cover the line from Bath to Salisbury, while the Hampshire and Sussex Militia would cover the line south of Salisbury. In the west, Albemarle would cover Devon, and if pushed could retire to Plymouth. Here he would find six companies of Kirke's Regiment and four independent companies. To support the Lord Lieutenants, Whitehall sent military advisors to help with the organisation of the defensive ring around Monmouth. However, if Monmouth broke out, took Bristol, or seized another stronghold, more soldiers would be required. Therefore, Sunderland would set about raising a vast new army.

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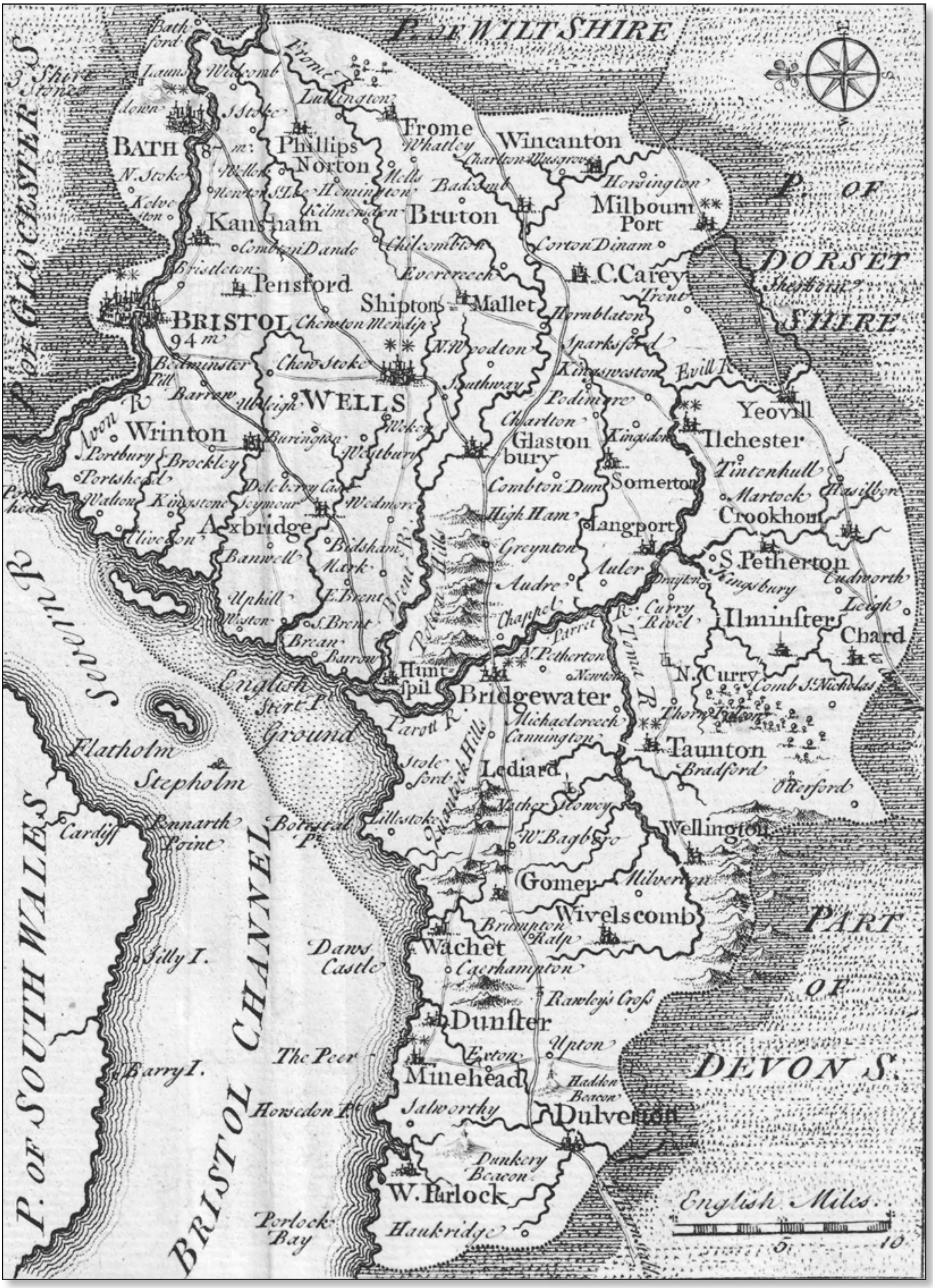
[12] Veitch and Brysson, *Memoirs*, pp.321–322.

[13] This plan is reflected in the orders that come from Whitehall over the next few days.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Lullington
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BATH
Phillips Norton
Whatley
Wincanton
Charlton Musgrove
N.Stoke
Wellow
Newton S.Loe
Hemington
Wells
Badcomb
Horsington
Milbourn Port
Kelveston
Kansham
Kilmersdon
Bruton
Combton Dando
Chilcombton
Corton Dinam
P. OF DORSET SHIRE
Bristleton
Pensford
Evercreech
C.Carey
Sherborn
Trent
Shipton Mallet
BRISTOL
94 m
Chewton Mendip
Hornblaton
Sparksford
N.Woodton
Chew Stoke
Bedminster
Pill
Kingweston
Evill R.
Barrow
Ubleigh
WELLS
Southway
Podimore
Yeovill
Avon R.
Wrinton
Wokey
Charlton
Kingsdon
Ilchester
Burington
Westbury
Glaston bury
Portbury
Brockley
Tintenhull
Portshead
Somerton
Martock
Hasilber
Porshead
Walton
Kingstone
Deleborry Castle
Seymour
Wedmore
Combton Dun
Crookhorn
High Ham
Langport
Axbridge
Cliveston
Bidsham
Greynton
S.Petherton
Banwell
Mark
Brent R.
Auler
Drayton
Cudworth
Kingsbury
Audre
Uphill
E.Brent
Polden Hills
Chappel
Curry Rivel
Leigh
Weston
S.Brent
Parret
Tone R.
Ilminster
Chard
Brean
Barrow
N.Petherton
Hunt-spil
Newton
N.Curry
Comb S.Nicholas
Severn R.
English
Stert P.
Bridgewater
Parott R.
Michaelcreech
Thorn Falcon
Ground
Cannington
Flatholm
Taunton
Bradford
Stole ford
Lediard
Stepholm
Otterford
Quantock Hills
Nether Stowey
Wellington
Cardiff
Pennarth Point
Botwel P.
Lillstoke
W.Bagboro
P. OF SOUTH WALES
BRISTOL CHANNEL
Gomer
Milverton
Wivelscomb
PART OF DEVON S.
Brumpton Ralp
Daws Castle
Wachet
Silly I.
Caerhampton
Rawley's Cross
Dunster
Upton
The Peer
Exton
Barry I.
Minehead
Haddon Beacon
Horsedon P.
Jalworthy
Dulverton
Dunkery Beacon
W.Porlock
English Miles
5
10
Porlock Bay
Haukridge

Somerset showing the main roads *c*.1742. (Author's collection)

On 17 June Lord Churchill arrived in Bridport with just two troops of horse,[14] to find Strangeways' and Portman's regiments of Dorset Militia foot. Further afield, Stawell's Regiment of the Somerset Militia was holding down an uneasy peace in Taunton, as talk of Monmouth's liberation filled the inns and taverns. The broken regiments of Luttrell and Phelipps were still being reformed around Crewkerne, and the militia regiment of Fitzharding had arrived at Bruton on 17 June. Fitzharding was so shocked by the state of the county militia that he wrote to the Duke of Somerset that the county was lost to Monmouth and proposing that they should all muster at Wells.[15] It was clear to Somerset that he could not hold Monmouth without the support of Churchill, and with Whigs clearly heading towards Taunton he duly asked Churchill in Salisbury to join him at Wells.

In Salisbury that evening, Colonel Kirke opened Somerset's letter addressed to Lord Churchill or, in his absence, the acting commander-in-chief, requesting that Churchill march to Wells. The next day, 18 June, Kirke was joined by Captain Cornbury's and Captain Coy's troops of dragoons coming via Andover.[16] Then from Portsmouth by the train of artillery, escorted by four companies of Trelawny's Foot, plus Captain Sandys' Troop of Oxford Blues.[17] However, Kirke had clear orders from Churchill that he was to march to Dorchester.[18] Therefore, with a heavy heart, Kirke made it clear to the Duke of Somerset that although he agreed with the proposal, his orders were clear and the brigade would be marching to Dorchester the following day.

On 18 June, with Monmouth clearly heading to Taunton, the Dorset Militia marched from Bridport towards Chard. They would block the London Road while Churchill marched to Shute to meet with Albemarle. During the day the two men agreed to march north towards Monmouth;[19] the plan was for Albemarle to march to Wellington with his 4,000 militia, while Churchill would go to Chard to join with Somerset and the Dorset Militia and block the London Road. That night, 18 June, Churchill may have stayed in his old family home, Ashe House, which was only three miles away.[20] At this point it is not clear if Churchill wrote to Kirke, but it is possible that Wyndham's Troop of the Oxford Blues joined him at Shute that afternoon.

At 11 o'clock on 17 June, Captain Hucker led his troop of Whig horse into Ilminster and the rest of the army arrived over the next few hours. Whilst the horse found billets in the inns and taverns of the town, the foot camped on the western edge facing Taunton.[21] That evening they broke open the prison and released Mr Hewling (Snr), along with the other men captured a fortnight earlier, many of whom joined the ranks of the army. From Ilminster, Monmouth had several options open to him. The army could now cut north to Somerton or east to Wincanton, both these locations would put him on the main road to London. However, if he took the army east, its flank and rear would be exposed to the militia lurking in Taunton and Crewkerne, and possibly the other units gathering in Salisbury.

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[14] NP, MS 288, f.28, 'my Lord Churchill (now here) has sent word of his resolution, to day came hither 2 troops of the kings'.

[15] NP, MS 288, f.23

[16] These are the only units that could have been at Andover on 17 June.

[17] These units had travelled from the following locations: Cornbury's from Barnet, Coy's from Chelmsford, Sandys' from Chichester, and the rest from Portsmouth.

[18] NP, MS 288, f.35, 'Last night [17] I received your letter directed to Lord Churchill, and in his absence to the commander-in-chief, which I opened, and was sorry to hear so ill news … I am sorry I could not comply with your commands to march; but our men lie to night here, so will not march till to-morrow [19], for they came to-day from Andover [the dragoons]. Besides, I have orders from Lord Churchill to march to Dorchester, but I hope they will be contradicted upon the motion of the rebels.'

[19] Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.2.

[20] It is also possible that Churchill now learnt that his cousin, Sir Francis Drake, was involved with Monmouth.

In Taunton, deserters from Luttrell's Regiment spread the gossip that Albemarle and the Somersetshire Militia had switched to Monmouth. Finally, with reports that the Whigs were just hours away, at midnight the drums of Stawell's militia rang out across the town. Fearing the worst, the local people came out onto the streets, only to find that the militia had marched off towards Bridgwater. In their haste, Stawell's men had left several waggons loaded with ammunition and arms[22] which the townspeople eagerly gathered up. Then, emboldened by reports of Monmouth being close, they broke into the castle using ladders. Here they secured the armoury and released the prisoners, including the old Ironside and accomplice to Colonel Blood, Captain Robert Parrot.

At 10 o'clock on 18 June, Monmouth sent several troops of horse forward to secure Taunton. Amongst them was Captain Hucker's Troop who anticipated a fight with the militia, therefore he stopped on the edge of town and ordered his troopers to make ready pistols and draw swords.[23] However, instead of fighting the militia, Hucker's two troops now had to fight their way through hordes of cheering people:[24] the town had risen and decorated their houses, doors and streets with green boughs, herbs, and flowers.[25] They had been liberated from the papists. When Monmouth finally entered the town, he was greeted as a saviour. That night the Duke stayed at the house of Captain Hucker, whilst Wade took the Duke's Regiment to guard the southern approaches to the town.[26] This was in response to reports that Albemarle and the Devonshire Militia were advancing towards Wellington. Therefore, fearing an enemy surprise attack during the night, most of the army camped on the eastern edge of the town and lay on their arms.[27] For the Whigs, the liberation of Taunton on 18 June marked a turning point in the campaign, and the high command now planned their next move. The choice was either London or Bristol.

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[21] BL, Add MS 62453, f.62.

[22] BL, Harley 6845, f.287.

[23] BL, Add MS 62453, ff 62–65.

[24] BL, Add MS 62453, f.42.

[25] Muddiman, *Assizes*, p.165.

[26] BL, Harley 6845, f.277r.

[27] BL, Harley 6845, f.287.

Battle of Muirdyke – 18 June 1685

In Scotland, before the sun came up on 18 June, Argyll's army had disintegrated into small groups of fugitives. Argyll had refused to cross over the Clyde until his army and Rumbold appeared, but with daylight not far off it was clear to everyone that the Whig army had been destroyed, not by enemy action but by the Kilpatrick hills. With no sign of Rumbold or his horse, Argyll had had enough. By now he had fallen out with Ochiltree and Polwarth, and had no interest in marching south with them. After talking with his son Charles and Major Fullerton, they were resolved to escape alone and slip into the safety of the Glasgow streets, and then find a ship for Holland. Having given his leave to Lapness, Auchinbreck and the rest, Argyll with a small party of followers secretly crossed the river and headed towards Renfrew. Argyll, once across the river, waited until the rest of the Whigs had marched off before moving further up the Clyde towards Glasgow. They had landed on the south side of the river somewhere between the Newshot Island and the entrance to Black Cart Water, close to Inchinnan.

On the other side of the river, Rumbold was lost and made his way north with a small party of horse. In unfamiliar country, he found himself trapped by enemy horse, but with his old friend Colonel Ayloff at his side, Rumbold fought his way out of the ambush, killing several of his pursuers. However, very quickly the two infamous Rye House Plotters[28] became cornered once more by troopers, and though Rumbold fought on bravely he was badly wounded by sword cuts and pistol shots. Finally he was unhorsed, and the veteran of the Battle of Worcester, and witness to the execution of King Charles I, was finally captured.[29] Rumbold was covered in blood and badly wounded.

Not far from Argyll, 150 soldiers formed up on the sandy southern shore of the Clyde under the command of Ochiltree. Whilst parties went out to find horses, or collect food and ale from the local dwellings, Ochiltree gathered the remaining officers together. During the meeting they discussed their next move, but all agreed that the only option was to march south and fight their way to Monmouth.[30] As the meeting was breaking up, they received an alarm: the militia horse were returning, and they had been reinforced by two more troops. If Ochiltree did not act fast his men could be cut down and routed. Luckily, the Whigs were almost all volunteers from Holland, and each man was 'very well-armed.'[31] Ochiltree now organised his men into three companies,[32] whilst he took command of one, Polwarth and Major Henderson commanded the other two units.

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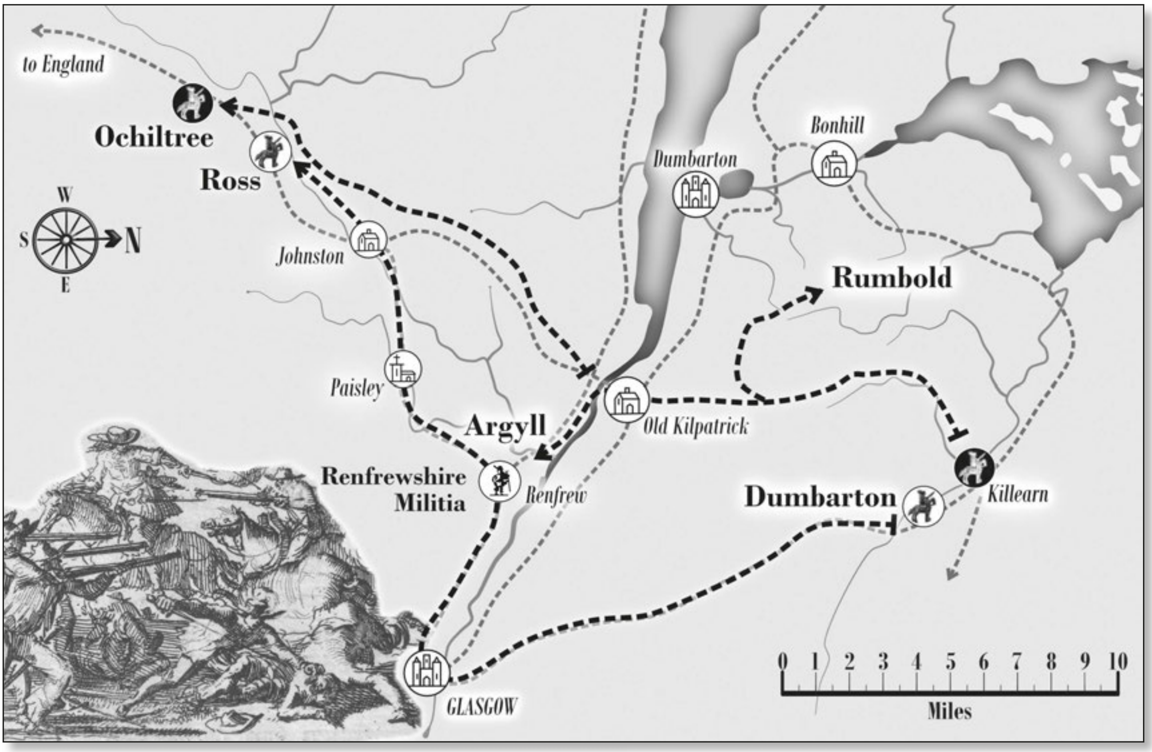
[28] At his death Rumbold insisted that he was guilty of treason for the invasion, but that the Rye House Plot was a pure fabrication.

[29] Howell, *State Trials*, Vol. 11, p.456.

[30] Veitch and Brysson, *Memoirs*, p.324.

[31] George Brysson, in his account, describes each man being armed with special firelocks (possibly double-barrelled) and a halberd. However, anyone who has fought or fired a seventeenth-century musket will see the difficulty of handling both weapons, especially during reloading and firing. Although, it is possible they were hooked and acted as musket rests, like the Swedish feathers used by the Scots Brigade during the Thirty Years' War, 1618–1648.

[32] Woodrow, *Sufferings*, Vol. 4, p.296.



Argyll's night march – 17/18 June 1685. (Author's artwork)

Not waiting to be attacked, Ochiltree marched his three companies in the direction of the enemy. This took his men up a slope and onto a ridge;[33] with the enemy horse in sight, the Whigs lined a thorn hedge and waited for the Government horse to strike. However, much to Ochiltree's disgust, instead of charging the militia simply sat and watched. It was clear that the enemy were waiting for foot reinforcements. Ochiltree decided to act and ordered his men forward;[34] the veteran foot stepped out from behind the thorn hedge and advanced against the three troops of militia horse. As the Whigs marched down the slope, they watched as the enemy troopers turned, and then made a hasty withdrawal back towards the ford at Inchinnan. Seeing no advantage in pursuing the militia, Ochiltree reformed his force, and now mounted on a captured horse, took his volunteers south. He would be heading into his homeland.

Meanwhile, Argyll and Major Fullerton had also found horses and made their way towards the ford at Inchinnan.[35] As they approached this ford, militia sentries challenged the two men. Argyll had dropped his sword to pass for a country man and this worked. While Fullerton conversed with the guards, Argyll slipped past the sentinels into the ford. Unseen on the other bank, two militiamen had watched him cross, and grabbed him as he reached the Renfrewshire bank. In the ensuing scuffle, Argyll fell to the ground and

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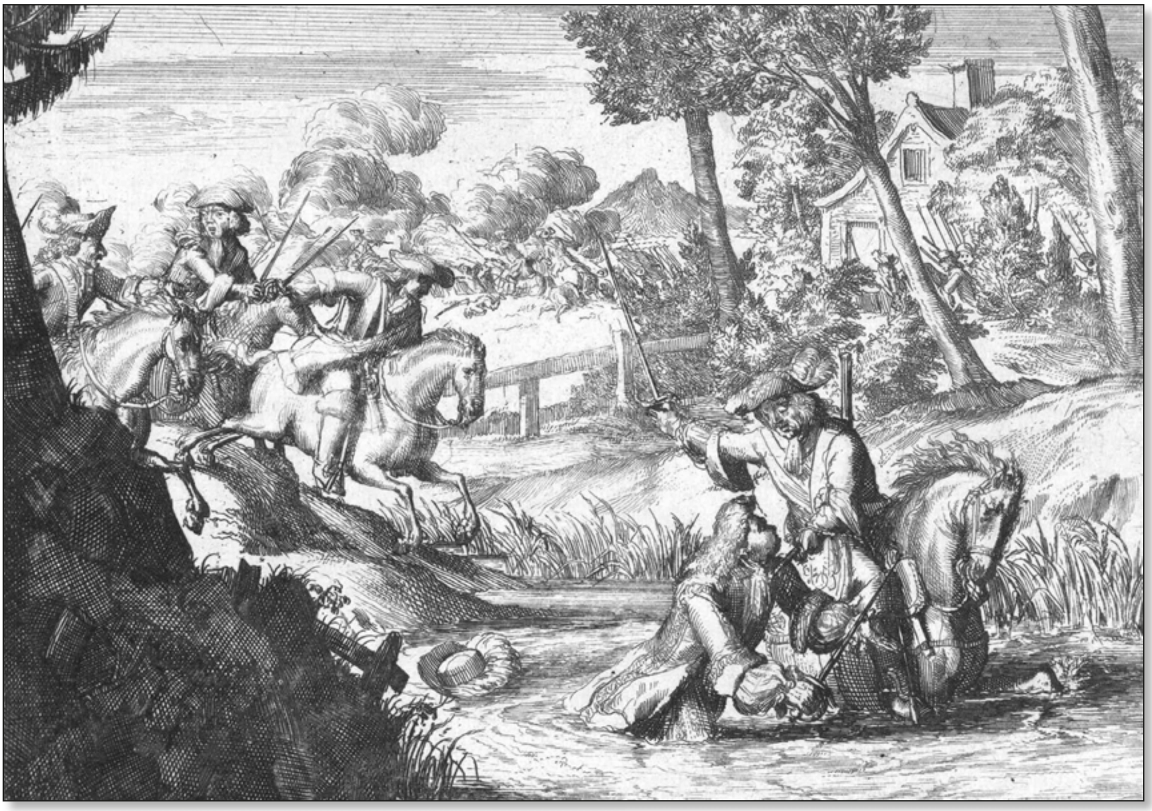
[33] This is possibly North Barr.

[34] Veitch and Brysson, *Memoirs*, p.325, 'these cowardly rogues dare not come and attack us in this strength. Come let us go out and fight them in the open fields.'

[35] This was at the junction of two rivers, the Black Cart and White Cart.



The capture of Argyll near Inchinnan – 18 June 1685. (Public domain artwork)

drew his pocket pistols. Spotting the weapons, the two militiamen backed away and let the Earl slip back into the darkness. After going 50 more paces, he stumbled into a party of five mounted troopers. Argyll fired his pistols and ran back towards the river, however this time the militia gave chase and they too fired their pistols, closely missing the Earl. One of the riders cut in front of him, so he turned only to find the other four horsemen with drawn swords circling him. He was trapped, unarmed, and totally outnumbered. Argyll had no other option but to surrender.[36]

After the encounter with the militia earlier that morning, Ochiltree's men had been hiking south using the drove roads and following Black Cart Water south. They had made good time, but in the early afternoon they became aware that a large body of horse was following them. As the day went on, it was clear that the enemy was gaining ground. After 10 hours on the road, the exhausted Whigs needed respite. Throughout the long day, men had been discreetly leaving the Whig force, and as a result Ochiltree's volunteers only numbered 75 men. They had just passed through a small settlement

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[36] This is taken from Argyll's own account: '… two militia men fell upon me, after I had laid by my sword to pass for a country man. I answered their challenges civilly, but at last they laid hands on upon me, one upon each side, all of us on horseback. I grappled with both, and one of them and I went to the ground; but I got up, and rid myself of them both, by presenting my pocket pistols. After that five came on me, and fired close at me, without touching me, and I was like to get rid of them, til they knocked me down with their swords.' See Woodrow, *Sufferings*, Vol. 4, p.297.

Muirdyke Mount from Skiff Head. (Author's collection)

called Howwood and were now struggling up a steep hill. At a small smithy called Corsehead, Ochiltree could clearly see over 200 enemy horse less than a mile away. To his left, there was a small enclosed hill, with steep sides, which looked like somewhere his men could rest, and possibly defend until nightfall. Then the Whigs could slip away and find a stronghold. If they did not, his men would be slaughtered.

The hill was a short distance from a farmstead called East Muirdyke. From here a dyke, about a foot deep, and three feet wide, ran 200 paces up a steep slope to the hill. The dyke then followed the base of the hill to the southern side, where a stone wall continued around the contours to rejoin the dyke. On the hillside of the dyke was a stone wall, three or four feet high, and from this other walls ran down to form enclosures. The hill was therefore totally enclosed by stone walls. It was about 100 paces by 170 paces, and the crest was flat. From the smithy, the drove ran towards the farm, whilst to the left was a small wood, and boggy ground that formed the spring for the Skiff Burn. Ochiltree ordered his men to leave the road and they now cut south, through the copse to the foot of Muirdyke hill.

About a mile behind, Major Ross was hot on the heels of the Whigs. He had been sent south by Dumbarton as soon as daylight had revealed that the Whigs had fled. His own troop of the King's Regiment of Horse had been joined by Captain Cleland with a troop of Scots Dragoons,[37] and together they had crossed the Clyde near Glasgow. Then they had turned west towards Renfrew and crossed the Black Cart at Inchinnan, and it was here that a militia officer informed the Major that a large body of enemy foot were heading south. Ross was now joined by two troops of militia horse and he set off on the chase.[38] As he travelled south his scouts had picked up the trail of the Whigs, but it had taken until late afternoon for his squadron to come within striking distance. As he left Howwood, Ross could see the enemy climbing up towards low hilly country, which would offer them good ground. He therefore resolved to cut them off before they reached a predominant hill not far away to the south. After ordering Cleland to continue up the drove,

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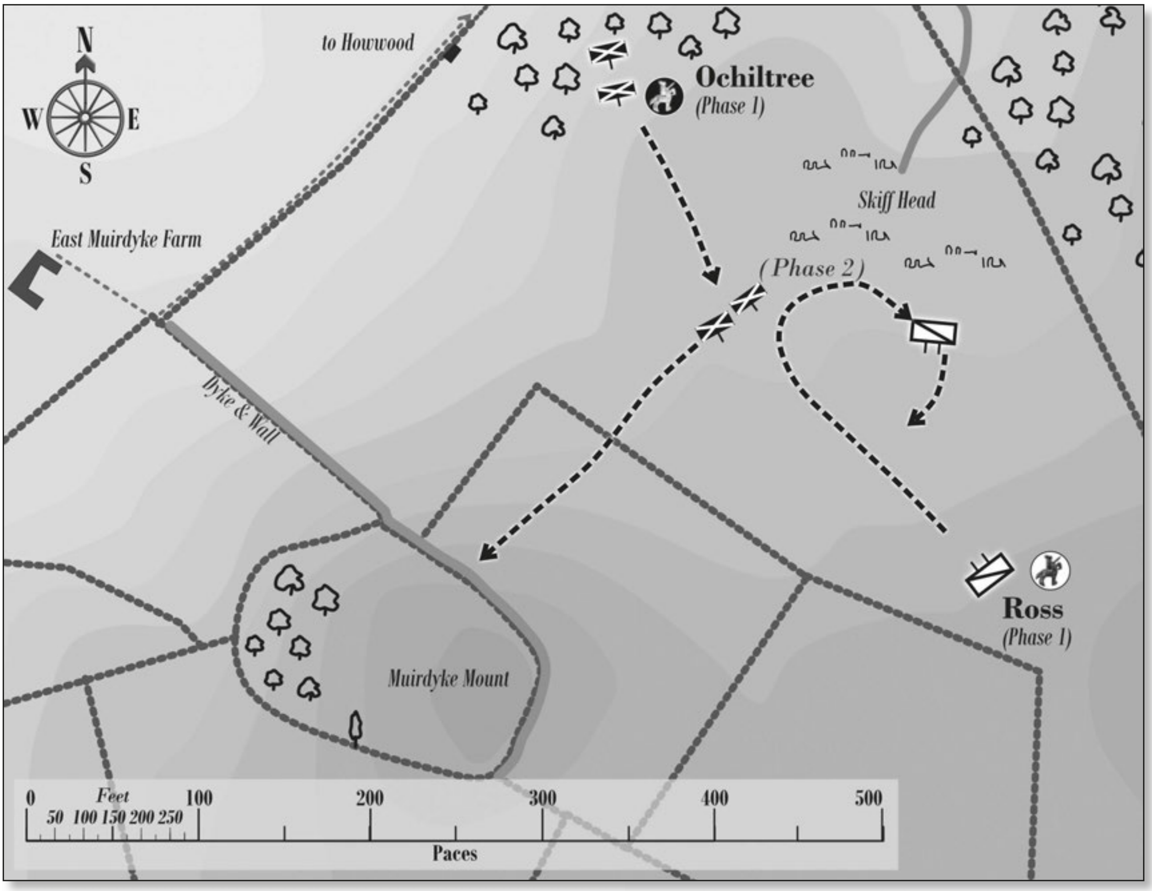
[37] Later the famous Scots Greys.

[38] Erskine, *Journal*, p.132.


N
W
E
S
to Howwood
Ochiltree
(Phase 1)
Skiff Head
East Muirdyke Farm
(Phase 2)
Dyke & Wall
Muirdyke Mount
Ross
(Phase 1)
0
Feet
50 100 150 200 250
100
200
300
400
500
Paces

Major Ross looks to cut off the Whig retreat – 18 June 1685. (Author's artwork)

Ross took his troop around a wood and up a valley that he hoped would come out in front of the Whigs.

Ross had judged the ground well and his troopers arrived in open fields to the south of where he had seen the enemy. And there they were, about a quarter of a mile away in a low fold of land, and Ross could see that they were looking to reach an enclosed hill on his left. The troopers formed into a two-rank line and moved to block the Whigs' route of escape. They had seen Ross, and he could see that they were only armed with muskets, an easy target for the Royal Horse. The Whigs had also formed a rough two rank line, possibly numbering 80 men in all. Before taking his troop down the slope, Ross called out to them: 'Lay your hands upon your swords, draw your swords, put your swords into your bridle hands, lay your hands upon your pistols, draw your pistols, cock your pistols, march!' As they closed to about 20 paces, Ross yelled, 'Give fire!' One of the Whigs fell, screaming, to the ground, and the horsemen took up their long swords and pressed forwards.[39] The soldiers were expecting to easily cut down the exposed foot; then they could enjoy the sport of chasing the enemy as they ran for their lives.

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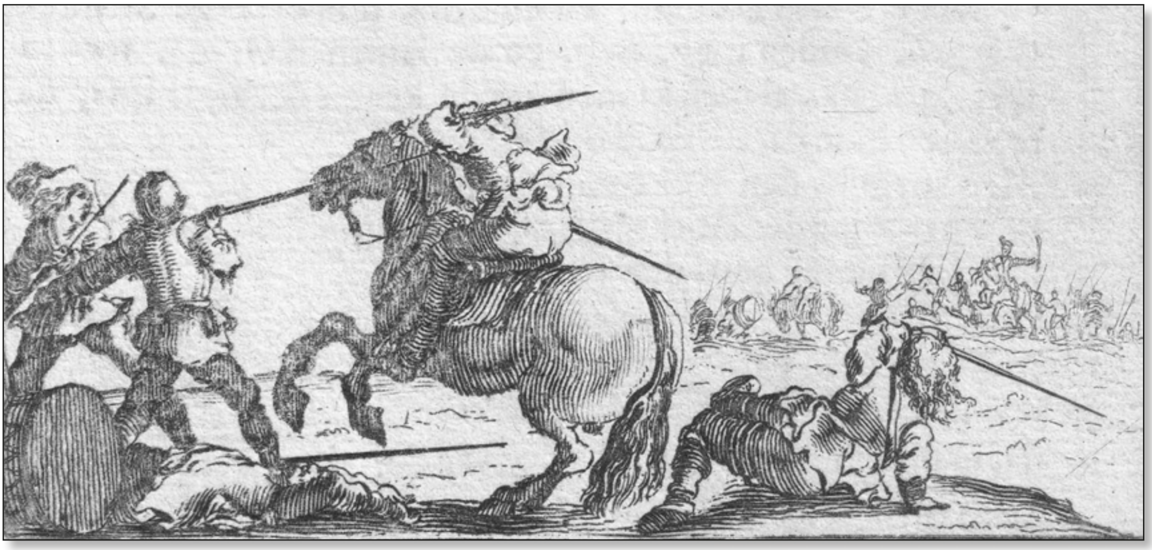
[39] Veitch and Brysson, *Memoirs*, p.326.



Foot fighting off horse *c*.1685. (Author's collection)

Mr Thomas Archer went down screaming as pistol bullets struck the ground around Ochiltree. It had been close. His exhausted men had barely time to make ready muskets and form a ragged line before the enemy horse were on them. Ochiltree cried out 'Come up, my lads and stand to it, and through God's grace I will bring you off.' Then the firelocks discharged a vigorous volley at the enemy horse. As quickly as they could, the Whigs took up their halberds[40] and closed their files. Ochiltree's men were all experienced, battle-hardened veterans, and they now formed an impenetrable mass of men. The small body of Whigs watched in relief and surprise as the oncoming troopers veered away. The enemy horse passed them by, and in so doing left them an open path to the safety of the hill some 150 paces away. Ochiltree did not refuse the invitation and ordered his men to run on up the slope, leaving the wounded Archer behind him at the foot of Muirdyke.

Major Ross was angry with his men. His troopers had been shaken by the volley, but it was the enemy's rapid conversion into the unexpected defensive mass that forced his men to shy away. Amongst the enemy ranks, he would see that his uncle commanded the Whigs. As the enemy scrambled up the slope, Ross saw his opportunity for an easy victory fade away, but perhaps he could win without further bloodshed. So he sent his trumpeter forward to treat with his uncle, and if the parley failed it would give Cleland time to come up with his dragoons and allow for his own troopers to reload.

Ochiltree watched his men reach the safety of the dyke's stone wall before agreeing to treat with his nephew. He carefully and slowly took his horse back down the slope to stop close enough to Ross to talk. The Whig dismounted. Behind him, his men would be readying their muskets, taking on ale, and piling their equipment. After the normal niceties, his nephew offered the Whigs quarter, and Ochiltree declined. Ross responded that the Whigs 'were pretty men, why would we throw away our lives! ... would we not take quarter?' Ochiltree retorted, 'We disdain your quarters! For we are appearing here for the Protestant religion, and you are fighting for popery, for which you ought to be ashamed.' Then behind Ochiltree a Whig firelock went off, possibly at half-cock, and all hell broke loose. The Government troopers now opened fire with their pistols and carbines at the Whigs. Ochiltree ran for his life. As he fled up the hill, pistol balls started raining down around him. On reaching the dyke, as he clambered over the wall he felt the sharp bruising impact as some shots made their mark on his buffcoat.[41] He looked around and could see that this 'little close hill of stubby ground' was the perfect defensive location for the veteran musketeers.

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[40] Veitch and Brysson, *Memoirs*, p.326, 'every man of us had a halberd, besides special firelocks'.

From his vantage point, Ochiltree watched as a troop of dragoons came up the slope from the direction of the smithy. At the front of this troop was his cousin-in-law, Captain Cleland of the Royal Dragoons, who deployed his troop facing the dyke from the south. While the dragoons readied their long carbines and checked their pistols, Major Ross had wheeled his troop to the right of Cleland. It was clear to all the Whigs that they would face an attack on two fronts, and Ochiltree divided his men into two divisions. The right was commanded by Polwarth, and the left by Major Henderson. To ensure fire discipline, Ochiltree told the men to receive the enemy's fire first, and not return shot until ordered to do so, and then only when the enemy was at the dyke.

As Cleland brought up his dragoons behind the Royal Horse, Ross wheeled his troop to the left and onto the flatter ground that faced the Whigs' right flank. Captain Cleland drew up his dragoons and deployed into two ranks and made ready for an assault on the Whigs' left flank. Once in position, Ross ordered his men to wheel and face the enemy, then to draw their swords and pistols, before shouting 'March!' This time the Major would break the enemy. As his men trotted to within 10 paces of the stone wall, Ross called out 'Front rank, give fire, and wheel to the right', and a volley of pistol balls fell amongst the enemy. Then the front rank peeled away, and the second rank fired. Then the troopers took their swords from their bridle hands and attacked. As they reached the stone wall they were hit by the crash and roar of a musket volley delivered at very close range, and as wounded troopers fell from their mounts, the structure of the troop fell apart. Some of the horses fell in the ditch, others stopped short, whilst a few troopers reached the wall and desperately attempted to cross. Then the enemy came out from the smoke, with raised swords or halberds in their hands. With nowhere to go, the cavalry parried the blows and fell back in disorder. As the smoke settled behind Ross's men, remarkably only one trooper was left dead on the field.

Captain Cleland launched his assault at the same time as Ross, but his men struggled up the steeper face of hill. As they closed to the dyke, they fired their long carbines, and let them fall before taking up their swords. However, here the dyke was even deeper and the wall higher. It was an impassable obstruction and they were totally exposed. There was no way over. Unable to close with the Whigs, many of the dragoons placed home their swords

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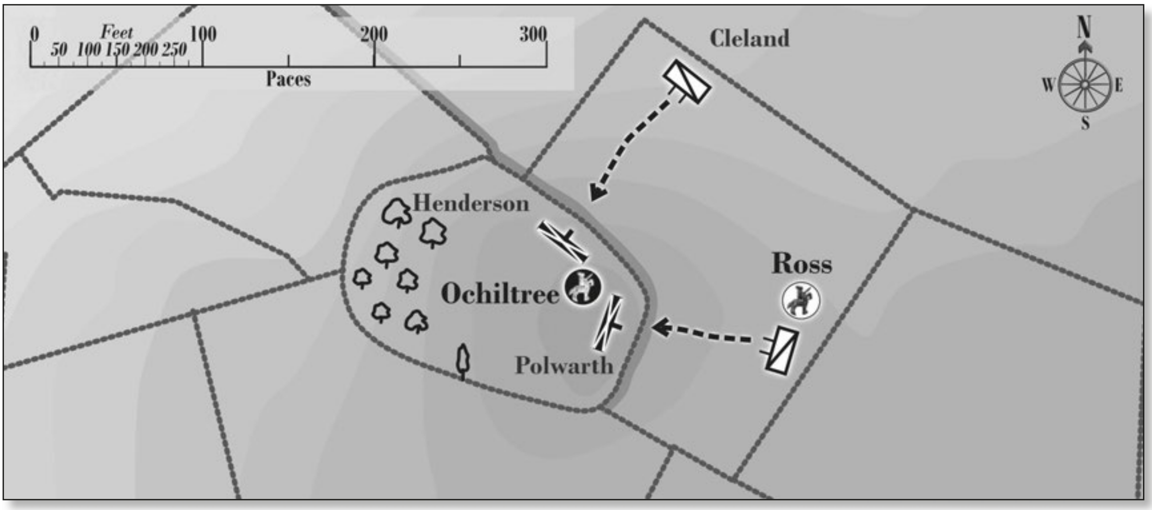
[41] Marchmont Papers, Vol. 3, p.63, 'carried the marks of several pistol shots on his buffcoat'.



The Government troops attack the Whigs at Muirdyke – 18 June 1685. (Author's artwork)

and shot at the Whigs with pistols. But this had little effect. Then they heard the enemy officer shout 'Fire!' and as saddles where emptied, the close-range volley destroyed what organisation remained. The dragoons broke and wheeled away without making any further bid to cross the dyke. Behind them Captain Cleland lay dead, shot through the head. As they rode away, the dragoons could hear the taunts of their enemies. Lieutenant Creighton reformed the dragoons at the foot of the slope, and as he looked up at his foes, he could see Cleland's scarlet coat being waved in defiance.[42]

The veterans had received the enemy most courageously and twice 'beat them off in disorder with smart blows.'[43] Ochiltree's men had had the better of the encounter, and a few wounded men were moved back from the firing line. The Whigs put themselves into a posture of defence and loaded their pieces while they watched the militia horse deploy into line facing Henderson's wing. Possibly 100 troopers now faced 30 or so Whigs on the left. The twice-beaten King's Horse were moving once more to the right, and now faced Polwarth's open flank. Meanwhile, the dragoons had also wheeled to their left and now filled the gap left by Ross's Horse. It was clear to the Whigs that they would be assaulted on three sides, and that this fight would be the hardest. Ochiltree, seeing the new threat, must have moved Polwarth's division to face Ross on the right and left a dozen men under his command in the centre. Always an honest man, Ochiltree called out to his volunteers, 'They have now lost some blood; therefore, they will make a vigorous assault and, therefore, lads, take courage, and stand to it, for our cause is good.'[44] He was not to be disappointed.

With the militia horse on the field, Major Ross reorganised his units and planned an all-out assault from three sides. The two troops of militia would advance from the north. Ross's Troop would try again from the south, where

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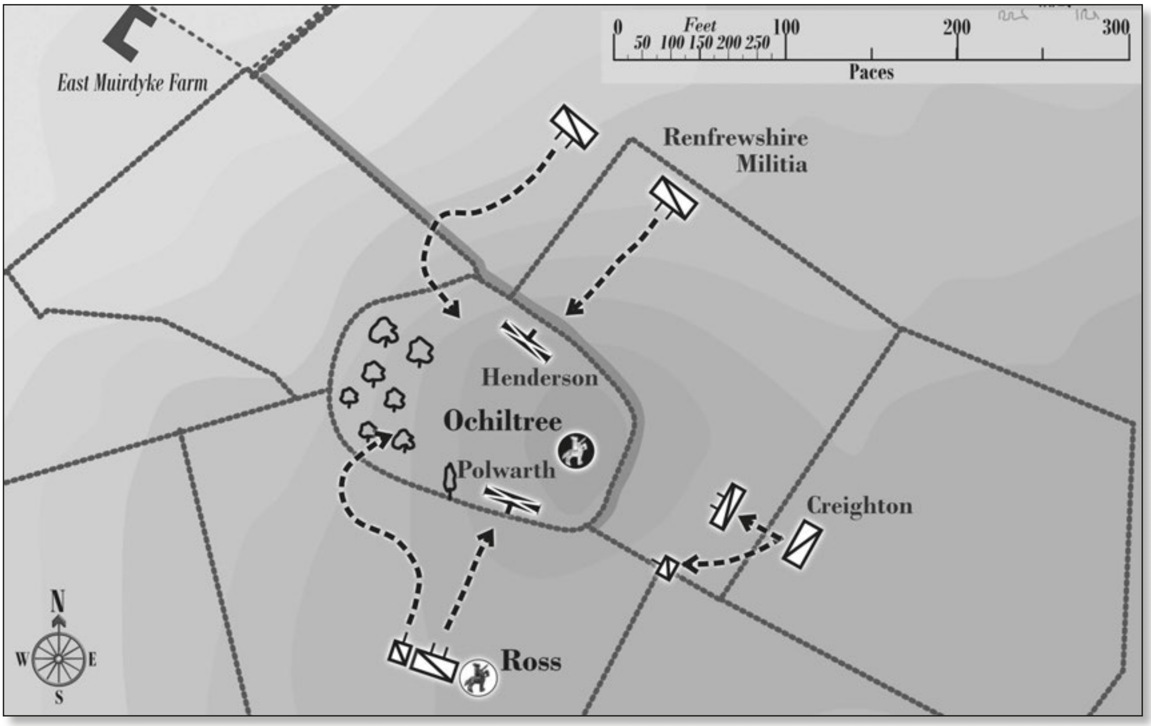
[42] Veitch and Brysson, *Memoirs*, p.328. One of the volunteers had jumped into the ditch and taken the scarlet coat off Cleland's limp body.

[43] Marchmont Papers, Vol. 3, p.64.

[44] Veitch and Brysson, *Memoirs*, p.328.



Government horse break into the Whig line at Muirdyke – 18 June 1685. (Author's artwork)

the ground was much better for horse and importantly, only a low stone wall protected the Whigs from this direction. Lieutenant Creighton with the dragoons was to engage from the eastern flank, attacking the centre of the Whig line. From his position to the south, Ross was unable to see the militia horse, and only when he heard the volley did he advance. The Whigs could not beat off three attacks.

Henderson watched as the two troops of militia horse formed a ragged line to his front. He had faith in his stout veteran firelocks, but the enemy overlapped his position. Lacking discipline, the militia troopers did not halt to fire pistols, instead the Whigs were pleased to see the enemy wash up against the dyke. Henderson saw that his men were ready, with cocked muskets and now called, 'Present, give fire!' Then he watched as the vicious volley plucked troopers from their horses, and as the smoke cleared his men cheered as the militia fled.

However, to his left, the militia's extended front had enabled a good number of the enemy troopers to get over the dyke unopposed. These men were now forming up below his position, but it was here that the hill was at its steepest, and at the foot of the slope was the stone wall. Leaving a few men to watch his front, Henderson wheeled his division to face the militia and called out 'Make ready and fire.' His musketeers now loaded as fast as they could. The normal drill was to prime the pan first but as most of his men were using flasks of powder, they simply charged their barrels. They then spat the ball down, before placing the wad and ramming home. Most of the men had not bothered to prime or place home the scouring stick. Missing these steps saved time.[45] In this way the veterans could reload and fire in 20 or 30 seconds. Whilst the militia horse was still struggling over the wall and up the steep incline the first balls made their mark. Then the second round of balls took more men from their saddles. The volunteers could not miss. Within a minute below them, there were dying troopers, dismounted horses, and chaos in the militia ranks. Then the Whigs hit, Henderson's men had picked up their halberds, plugged bayonets and now charged downhill. The part-time soldiers below them did not stand a chance. They broke and streamed back to the safety of the nearby woods.

On the other side of Muirdyke, Ross took the volley fire coming from the north as the sign for his horse to charge. The flatter ground enabled Ross's troopers to close with vigour. This time his men did not stop to fire their pistols, and they reached the stone wall in moments. The few Whigs there had fired, but their shots made no impression on Ross's emboldened men. The melee quickly spread down the line. With swords clashing, and pistol shots ringing out, several Whigs fell. However, the enemy still had the advantage of the wall and used their long polearms and plugged bayonets to stab at horses and riders alike. It was in the heat of this savage fighting that Cornet Sir Adam Bair received a wound, forcing him to withdraw.[46] Then Ross saw too late the barrel of a pistol, it flashed and he was knocked backwards by the shock of impact. Ross pulled out of the combat to see that his harness had taken the full force of the ball.[47] Over to his left he could see that his men had broken across the stone wall and would soon be in behind the enemy.

In the centre of the battle line, Lieutenant Creighton carefully advanced his troop of dragoons, but the inexperienced officer chose a different tack. Stopping his men on the other side of a stone wall facing the enemy he called out 'Link your horses, handle your pistols, draw your pistols, place your pistols in your girdles, dismount your horses.' With this his dragoons 'lighted from their horse and stood behind the dyke.'[48] With four of his troopers remaining mounted to hold the horses, the dragoons crossed over the wall and advanced to within 30 paces of the enemy. As his men marched forwards, the Lieutenant could see Ross's troops engage the enemy, but to his right the militia had broken. If he could pin down the Whig centre, Ross would sweep them away. He ordered one of his corporals to take the dozen men armed with halberds and grenades to follow the stone wall that joins the Muirdyke enclosure at a right angle. From that location his men could break into the enemy flank. It was undoubtedly the weakest spot in the Whig defence. Creighton had advanced his 30 remaining dragoons to within 50 paces, in two ranks and open order. They stood at the ready. Each man had

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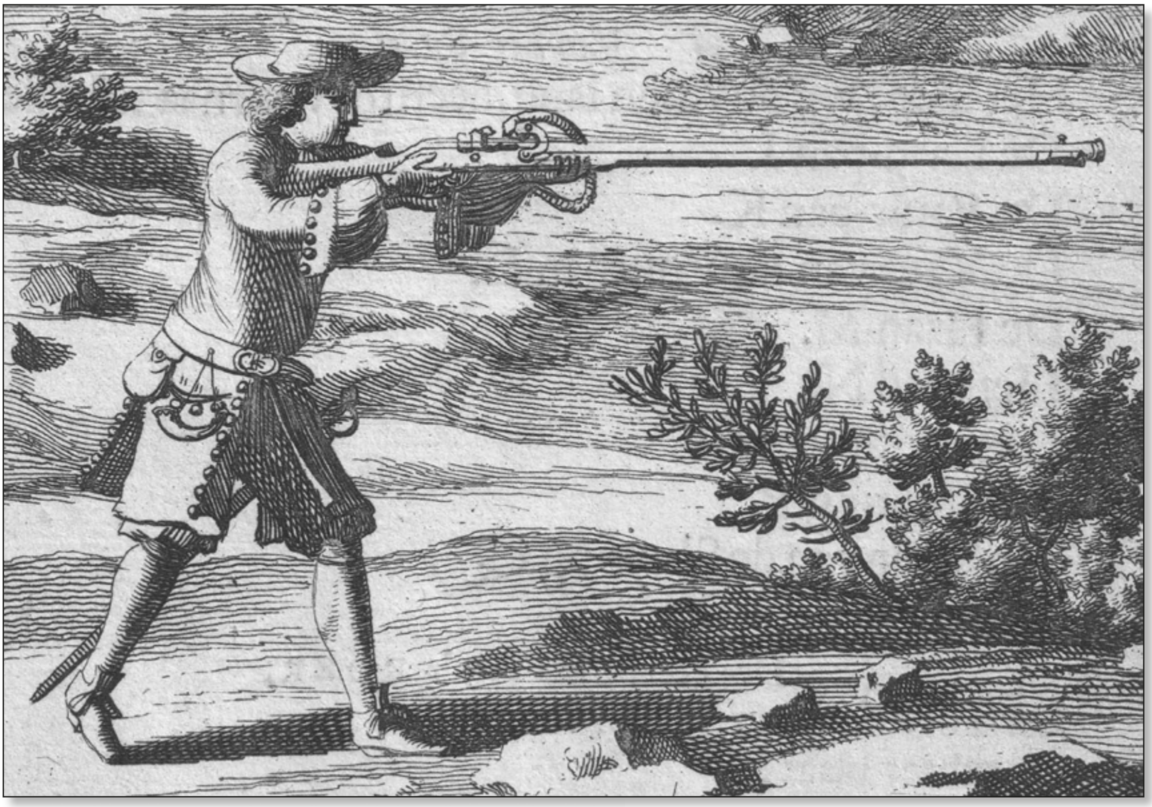
[45] With an early flintlock, the smaller pan means that as the charge is rammed home, enough powder is pushed through the touchhole to self-prime. Not placing home between firing should only be done by experienced musketeers. Another fast loading procedure is to tap the butt on the ground and not ram the charge, however this will not self-prime, and can go off in the loader's face once the lock becomes worn (speaking from experience!)

[46] Creighton, *Memoirs*, p.54.

[47] Woodrow, *Sufferings*, Vol. 4, p.296.

[48] Veitch and Brysson, *Memoirs*, p.329.



Soldier firing a matchlock musket *c*.1685. (Author's collection)

a loaded long carbine and two pistols. Creighton called out 'Front rank only, cock your carbines, present your carbines, give fire!'

From his position on the high ground Ochiltree could see the whole battle as it unfolded. Crucially his men had interior lines, and luckily the enemy attack had not been totally synchronised. On the right flank, the enemy horse had stretched Polwarth's division into a thin and exposed line. This flank was hard-pushed and close to breaking. In the centre, the dismounted dragoons were being held back by a dozen or so volunteers, while on his left the enemy militia were now streaming away towards the woods. Ochiltree ordered Henderson to leave a half-dozen men to cover the left wing and then take the rest to reinforce Polwarth's beleaguered flank. Henderson's men took up their halberds and covered the 70 paces in quick time. To his right, through the small orchard, Henderson could see that enemy horse had crossed the wall and were now infiltrating the rear of the position. Not stopping to reorder his ranks, he charged his men downhill. The impact was decisive, the veterans had a point to prove and they showed no mercy. Within seconds the horse broke.

Ochiltree had seen the dragoons making their way up the wall to the point where it joined the dyke. If the enemy reached this location, they could fire into the flank of Polwarth's men and the battle was lost. With possibly two files being pinned down by the dismounted dragoons in the centre, Ochiltree needed to act. He had already taken whatever men he could from the right flank and now brought the remaining soldiers from the left across in support. He ordered the veterans to draw swords, plug bayonets, and heft their halberds. Ochiltree charged with a handful of men. They raced down the hill and out from the safety of the dyke to attack the dragoons.

Creighton had just fired his second rank and saw that his sergeant of dragoons was only a few paces from the dyke. It was time to act: he commanded his troopers to 'Handle your bayonets, withdraw your bayonets', but then stopped. The sergeant and his men were running back to their horses. The enemy had struck them with swords and wild swings of their halberds. If the Lieutenant advanced now his flank would be exposed to the enemy. So, Creighton simply called out to his men, 'Recover your bayonets, and retire to the horses.' After hastily remounting, Creighton pulled the whole troop back out of musket range.

The wounded Ross watched as the troopers on the flank came streaming back across the wall. To his right he was astonished to see Creighton remounting his men and pulling back. Then more Whigs arrived at the wall. His troop of the King's Horse was now heavily outnumbered and beaten back with even more loss of men. It had been a hard melee for both sides, but the Government troopers had been defeated. Once back out of range, Major Ross dismounted his men and ordered them to use their carbines to fire at the enemy. The superior horse had made three assaults on the strong Whig position. Each had been repulsed with losses, and Ross could not take his men forward for a fourth attempt. Therefore, the Major elected to encompass the hill and wait for Government foot and guns to arrive.

For the remaining few hours of daylight, the Whigs were harassed by the long-range sniping from enemy carbines, but by sunset had lost only four men,[49] with around five more wounded. At dusk, a couple of men crept out to find Archer and brought him back to the safety of the enclosure. However, it was clear to those tending him that his life was in the balance and Ochiltree let him be carried to the nearby farmstead.[50] For Ochiltree this battle was a sign that the cause was blessed, and he thanked God for their wonderful preservation. Then he took out his Bible and sang the 46th Psalm. That night, with sentinels placed, Ochiltree brought his men together. Beginning his rhetoric with 'What think you of these cowardly rogues! They dare not fight us, for as small a number as we are, but have a mind to guard us till tomorrow, that the body of the King's forces come and cut us off; therefore, let us still behave ourselves like men.' Seeing his men's spirit were still bright, he continued, 'Let us, therefore, charge our pieces well, and lets us go off the field in a close body together, with as little noise as we can. If we escape them in the dark, it is well; if not, let us fight our way through them.' They would hit the enemy on the southern flank in the dead of night. Before they departed, they buried their dead and made ready for the march. Leaving the enclosure in a very close body, they were ready for a hard fight, and they were pleased to discover that their foes had retired to Kilmarnock. The battle was won.

The Whigs marched on another mile before stopping. This time it was to take an oath. After the heroism shown at Muirdyke, Ochiltree feared

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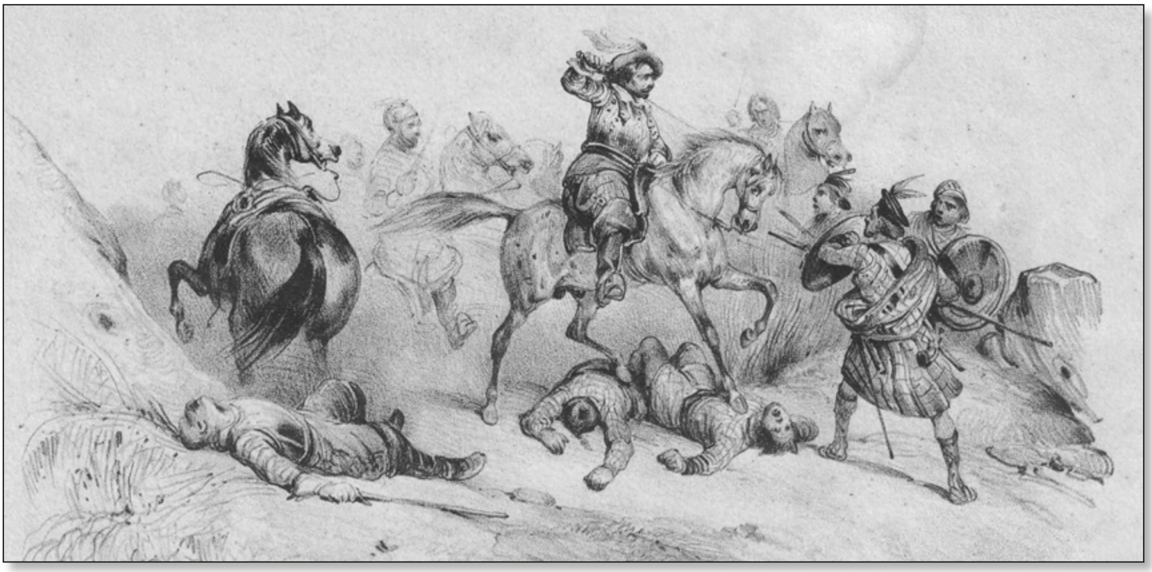
[49] Veitch and Brysson, *Memoirs*, p.328, 'who was shot through the head'.

[50] Possibly East Muirdyke. From here Mr Archer was captured and taken to Edinburgh, after which he was executed.



Highland foot engaged with horse. (Author's collection)

that the body would be broken apart by men slipping away into the night. Therefore, each man swore an oath to the company. This was 'not to part one from another without leave asked and given.'[51] This being his father's land, Ochiltree told the men that he knew the ground ahead and would guide them to safety. They marched hard all night, but as the sun came up the exhausted men found themselves back within two miles of the battle site. In his fatigued state, Ochiltree had taken them in a wide loop. Luckily, this had worked in their favour, as the Government forces were looking for them further away. During the day, the Whigs slept, ate, and watched the enemy march past their position. For Major Henderson this came as a relief. He had travelled all night with a pistol ball in his left shoulder, and that afternoon took the opportunity to have the ball cut out.

That night, a reliable guide took them to a safe farmstead where they remained the whole of the next day. From here, Ochiltree sent friends north to find out what news they could of Argyll and the rest of the army. That evening word returned that the Earl was a prisoner in Glasgow, and there was still no word of Monmouth. Ochiltree saw that the campaign was lost and released the company from their oaths, stating every man could 'shift for himself.'[52] George Brysson, with three of the lads that had gone to Amsterdam six weeks earlier, escaped back to Holland. They would return with William of Orange in 1688. The following day news finally reached the Whigs in Scotland that Monmouth had landed in England, but it was far too late.

With Argyll's capture, the Secret Council agreed that the Scots Brigade should return south, especially with the news that Monmouth had landed in England. Therefore, on 19 June a boat was sent across to the fleet at anchor at

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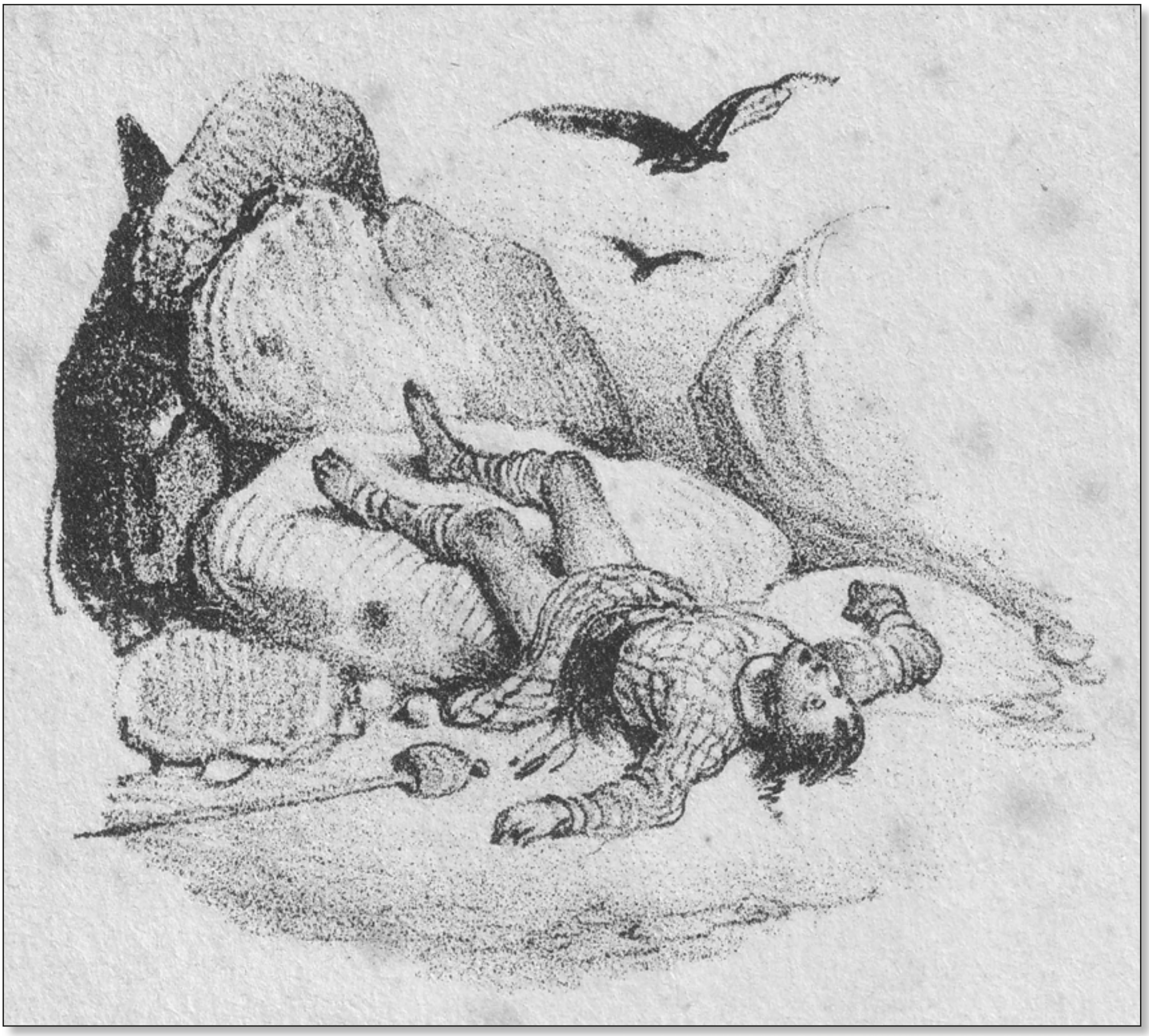
[51] Veitch and Brysson, *Memoirs*, p.331.

[52] Ochiltree was captured later that month, after his cousin disclosed his hiding place. She was the widow of Captain Cleland.



Dead Highlander, *c*.1700. (Author's collection)

St Ebbs Head with a message: Mackay was to sail to Gravesend.[53] The following day, Saturday 20 June, with Eilean Dearg empty of arms and equipment, the *Kingfisher* weighed anchor and sailed back down Loch Ruel. Once Captain Hamilton and the fleet were a safe distance away, an explosion ripped the castle apart. As the smoke lifted, nothing remained of the Whig stronghold.

However, Castle Carnasserie was still defiant. This Whig fortification was the home of Auchinbreck and was held by his brother, and on 25 June, Atholl took 600 men south to deal with these rebels. The castle had a garrison of 80 desperate and defeated men. Not willing to risk more lives, Atholl sent forward a drummer with a summons to surrender. As he approached, one of the windows opened and a musket shot rang out, forcing the drummer to beat a hasty retreat. Moments later a soldier with a white flag came out. He explained that a diehard Whig had fired the shot, and that they did wish to surrender after all. As the parley continued, flame and smoke erupted from the castle. Then the doors and windows were blown out.[54] It was clear that the same man had set a powder charge and exploded the magazine, but this last act of defiance was too late, and the castle surrendered. That night the Macleans, who formed part of Atholl's army, committed the final act of the Scottish campaign. In retribution for other deeds, they attacked and killed some of the defenceless Campbells, including Auchinbreck's brother. The Campbells would take their revenge a few years later at Glencoe. Argyll's campaign was finally over.

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[53] Fountainhall Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.176.

Whitehall – 19 June 1685

In Whitehall, on 19 June, marching orders were issued to the units that would form Feversham's army, and he was duly promoted to lieutenant general,[55] whilst Churchill was made brigadier general.[56] The army was comprised of 50 gentlemen, and 20 horse grenadiers from the 1st Troop of Lifeguards, and the same from the 2nd and 3rd Troops.[57] In all the Lifeguard contingent numbered 150 gentlemen, and 60 elite horse grenadiers.[58] They were to march as commanded men and had four horses for their sutlers. The Duke of Grafton was to march with two battalions of the 1st Foot Guards, each would have had six companies, and would be joined by Captain Hawley's and possibly Captain Booth's grenadier companies.[59] Lieutenant Colonel Sackville with six line companies from the Coldstream Guards, plus Captain Bridgeman's grenadier company would also march west. These three battalions of Foot Guards numbered between 1,800 and 2,000 rank and file.[60] Therefore, it is very likely that the strength of each Foot Guard company had been increased to the 100 soldiers as stipulated on 13 June. This would have been achieved by stripping men from the companies that remained behind in the garrison. The Guards battalions would be supported by 29 waggons or carriages. The horse and Foot Guards would be joined by Captain Charles Adderley's,[61] and Captain Henry Cornwall's troops of Oxford Blues.[62] Finally came Captain George Churchill's, and Lord Churchill's[63] own troop of the Royal Dragoons. All these troops were possibly at the new regulation establishment of 60 soldiers.[64]

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[54] BA, 29I(4a), f.10.

[55] NA, SP 44/56, f.230, 19 June 1685.

[56] It is hard to understand why the popular view held by historians is that Churchill was offended by this action: as Colonel Churchill of the Royal Dragoons he was automatically outranked by Feversham, colonel of the 3rd Troop of Lifeguards. Therefore, this was the natural order of things. Feversham had the military experience and title to take command of all English land forces.

[57] NA, WO 5/1, ff.60–61.

[58] A, SP 44/56, f.229.

[59] Based on NA, WO 47/15, f.48, the 1st Foot Guards had two companies of grenadiers. It is possible that both companies marched west, or that these were merged to increase the strength of Hawley's company. See Chapter 6.

[60] See Morrice, *Entring*, Vol. 3, p.20; BL, Add MS 38012, f.3; and Luttrell, *State Affairs*, Vol. 1, p.348.

[61] NA, WO 5/1, f.26. Adderley's Troop was in Lambeth.

[62] NA, WO 5/1, ff.62–63.

[63] NA, WO 5/1, f.38. Lord Churchill's troops were in Highgate.

[64] NA, WO 5/1, f.61.

Behind them, at the Tower, a second train of artillery was being readied. This train would consist of two 12-pounders, four 9-pounders, four 6-pounders, four older sakers and two light minions,[65] all pulled by a draught of 119 horses and helped by 28 carters.[66] Each gun was to be manned by a master gunner and five labourers.[67] Alongside the guns would be waggons full of tents, shot, and barrels of powder.[68] To assist with the erection of tents and earthworks, there would be 20 pioneers.[69] The train would be escorted by Lieutenant Colonel Lord Douglas with four line companies and Captain Robert Hodges' grenadier company from the Royal Regiment of Foot.[70] As Douglas's Battalion had over 20 waggons, it is very likely that these companies had been increased to the new establishment strength of 100 men. On 17 June, each of the 21 companies received six firelocks, 28 matchlocks, 34 bandoliers, one halberd, one drum and 16 long pikes for the extra 50 soldiers. However, the grenadier company stayed at 50.[71]

With the planned dispatch of Feversham's army, only the Prince of Denmark's Regiment and the remnants of the Royal Foot and Foot Guards Battalions would remain in London. Therefore, it was hoped that these men would be joined by the English Brigade from Holland. To ensure London stayed loyal, Sunderland ordered the Trained Bands to arrest all known Whig sympathisers. Alongside these regular units, commissions were issued to the officers from the Lifeguards to raise 60 new independent troops of horse and seven independent companies of foot. Then over the next few days, Sunderland issued commissions for two new regiments of horse and nine regiments of foot, and Lord Dartmouth was to raise the Royal Regiment of Fuzileers.

The Queen's Regiment of Horse, under Colonel Sir John Lanier, was commissioned on 13 June and by 20 June was ready to march to Lambeth. This had nine troops, each of 60 soldiers, three corporals, two trumpeters, a quartermaster, a cornet, a lieutenant, and a captain.[72] These troops were equipped with a pair of pistols, a carbine with swivel, back, breast, and pot helmets.[73] The second regiment of horse was the Earl of Peterborough's, which was to contain six troops. These were joined by five new troops of Royal Dragoons, each with a captain, two lieutenants, cornet, quartermaster, two sergeants with halberds, two drummers, three corporals and 60 troopers. Each corporal and dragoon were equipped with long carbines with straps, cartridge boxes, and bayonets.[74]

The first regiment of foot raised was Princess Anne of Denmark's under Colonel Robert, Lord Ferrers. This formation had 10 companies, each had 56 matchlocks, 12 firelocks, 32 long pikes, three matchlock-armed corporals,[75] three sergeants with halberds, and two drummers. These were officered by a captain, a lieutenant, and an ensign. This was joined by Sir Henry Cornewall's with 12 companies, structured in the same way as Lord Ferrers', but with an additional grenadier company. This had a captain, two lieutenants, two sergeants, two drummers and three corporals plus 100 soldiers. Each grenadier was equipped with a long carbine, a cartridge box with a belt, bayonet, grenade pouch, and a hammer hatchet.[76] After Cornewall's, the other regiments were the Earl of Bath's with 12 companies, and the Duke of Beaufort's, the Duke of Norfolk's, the Earl of Huntington's, Sir Edward Hales's, and Sir William Clifton's, all with 10 companies. In response to his report about the events at Bridport, Colonel Thomas Strangeways was to raise a new regiment from the Dorset Militia.[77]

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[65] Ede-Borrett, *Army of James II*, p.110, for a complete list of the train.

[66] NA, WO 47/15, f.42.

[67] NA, WO 47/15, f.49.

[68] NA, WO 47/14, f.49.

[69] NA, WO 47/15, f.44.

[70] NA, WO 5/1, f.73.

[71] NA, WO 47/15, f.37.

[72] NA, WO 5/1, f.48.

[73] NA, WO 47/15, f.29.

[74] NA, WO 47/15, f.49 and NA, WO 5/1, f.54.

The final new regiment of foot commissioned at this time was the Royal Regiment of Fusiliers, whose colonel was to be Lord Dartmouth. This would be a unique formation by being armed totally with musket and bayonet, without any pikes. It was to contain one company of 40 miners, under a captain, plus 12 companies of fusiliers each with 100 private soldiers, three corporals, three sergeants, two drummers, two lieutenants and a captain.[78] Importantly, there was no ensign. All these soldiers had broad belts with cartridge boxes,[79] bayonets, swords, and carried long carbines with a strap. The sergeants had gilt partizans, and the corporals Scotch partizans.[80] Many of these new units would be raised from the county militia and volunteers. All these men would require arms and equipment to come from the stores; while some received older matchlocks,[81] much was purchased new from suppliers. This would take time and some units like the fusiliers were to have the latest snaphanes muskets[82] with French locks and straps. Therefore, many did not receive their weapons until early or even late July.[83]

On 19 June, a spy report reached London that changed Whitehall's plans. It indicated that Monmouth was indeed looking to seize Bristol.[84] All the militia of Gloucestershire, Monmouthshire, and Herefordshire were once more ordered to make haste to join Beaufort at Bristol. Churchill was now ordered to take his brigade north and make every effort to stop Monmouth reaching the city.[85] Looking at the maps in Whitehall, it was thought that he could be in Shepton Mallet by 22 June, if his army marched from Salisbury via Amesbury and Warminster. The following day, Feversham's army marched out of London along the Great Western Road to Bristol. The long column of 200 Lifeguards, 2,000 Foot Guards,[86] and over 30 waggons, would be marching west through Staines, Brentford, Maidenhead, Reading and Newbury, to arrive at Marlborough by 24 June. En route they would be joined by the two troops of Oxford Blues, and two troops of Royal Dragoons. Then the Oxfordshire Militia horse at Reading,[87] and by the Wiltshire and Hampshire Militia once they reached Chippenham.

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[75] There was a total of 59 matchlocks and 71 collars of bandoliers issued to each company.

[76] NA, WO 47/15, f.58 taken from the Prince of Denmark's grenadier company.

[77] NA, SP44/164, f.203.

[78] NA, WO 5/1, f.65.

[79] NA, WO 47/15, f.68.

[80] NA, WO 47/15, f.100.

[81] BL, Add MS 38012, f.16.

[82] NA, WO 47/15, f.281.

[83] See Chapter 6.

[84] BL, SP, 44/164, f.214, but it is not clear when this information left Monmouth's army. However, if we assume that it took a day for this information to travel from Taunton to London, it must have left on 17 June before Monmouth reached Taunton. This is interesting, as it was clear that Monmouth was still looking to march on London until 22 or 23 June as per the letter to Sunderland (see Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.12), which states 'it is the generall discourse amoug the rebells that they will march directly for London.' Therefore, this massage was either sent after a council meeting, or someone had overheard a conversation and reported this to Whitehall.

Battle of Ashill – 19 June, 1685

With cavalry patrols out guarding the surrounding countryside, on the morning of 19 June the streets of Taunton filled with cheering crowds. Amongst the masses were hundreds of volunteers who had gathered to enlist in the new Protestant army. Many had been waiting for this opportunity for weeks. To the chants of 'Monmouth and the Protestant religion!' and 'No popery!' about 3,000 foot from Monmouth's army[88] marched through the packed streets to the castle. Here the foot stood at their ease until Monmouth appeared, and then Major Fox called out 'Silence!' With this the ranks recovered themselves to the order. The Duke was accompanied by the maids of the town, led by Mary Blake,[89] and these young ladies came out with the regimental colours.[90] The maids were mainly the kin of the officers from Taunton and included Katherine Bovett, the Colonel's daughter.[91] What followed was clearly a trooping of the colour ceremony.

The first act was for the army to be remodelled from four to five regiments. This required those soldiers from Taunton that enlisted at Lyme to step away from their current companies. They then joined the ranks of Colonel Bovett's new Taunton Blue Regiment and were formed into six companies.[92] Then the existing regiments were remodelled, with the new recruits enrolled into the ranks of their regiments. Each company appears to have contained 150 soldiers, split into three approximately equal divisions of 50: one of pike and two of shot. Each company had a captain, two lieutenants, an ensign, three sergeants, three corporals and two drummers. The army was now in five 'great battalions',[93] and some of those men made ensigns at Lyme now found themselves commanding companies.

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[85] NA, SP 44/56, f.228.

[86] Luttrell, *State Affairs*, Vol. 1, p.348.

[87] NA, SP 44/56, ff.230–231.

[88] BL, Harley 6845, f.287r.

[89] Muddiman, *Assizes*, p.165.

[90] In many accounts it is reported that the 'maids' made the colours. It is unclear how 27 colours could be made in just eight days. However, research shows that the bulk of the colours were made in Holland before the invasion. One man, Benjamin Hewling (Snr) was linked to the purchase of the purple coats, and blue colours. Furthermore, on 5 June, 1685 (see BL, Harley 6845, f.285), the same Hewling was arrested and imprisoned in Ilminster. As it is likely, Taunton was to rise and then march to join Monmouth at Lyme, the Blue Regiment colours may well have been delivered, together with a batch of coats, in early June. The only colours that may have been made by the maids are additional colours to support the new companies and the 'King's Colour'.

[91] BL, Harley 7006, f.195r.

[92] BL, Harley 6845, f.278.

Once the men had been modelled, the company colours could be trooped. Starting with the colonel's company, the colour was blessed, and then presented to the Duke and Lord Grey. Then a maid handed it to the company captain, who passed this to his ensign. The colour was then paraded in front of the whole army, and then trooped in front of the company. This was to create a bond between the soldiers and their new colour, and for the whole army to recognise the unit. The final colour trooped was Monmouth's own dark green standard which appears to have been presented to the Lyme company. In all, 26 colours had been trooped, but not all companies received a colour, and these were the new scythe companies.

Once the companies were formed, the soldiers were issued arms and equipment by the quartermasters. The large influx of soldiers created a problem for Monmouth and his staff. The Whigs had brought enough weapons for 2,500 foot and 1,500 horse from Holland, to which they had added 1,000 foot weapons from the armouries,[94] overland shipments and hidden stores.[95] However, more weapons would be needed, and the leadership agreed to add a 'grenadier'-like company to each regiment. It is possible that this company was comprised of two divisions, one of shot and one of scythe-men rather than pikes.[96] The scythe was a farm tool which for centuries had been adapted for the battlefield. This was done by straightening the tang at the base of the blade, and then re-hafting this to form a military pole-arm. These companies could deploy quickly, and whilst the scythes would give some protection from horse, they would be formidable against foot armed with pikes and bayonets.

Orders were issued by the paymaster Captain Richard Goodenough that the local tything-men were to gather up all scythes and deliver them to Taunton.[97] A mixed scythe and shot company under Captain Dick Slape

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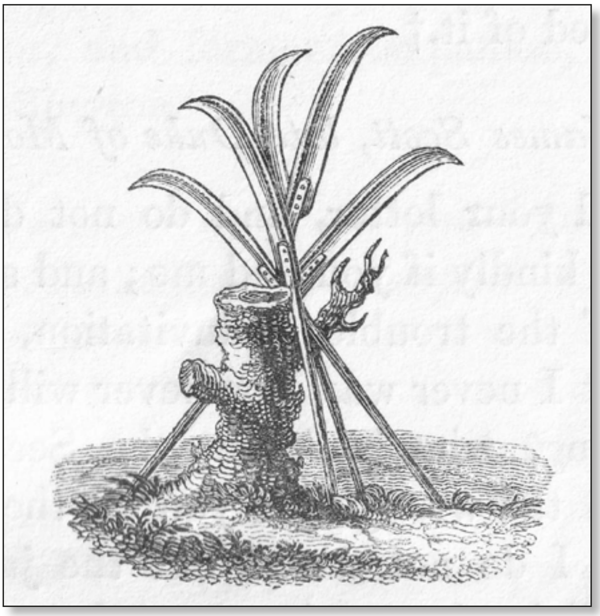
[93] BL, Harley 6845, f.291.

[94] This still contained the weapons seized in September 1685, see NP, MS 288, f.7.

[95] Oldmixon, *History of England*, p.701, 'Arms for about 5,000 men, horse and foot'; BL, Harley 6845, f.271r, 'about 1,500 foot arms, 1,500 cuirasses'; BL, Add MS 30077, f.28r, '1,460 suits of defensive arms, 100 muskets and bandoliers, 500 pikes and as many swords'. In addition to these, can be added BL, Add MS 41817, f.51 'Several [cases] laden with arms, as muskets, carbines, and pistols … eighty cases laden with all sorts, as muskets, carbines, pistols, pikes, sp…, halbards, partisans etc.'. As with Argyll's shipping lists, it is clear that Wade and Grey knew only their own shipping manifests and did not see other the shipments that went overland, or on the other vessels. NA, WO 55/1760 lists hundreds of seized weapons in Taunton, and others like Prideaux giving a dozen weapons. If Monmouth planned to raise five regiments of foot, of five 100-man companies, then Goodenough's statement 'but brought merely 2,500 arms' (see BL, Lansdowne 1152, f.243r), would indicate they arrived with 2,500 arms for foot, and picked up another 1,000 through other means.

[96] BL, Harley 6845, f.278, 'of Captain Slape's company of sithes, and musketeers, being a hundred, which were added to the Duke's regiment'.

[97] George Roberts, *Life, Progresses and Rebellion of James, Duke of Monmouth*, Vol. 1, (London: Longmans, 1844), p.328.



Stand of scythes, from Roberts 1844. (Author's collection)

was added to the Duke's regiment and Captain Thompson commanded the mixed scythe company in Bovett's Regiment. It is possible that the Lyme company under Captain Gaitch contained 100 scythe-men was formed at Taunton, and formed a foot-guard under Colonel Brandt.[98] Each scythe company possibly had a captain, two lieutenants, two sergeants, two corporals and a drummer, but only the Lyme company had an ensign to carry the green standard.[99]

At the end of the parade, it is likely that Monmouth's army contained the Lyme Company, and five regiments of foot: Wade's, Bovett's, Matthews', Foulkes' and Holmes'. Added to Captain Hooker's and Captain Hucker's troops were 160 horse, making about 16 troops of horse in total. A troop of 40 well-mounted and armed[100] young gentlemen had also been formed into Monmouth's Lifeguards.[101] In all this was approximately 4,500 infantry and 850 cavalry, plus four light guns.

On 19 June, the lead elements of Albemarle's force reached Wellington, while Churchill with just 150 troopers arrived at Chard.[102] From here, Churchill ordered out parties to scout for the enemy and one of these, numbering 24 troopers under Lieutenant Monoux from Littleton's Troop, headed north via Ilminster. As Monoux's men advanced up the Taunton Road they saw a party of horse near Ashill and from a distance it was not clear if these men were enemies or friends. Once Monoux drew closer, it became clear that the 18 horse were Whigs. This was a party of horse lead by Cornet John Legg, possibly from Captain Hucker's Troop. Legg had been on patrol and was watching the road from London when he saw the Government horse. On sighting their foes both opposing horse units, possibly wishing to prove themselves, chose to confront their adversaries. As the two troops of men advanced to melee, the Oxford Blues had the advantage in numbers. The men wore back and breast plates over blue coats, lined in red. Each trooper carried a pair of pistols, a short carbine and long sword.

Cornet Legg was a local man from Axminster and had signed up with Monmouth at Lyme, after which he was commissioned as cornet in a troop of horse. It was very likely that from the town hall, Legg and his men were

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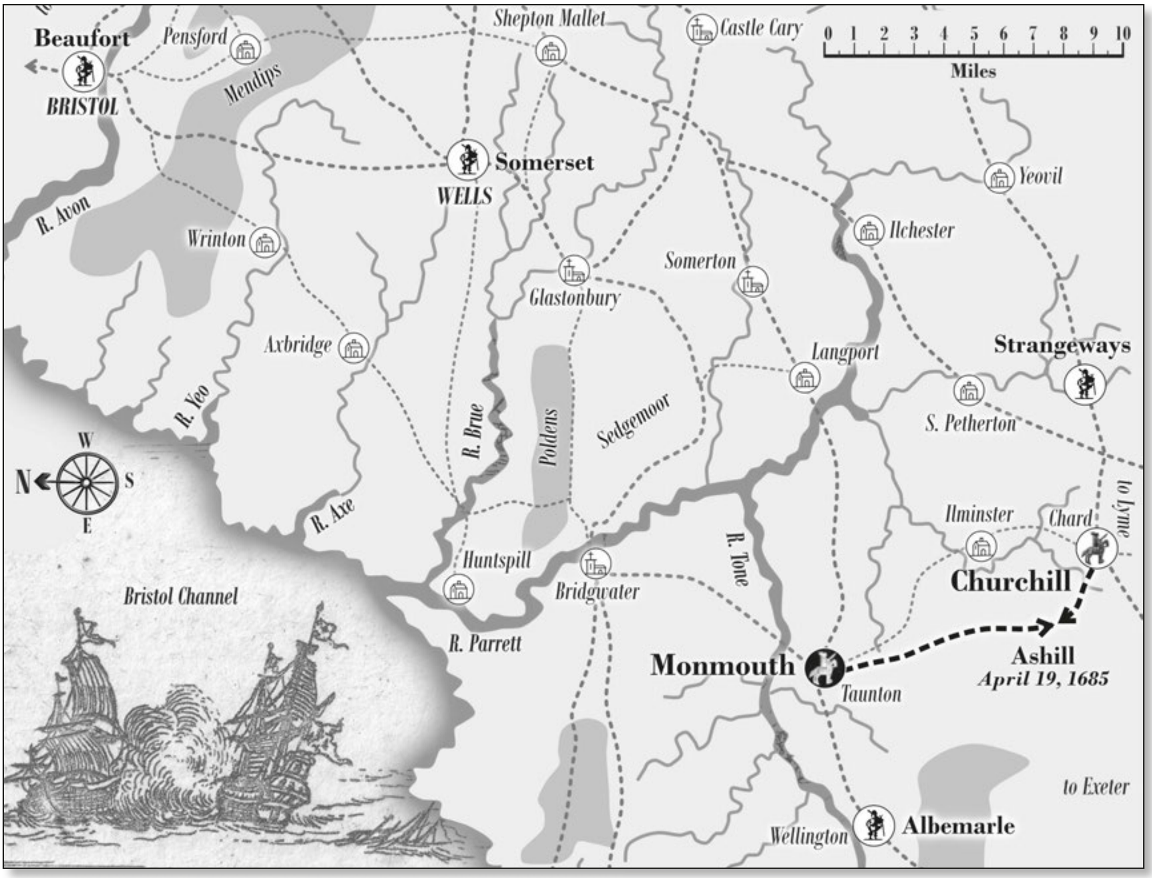
[98] National Library of Jamaica, MS 105, 87–8; Supplementary Material, p.13 – reference from Impey, Edward 'A DESPERAT WEPON': RE-HAFTED SCYTHES AT SEDGEMOOR, IN WARFARE AND AT THE TOWER OF LONDON', <www.cambridge.org>.

[99] The Lyme Company appear in Wade's list of units at Sedgemoor, and a Captain Joseph Gaitch is described as having come from Lyme. If this is the case, they would have formed a guard of scythe-men as described, under Colonel Brandt.

[100] Probably with quad-barrelled pistols and double-barrelled carbines.

[101] Oldmixon, *History of England*, p.702.

[102] BL, Add MS 31956, p.2.


Beaufort
BRISTOL
Pensford
Mendips
Shepton Mallet
Castle Cary
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
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R. Avon
Wrinton
Ilchester
Somerton
Glastonbury
Axbridge
Langport
Strangeways
R. Yeo
S. Petherton
R. Brue
Poldens
Sedgemoor
W
N
S
E
R. Axe
Ilminster
Chard
to Lyme
R. Tone
Huntspill
Bridgwater
Churchill
Bristol Channel
R. Parrett
Monmouth
Ashill
April 19, 1685
Taunton
to Exeter
Wellington
Albemarle

Dispositions on the evening of 19 June, 1685. (Author's artwork)

issued with new equipment from the stores brought over from Holland. For Legg, this may have included a purple coat lined red,[103] over which he also wore a back and breast. However, in their holsters the Whigs carried the new quad-barrelled pistols from Germany, together with new double-barrelled carbines.[104] Legg's men had little training but did relish the opportunity to test themselves against the enemy for the first time.

As Monoux closed the distance to the enemy, he called out to his men 'Lay your hands upon your swords, draw your swords, put your swords into your bridle hands, lay your hands upon your pistols, draw your pistols, cock your pistols.' As he crossed the field towards the Whigs his men were in two parade ground precise ranks. Once he was about 30 paces from the enemy, he called out 'Give fire!' This was followed by 'Return your pistols, recover your swords, charge!' The Whigs now returned shots, and as Monoux drew closer he was surprised to see the enemy had not recovered their swords, but then they fired again, and in quick succession they discharged once more. Lieutenant Monoux fell from his horse, shot through the head.

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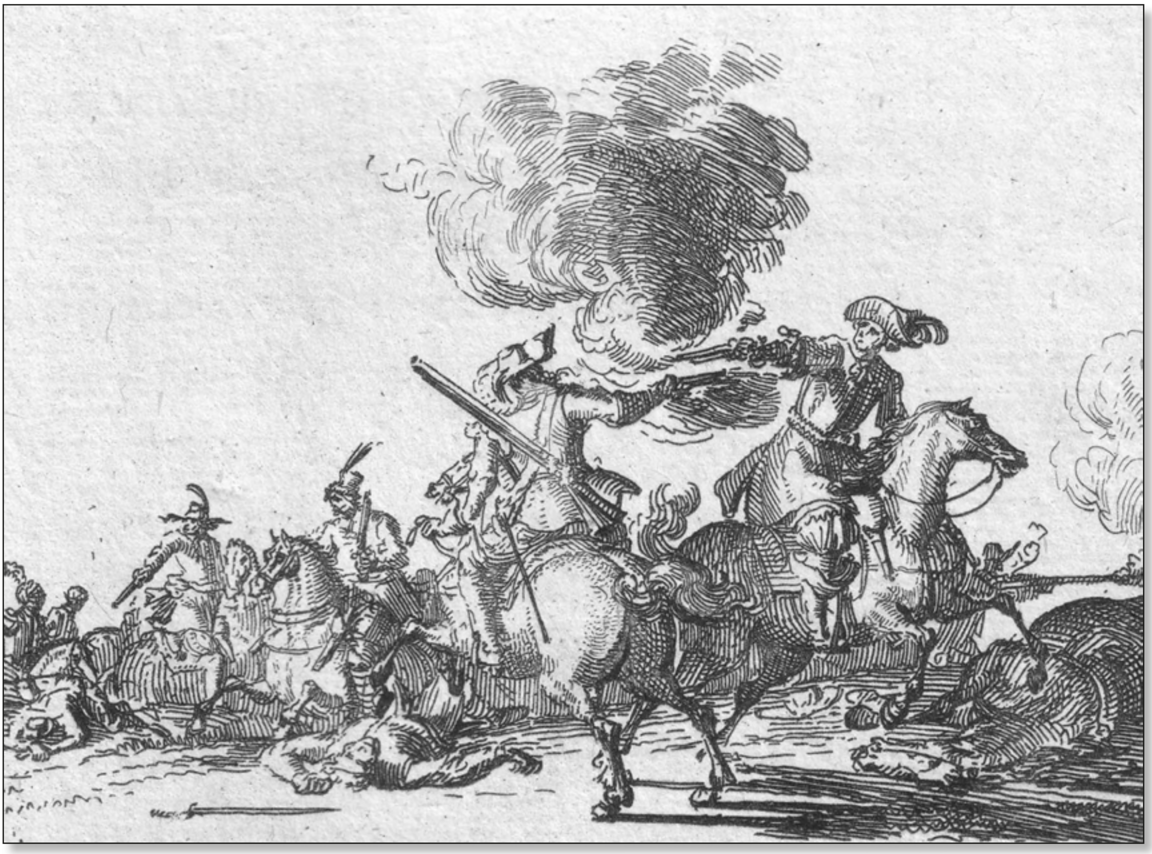
[103] D'Avaux, *Négociations*, Volume 4, p.362.

[104] BL, Add MS 30077, f.28r; BL, Add MS 41817, f.47; BL, Add MS 41812,f.66 and f.77.



Cavalry engagement *c*.1685. (Author's collection)

Legg must have been pleased that his outnumbered men had the new quad-barrelled pistols. In the first discharge, he saw the enemy officer go down, and now his men recovered their swords and closed. As they hit the enemy, his party of horse became disorganised, but as they passed through their blue-coated foes the clash of swords rang out. The enemy were better disciplined than Legg's men, and as their second rank hit, they had time to make the cuts count. In moments Legg was through the enemy lines and looked across to see that most of his men were still turning to face the enemy. As the Whig officer twisted, a sword flashed from behind him, and his saddle was empty.

The superior training of the Oxford Blues came into play as they wheeled to return to the melee. Here they found the enemy in confusion. With the death of Monoux the regimental adjutant, Major Lloyd, took command. His men were stationary, and in the combat that broke out, swordsmanship and numbers gave the professionals a massive advantage. Under pressure the Whigs broke off and withdrew. However, Lloyd could see another party of horse closing fast, possibly 30 strong, and ordered his men to reform. Meanwhile, the surviving Whigs had unslung their carbines and begun shooting at the Government troopers. Lloyd decided to extract his troopers and retire back to Churchill at Chard. They left Lieutenant Monoux, and three other troopers and five horses dead on the field.[105] On his return, Lloyd brought the news that the Whigs were close at hand and that they were 'all in Armour and their carbines and pistols were all with double barrels.'[106]

The Whig patrol returned to Taunton with the news that a squadron of the Oxford Blues were at Chard. In the short and bloody combat at Ashill, Cornet Legg had been killed and two or three others were mortally wounded,[107] but they had the better of the fight. The other news that reached Monmouth's council of war that evening was that Albemarle with possibly 4,000 Devonshire militia was at Wellington. It was clearly time for the Whigs to up the tempo of the campaign and go on the offensive. By this point in the operation, the Whig leadership had hoped that there would have been general unrest across the country. Worryingly, there was no news of any conflict in Cheshire or London. The wounded Major Manley and his son were dispatched to London with tokens to contact Major Wildman and Colonel Danvers. Manley was to urge for an immediate uprising. By now Monmouth knew that Argyll was on the Cowal Peninsula, and this part of the plan was working, and that the three Scottish regiments were heading north, rather than west.[108]

Monmouth and his council needed to agree their next moves. They could either strike south and destroy Albemarle; or start the march east to London. Alternatively, they could cut north to Bristol,[109] but this would require the army to march across the narrow tracks towards Axbridge. Based on the intelligence at hand and the enemy dispositions, the council decided to march out on Sunday 21 June. The army would take the London Road, via Bridgwater and Glastonbury, to Shepton Mallet rather than via Bruton. This gave them the tactical flexibility to strike north or continue toward London, depending on the enemy's dispositions. To gather more information about Bristol Mr Roe, a Bristolian, was sent to the city to gauge its readiness and learn the strength of any enemy forces.

There was now another matter that needed to be decided by the council. Many around Monmouth felt that it was time for him to be proclaimed King,[110] but to do this, they needed agreement from the Republicans, such as Wade and Holmes. In Holland, it had been agreed that the invasion would result in a new Commonwealth, but the mood had changed. If Monmouth was declared King, it would test the loyalty of the militia and regular soldiers. It would legitimise the cause and it was hoped, bring in more noble supporters. After some debate, and with some reluctance, Wade, Francis Goodenough, and the other Republican Whigs accepted this course of action.

On the morning of 20 June, the town magistrates were brought to the market cross where they found most of the army on parade. As Monmouth,

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[105] BL, Add MS 31956, ff.2–3.

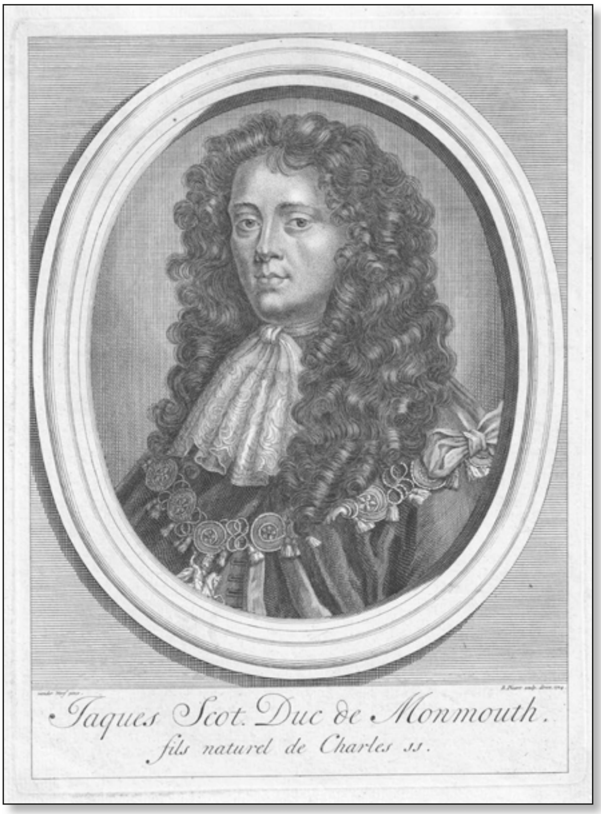
[106] BL, Add MS 38012, f.3.

[107] BL, Harley 6845, f.267.

[108] The news in *Gazette* #2042, 15 June 1685, would have reached Taunton by this date.

[109] It may have been from this meeting that the spy reports were sent to London and another to Albemarle. See NA, SP44/164, f.214 and Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.2.

[110] This is often attributed to Dr Ferguson, but others like Grey would have also agreed to this move.


Jaques Scot. Duc de Monmouth.
fils naturel de Charles II.

James, Duke of Monmouth crowned King at Taunton – 20 June 1685. (Author's collection)

Grey and the other senior officers approached, Major Fox, acting as adjutant-major, called out 'Silence!' Then, 'Advance your pikes and shoulder your muskets, charge your pikes and rest your muskets, general salute!' With this the officers charged their pole-arms, and the ensigns slowly lowered their colours to the ground. The motion had not been perfect, but the companies had been practising since dawn. With Monmouth stood in front of the gathered townsfolk and soldiers, Fox cried out, 'Recover your arms to the order', and a few moments later the rattle of pikes and musket butts hitting the ground could be heard. Finally, Fox shouted 'Silence!'[111]

Now Captain Tily stepped out to address the assembly. He started by reading out all 16 pages of the Whigs' proclamation. After this the standard which had been made by Mary Blake and her maids was brought out. This was a golden colour, in the centre of which were the letters JR, and about this a crown.[112] It was clear to the excited crowds, what this meant, and some started cheering 'King Monmouth, one King, King Monmouth!' Possibly, Lord Grey stepped forwards and took the colour. Grey now presented this to Monmouth. Over the rapture of the masses, Tily proclaimed James, Duke of Monmouth as King James II of England, Scotland, Ireland, and France.[113] With this, the country had two James Rexes, both Stuarts, and from this point onwards there was no turning back for any of the Whigs, high- or low-born. They had crossed their Rubicon. As they readied themselves to march out of Taunton, the invasion had become a civil war.

As Wade's men would be in the vanguard the following morning, their guard duties had been taken over by another regiment and that night the soldiers of the Duke's Regiment slept in beds for the first time since leaving Lyme. On the morning of 21 June, the army marched to Bridgwater and Wade's men arrived in the early afternoon. They were met as the liberators against tyranny by the crowds cheering 'King Monmouth!' In the town there were two companies from Stawell's Militia Regiment who had deserted earlier in the week. The Whigs welcomed them into the ranks with open arms.[114] Later, with pickets placed on the roads, the whole army and a great crowd waving their green boughs gathered in the Castlefield. Monmouth's kingly declaration was once more read out. Then the Mayor of Bridgwater,

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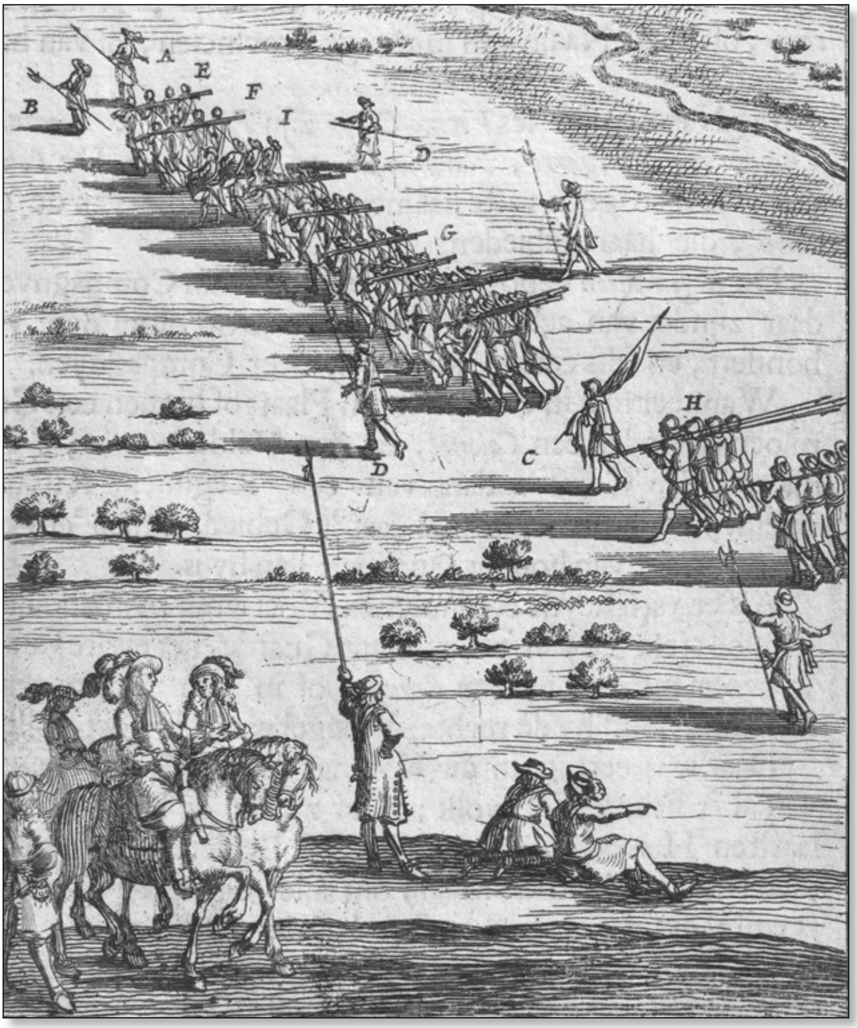
[111] This is my interpretation of the event based on the available information.

[112] BL, Harley 7006, f.195r. This colour was possibly the only one made by the maids of Taunton.

[113] BL, Add MS 62453, f.62.

[114] Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.3 and BL, Add MS 31956, f.3, 'Two companies of the Somersetshire militia (excepting the officers) revolt to him', 21 June 1685.



Company of musketeers followed by pike on the march *c*.1685. (Author's collection)

Alexander Popham,[115] proclaimed Monmouth as King. After this the Whigs were welcomed into all the inns and homes of the town. That evening the liberators were well provisioned and entertained,[116] whilst food and ale was sent to the rest of the army camped in Castlefield. The following day they would set off towards London.

London Roads – 21 June 1685

The small fleet of Royal Navy vessels finally reached Lyme on 20 June. The first ship to land men was the *Young Spragg* under Captain Skelton, and here they found 40 barrels of powder, and over 4,000 sets of horse armour. Off the Cobb, the *Saudadoes*, *Garland* and *Fanfan* seized the small 'carrick and dogger' that had been used to transport Monmouth's arms and ammunition.[117] Over the next few days, the news that both Monmouth's and Argyll's fleet had been taken quickly spread through the capital and the army. When this was combined with the arrest of over 100 dissenters on 21 June, all chances of a Whig uprising in London ended.[118] Meanwhile in Chester, more arrests had been made and all the leaders forced into hiding.[119] To further secure the city, the Earl of Arran was pulling together a force of 1,000 foot and horse in Ireland.[120]

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[115] Oldmixon, *History of England*, p.702.

[116] BL, Harley 6845, f.278.

On 20 June Churchill wrote to the Duke of Somerset from Chard. In his letter he suggested that the Devonshire and Somersetshire militia should combine their forces, whilst he[121] watched Monmouth with his horse.[122] The following day, Churchill received his promotion to brigadier general and correspondence sent from Somerset, who was in Wells. This proposed they should join forces at Bridgwater on 23 June at 11 o'clock in the morning.[123] After this another letter arrived from Whitehall and this contained his orders to stop the Whigs reaching Bristol. It was possibly now that Churchill ordered the artillery to march from Dorchester to Sherborne and that afternoon, to stop Monmouth reaching Bristol, he agreed to Somerset's plan. The combined forces would contain the militia foot regiments of Strangeways, Portman, Fitzharding, Horner, Stawell, Luttrell and Phelipps, possibly 3,000 militia foot, the militia horse under Horner, plus Wyndham's, Pearson's, and Littleton's troops of Oxford Blues. In all 3,500 foot, together with 600 horse. In his letter, Churchill assured Somerset that his 'men are all in so good heart this afternoon. Colonel Kirke's Regiment joins me which will be an additional to your strength.'[124]

However, it is not clear where Kirke was at this point. In this letter to Somerset, he indicated that Kirke was arriving soon, but as Kirke was in Salisbury only two days earlier and it seems unlikely the Colonel could be in Chard so soon, [125] especially as the Portsmouth artillery arrived in

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[117] NA, ADM 106/374, f.265.

[118] Morrice, *Entring*, Vol. 3, p.19, '…about 100 citizens were apprehended betweene eight a clock at night and two in the morning, generally by the Officers of the Train[ed] Bands, and were that night put into Guildhall…'

[119] Morrice, *Entring*, Vol. 3, pp.22–23.

[120] State Papers James II, 30 June 1685.

[121] NP, MS 288, f.41, 'by reason of the King's horse, which I have with me'.

[122] As per Kirke's letter to Somerset (NP, MS 288, f.35), the dragoon troop from Barnett and Chelmsford were at Andover on 17 June and must have marched on to Dorchester on 19 June. Likewise, Dummer writes on 16 June, 'Guarded by 3 companies of foot and 2 troops of horse' (BL, Add MS 31956, f.2).

[123] NP, MS 288, f.47, 'and will certainly be at Tuecsday att a 11 in the morning att bridgwatter'.

[124] NP, MS 288, f.47, reads '… my men are all in soe good hert this after: noon. Coll Kerk's redgt joyns me which will be an adition to your strengt.'

[125] For Kirke to cover the 58 miles from Salisbury to Chard in two days would require a huge feat of arms. In 1685 the standard distance per day for a foot unit was 15 miles or 18 at a push. For example, Kirke's Grenadier company marched from Axminster on 12 May, stopping at Crewkerne, Sherborne and Shaftsbury before reaching Salisbury on 18 May, after having two days rest en route, see NA, WO5/1, f.19. On 1 October 1685 Wyndham's Troop of Horse travelled from Chard, via Yeovil and Shaftsbury, to reach Salisbury on 3 October, see NA, WO5/2, f.67. Based on this route and timings, Kirke would have arrived in Chard on the afternoon of 22 June not 21 June or been mounted to reach Chard on 21 June. The final and possibly the biggest flaw

Dorchester on 21 June.[126] Therefore, unless Churchill had forgotten to change the artillery's orders, or split Kirke from the guns leaving them unguarded,[127] it is more probable that Kirke with the nine companies of foot, the artillery and it must be assumed, two troops of dragoons and a troop of horse, arrived together in Dorchester.[128] Either way, without his brigade or the Somerset Militia, Churchill could do nothing to stop Monmouth marching on Bristol. That evening Somerset declined the proposal, possibly after receiving his own orders from Sunderland to march to Bath, and one from Feversham ordering the destruction of the bridge at Keynsham.[129]

As the Portsmouth train arrived in Dorchester, the Tower artillery train left on the London Road heading west. It had orders to march via Staines, Brentford, Maidenhead, Reading, Newbury, Marlborough, and was to arrive at Chippenham on 27 June.[130] Major Compton's Troop of the Oxford Blues was ordered to join the train of artillery at Marlborough.[131] It was probably about now that Whitehall received word that Churchill would not be able to stop Monmouth marching to Bristol. Looking at a map, James and his advisors could see that there was a bridge over the Avon, that sat between Bath and Bristol. This was at a town called Keynsham, and Sunderland sent requests to both Somerset and Beaufort to destroy the bridge.[132] With Monmouth moving from Taunton to Bridgwater, Churchill shifted his headquarters to Langport,[133] and ordered Kirke to march from Sherborne to join him at Somerton the following day.[134]

On 22 June, Feversham's army was marching along the London Road and had reached Maidenhead, when it received word that the Whigs planned

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with this proposal is that Kirke would have marched off to Chard, leaving Trelawny and the Portsmouth artillery train to march to Dorchester.

[126] BL, Add MS 31956, f.3. Dummer states on 21 June 'the Portsmo Artilery comes to Dorchester and receives Orders from my Lord Churchill to march: to Sherborne.'

[127] I find it hard to believe Churchill or Kirke would have let the artillery simply march off in the wrong direction. Based on all this information, it is clear that Churchill had sent orders for Kirke to join him, possibly sent on 20 June, but not that Kirke had arrived in Chard and it is my bold assumption is that Kirke remained with the artillery as they marched to Dorchester.

[128] There is a chain of thought amongst historians that Kirke arrived at Chard on 21 June with his regiment and the brigade. Unfortunately, it is hard to see how this was possible. It can only be assumed that this is based on the errors in the transcription of Churchill's letter dated 21 June, written from Chard. The handwritten manuscript, NP, MS 288, f.47 reads '… my men are all in soe good hert this after: noon. Coll Kerk's redgt joyns me which will be an adition to your strengt.' Please note the location of the full stop and lack of a comma in the original. From this Churchill infers that he is expecting Kirke to join him in the future. However, in the often quoted HMC3 p.98, this letter has an additional comma: '… my men are all in so good heart this afternoon. Colonel Kerk's regiment joins me[,] which will be an addition to your strength.' This indicates that Kirke has joined Churchill. Finally, in Tincey's *Sedgemoor 1685*, p.58, this is further misquoted as the full stop has been moved: '… my men are all in so good heart[.] This afternoon Colonel Kerk's regiment joins me[,] which will be an addition to your strength.' This incorrectly states that Kirke joined Churchill in the afternoon.

[129] NP, MS 288, f.45.

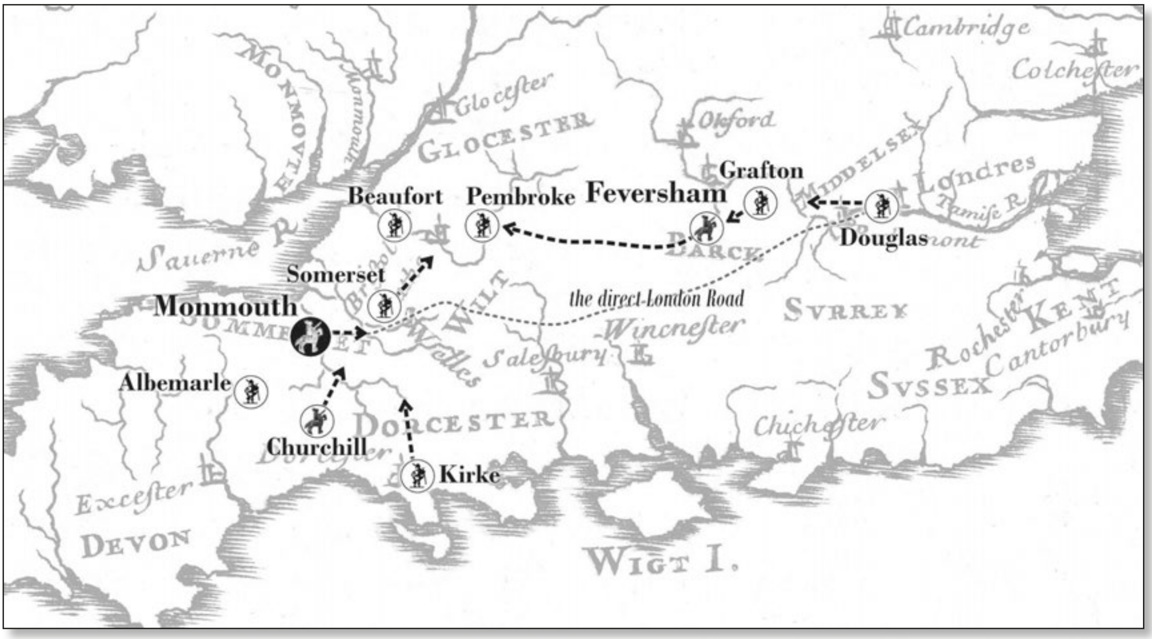
[130] NA, WO 5/1, f.76.

[131] NA, WO 5/1, f.84. His troop had just returned from Portsmouth.

[132] NP, MS 288, f.53.

[133] NP, MS 288, f.51.

[134] They arrived in Sherbourne on the evening of 22 June.


Cambridge
Colchester
Glocester
GLOCESTER
Oxford
MONMOUTH
Monmouth
Grafton
Londres
MIDDELSEX
Beaufort
Pembroke
Feversham
Douglas
Tamise R.
Sauerne R.
Somerset
BARCK
Monmouth
SOMMERSET
the direct London Road
Wincnester
SVRREY
KENT
Wells
Salesbury
Rochester
Cantorbury
Albemarle
SVSSEX
DORCESTER
Chichester
Churchill
Dorcester
Kirke
Excester
DEVON
WIGT I.

Covering Bristol, the Government forces on the morning of 22 June 1685 and their moves during the day. (Author's artwork)

an attack on Bristol. Leaving his foot to catch up, Feversham took his coach and raced ahead to Bristol with the Lifeguards. At the same time, he dispatched Major Oglethorpe with the 3rd Troop of Lifeguards[135] to head west via Andover and Warminster. This was to check that Monmouth was not marching to London. From Marlborough, at eight o'clock in the morning, Feversham wrote to Somerset to tell him he was advancing west with all possible speed,[136] and ordered the Duke to send four companies to Bath, while the rest of the Somersetshire Militia should march to Bristol. It was hoped that these moves would secure the city, and that Monmouth would remain trapped in Somerset. Then Feversham could advance with the bulk of the army and destroy the Whigs. That evening the bells rang out across London, and letters were dispatched to all corners of the kingdom.[137] Argyll had been defeated in Scotland and was a prisoner in Glasgow. Now, the attention of Whitehall was fully focused on the West Country and Monmouth.

Behind a strong cavalry screen on 22 June, Monmouth's army marched east across the great Sedgemoor to Glastonbury. They were marching east on the London Road and on their southern flank some of the Whig horse skirmished with Churchill's troopers near his new base at Langport, but neither side appears to have suffered casualties. To the north, advance elements of Monmouth's horse entered Wells, hot on the heels of Somerset as he withdrew to Bath with his militia. In the city, the Whigs captured more valuable arms and ammunition left by the militia. However, heavy rain had set in during the day, and the foot took shelter in the churches and ruins of the abbey. Outside, rain drenched the ground, filled the rivers, and turned the roads to mud.

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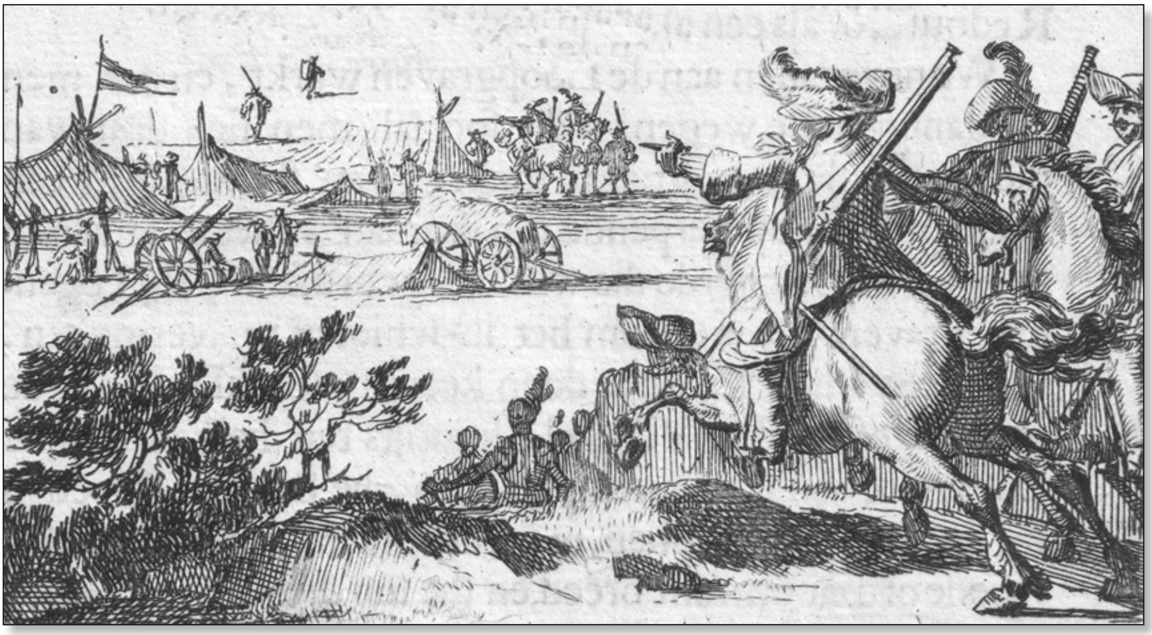
[135] Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.13. Fifty gentlemen and 20 horse grenadiers.

[136] NP, MS 288, f.55.

[137] NP, MS 288, f.57.



Cavalry patrol returning to a camp *c*.1685. (Author's artwork)

The next morning, with the heavy rain continuing, Monmouth set out on the London Road from Glastonbury. The bad weather made progress very slow on the road east, but the plan was still to advance on London, via Warminster, Amesbury, and Basingstoke.[138] Ahead of the army Captain John Kidd had been busy recruiting and posting up 'King Monmouth's Proclamation' along the proposed line of march. After visiting his old home at Longleat, Kidd return to camp at Shepton Mallet with a new troop of horse. The news that Monmouth would be marching to London spread through the mill towns of Frome, Trowbridge, and Warminster. As the news spread, locals in the inns and taverns talked themselves into rising for Monmouth. In the morning they rose up, seized the local sheriffs, and began to muster in Frome, where the town had declared for Monmouth.

Regardless of the poor weather, the mood in Monmouth's army was still buoyant, and most knew that London was only a week's hard march away. In the army council that evening they needed to decide their next move: go to London or attack Bristol? The two factors that would drive this decision were the enemy's dispositions, and the level of support they could expect from the people. Monmouth's cavalry had been skirmishing with enemy patrols over the past few days, and this had allowed them to build up a picture of Churchill's strength. He was now at Somerton,[139] just 10 or so miles to the south, but his force only numbered 600 foot, 300 horse and light artillery pieces. It was an irritation rather than a menace, unless Churchill was joined by the militia. The Whigs' knowledge of the main enemy army under Feversham was hazier. The leadership would have received messages from

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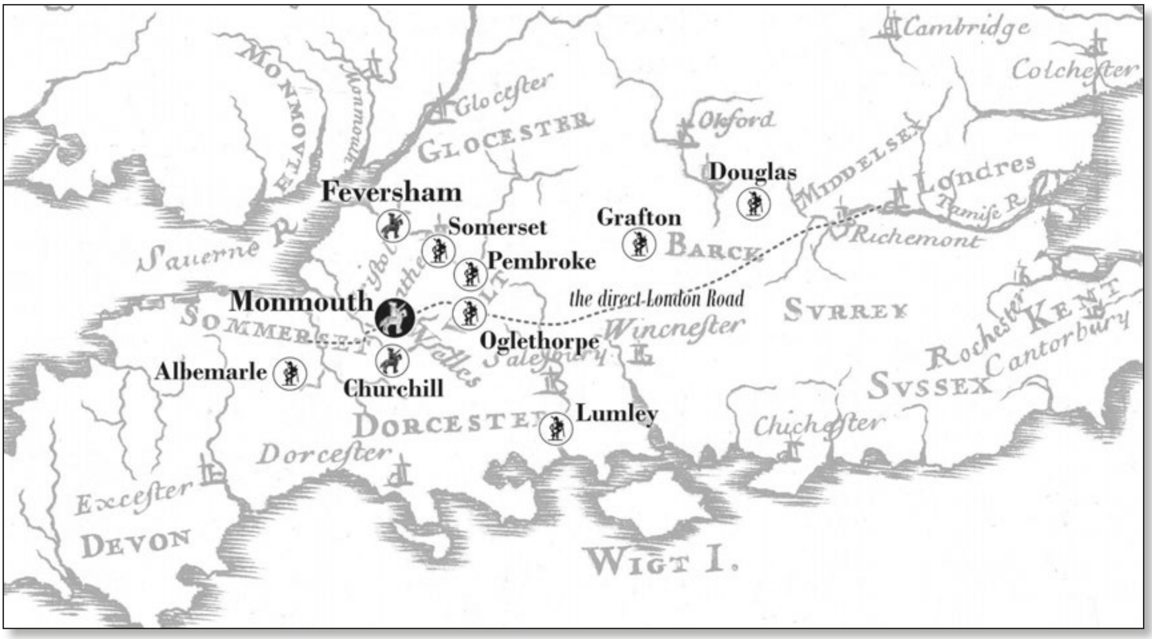
[138] See NA, WO 5/1, f.273 for the route taken by Kirke's Regiment from Taunton to Kingston, which on 14 September took them via Langport, Shepton Mallet, Warminster, Amesbury, Andover, Basingstoke, Hartley Witney, Bagshot, Egham, and Kingston.

[139] BL, Add MS 31956, f.4.


Cambridge
Colchester
Glocester
MONMOUTH
GLOCESTER
Oxford
Douglas
Feversham
MIDDELSEX
Londres
Tamise R.
Somerset
Grafton
Sauerne R.
BARCK
Richemont
Pembroke
the direct-London Road
Monmouth
SOMMERSET
SVRREY
Wincnester
Oglethorpe
KENT
Rochester
Cantorbury
Albemarle
Churchill
SVSSEX
Walles
DORCESTER
Lumley
Chichester
Dorcester
Excester
DEVON
WIGT I.

The situation on the evening of 23 June, 1685. (Author's artwork)

sympathisers, and even the *London Gazette* had published that 'His Majesties forces Commanded by the Earl of Feversham, are Marching towards them [Monmouth], and we doubt not to have in few days a very good account of them.'[140] If Feversham had left London around 20 June, he could be no closer than Reading, or Newbury.[141] This was still four or five days away. Behind Monmouth, 4,000 Devonshire militia under Albemarle had entered Taunton. As to Bristol they had good intelligence[142] that the city was held by only 4,000 militia, while Bath contained less than 1,000.

From the news, it was clear that Argyll had advanced from his Highland stronghold and would be engaging the enemy. Therefore, with London finally empty of soldiers, Manley could persuade them to rise. Monmouth was assured by Wade and Captain Tily, both Bristolians, that if the people of Bristol were given the opportunity, they would rise for the Whigs. Therefore, if they advanced on London, the Whigs would have Feversham to their front, and Churchill with the militia to their rear. As a result, they could end up being trapped between two armies. However, Bristol was only two days away, it offered a large seaport, and a population of nearly 70,000, all sympathetic to the cause.[143]

Importantly, neither Feversham's nor Churchill's armies would be able to stop the Whigs seizing the second city of the kingdom. Surely, if they took this city then possibly London would finally rise up against the tyrant. After this, the enemy would be forced to split their armies to defend the capital. The council agreed with these arguments, and orders were issued for a march on Bristol. Wade proposed that rather than attacking from the south, where they would need to fight across the Avon, instead they should assault from the Gloucestershire side where the city was most vulnerable. To do this they could cross the river using the bridge at Keynsham.[144] Monmouth endorsed the proposed plan and the army would strike north the following day.

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[140] *Gazette* #2044, 21 June 1685.

[141] Many of the Whigs travelled widely before the events in 1685, for example Wade was a lawyer who had practices in both London and Bristol and would have regularly travelled between the two cities.

[142] BL, Harley 6845, f.278.

[143] Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Thro' the whole Island of Great Britain*, Vol. 2 (London: 1753), p.300.

Battle of Keynsham – 25 June 1685

Ignoring the rain and mud on 24 June, Monmouth's men rapidly advanced the 15 miles from Shepton Mallet to Pensford. During the day Monmouth's horse had maintained contact with Churchill, who had advanced to Wells, but they had also had contact with other enemy horse near Bruton and Warminster.[145] The march took the army up and over the steep Mendip Hills, and here they crossed the River Chew to camp on Publow Hill[146] to the north of Pensford village. From this vantage point the Whigs had a panoramic view over Bristol, which by late evening was illuminated by an unusual and ominous orange glow.[147] Some of the officers feared that this could be the enemy destroying the suburbs to clear their lines of fire,[148] whilst others that it was warning them against an attack or even urging a quick assault. The other worrying report for Monmouth was that a troop of militia horse had been seen in Keynsham during the day demolishing the old bridge. Monmouth dispatched Captain Tily[149] forward with a troop of horse to secure and repair this vital crossing point, which they would use tomorrow.

Unknown to Monmouth, Feversham had arrived in Bristol on 23 June with a detachment of the Lifeguards.[150] He found Beaufort in the city, with militia drawn from Gloucestershire and Monmouthshire, and a degree of order in the streets. With Bristol so well manned, Feversham returned to Bath to establish his forward base of operations for the army. On his arrival he found a troop of Oxford horse, and two troops of Royal Dragoons, but also Oglethorpe. The Lifeguards officer gave Feversham the news that Monmouth was at Shepton Mallet with his whole army. Feversham now sent orders for Pembroke to bring up his Wiltshire militia from Bradford

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[144] BL, Harley 6845, f.278r, 'in my opinion he ought to pass the river Avon at Keynsham bridge (which is midway between Bath and Bristol) and attack it on the Gloucestershire side where there were many advantages not to be found on the Somersetshire side'.

[145] BL, Harley 6845, f.278r, 'we were all this day alarmed in the rear by a party of Horse and Dragoons.' This may have been Colonel Oglethorpe rather than Lord Churchill.

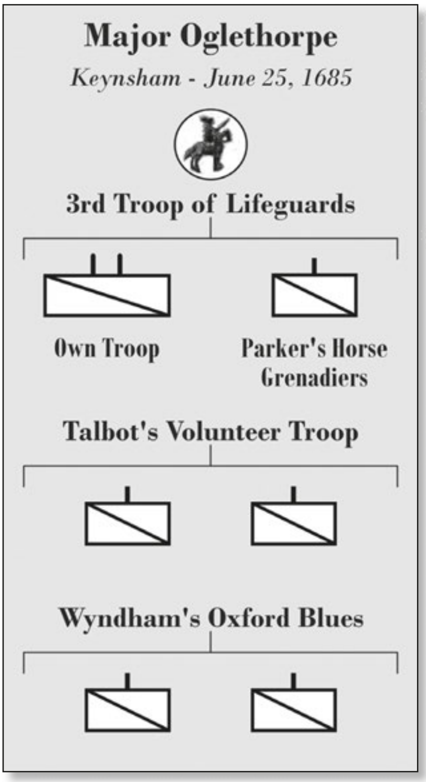
[146] This is based on the topography of the ground and is the only hill near Pensford that gives a clear view of Bristol.

[147] BL, Harley 6845, f.278r, 'perceived [to be] a great fire in or near Bristol that night by the redness of the sky'.

[148] BL, Harley 6845, f.278r, '[they] had set the suburbs on fire least we should have possessed ourselves of [Bristol]'.

[149] BL, Harley 6845, f.278r, 'having the night before sent a troop of Horse under the command of Captain Tyley to possess themselves of the town and repair the bridge'.

[150] Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1,p.4.



on Avon to reinforce Bath. His other concern was a lack of direct communications from Churchill who, according to Somerset, was at Langport. Churchill had moved to Wells and was expecting to find the General in the city, after sending a message to that effect from Langport. Meanwhile, that evening Oglethorpe was sent back out via Norton St Philip[151] with his Lifeguards and horse grenadiers, plus Captain Talbot's Troop of Horse.[152] The Major had orders to make contact and watch the enemy.

At midnight on 24 June, Feversham received word from Oglethorpe that Monmouth was not at Shepton Mallet but at Pensford just six miles from Bristol.[153] This news came as a shock to Feversham, who now rushed back to Bristol with all his horse. He arrived to find the merchant ship the *Mary & Abraham*[154] ablaze on the quayside. This had caused chaos in the city and forced Beaufort to send militia into the streets with instructions to disperse at swordpoint any crowds that might gather.

With order restored, Feversham set about securing the southern entrance on the Somersetshire side. All the buildings were levelled, and ditches filled.[155] By six o'clock on the morning of 25 June, Feversham was ready for Monmouth and the exhausted militia where arrayed in the meadow near the south gate. To the relief of all, during the morning Feversham was only alarmed by a troop of enemy horse that appeared to the south-east. By early afternoon the soldiers were soaked through and it was clear that Monmouth was not coming. This left the inevitable question of where Monmouth and his army were at this point.

Captain Tily arrived in Keynsham very late on the evening of 24 June and waited until the early hours before attacking the militia at the county bridge. The Whig troopers had total surprise, capturing one militiaman and a couple of horses before the enemy dispersed into the night. At the bridge, Tily discovered that the militia had only damaged one span, so his men set about destroying the town's outbuildings to make good the crossing. By 10 o'clock[156] on the morning of 25 June the bridge was ready for Wade's Regiment to start crossing the Avon into Gloucestershire.

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[151] In 1685 the village was called Philips Norton.

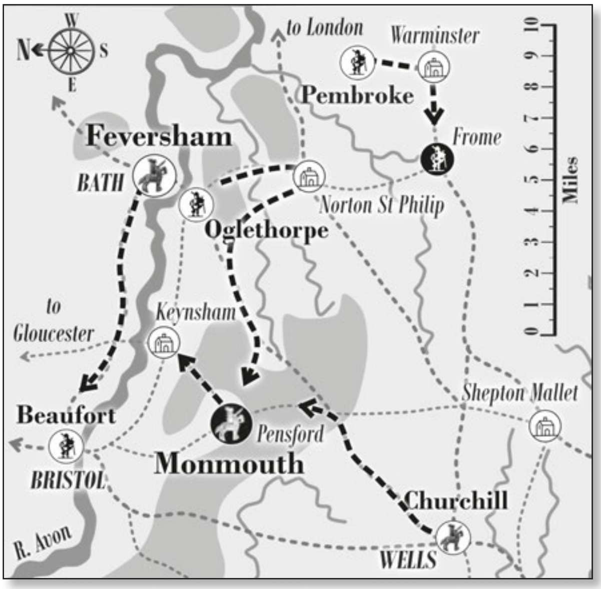
[152] Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.13, these men are referred to as 'Talbots militia Troop', however it is also possible that they are a troop of volunteers under Captain Sir John Talbot, raised 18 June. See NA, SP 44/164, f.200.

[153] Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.13.

[154] Sir Edward Parry, *The Bloody Assize* (London: Ernest Benn, 1929), p.155. Please note there is no original document referenced to provide the ship's name.

[155] Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.13, 'ordering all ditches towards the road to be levelled … between 4 and 5 in the morning drew them into the meadow near the south gate of the city'.

[156] BL, Harley 6845, f.278r, 'about 10 o'clock in the morning marching over with our whole army'.



Situation late on 24 June 1685, and the following morning's movements. (Author's artwork)

As each regiment marched over the hastily repaired bridge, they were formed into line of battle on Sydenham Mead.[157] This was a flat plain that sat in the bow of the Avon, with the bridge to Keynsham safely to the south and the Bath to Bristol road running across the mead's northern flank. However, it is possible that the damaged bridge was causing delays, needing fresh repairs after each unit struggled across. At first, this gave the regimental officers time to drill and train their men in basic manoeuvres and weapons handling. As the day dragged on, and the rain got harder, morale started to wane. Monmouth was planning to launch his attack on Bristol that night. Early in the afternoon, the Duke received the worrying news that Feversham was in Bristol with an army 4,000 strong.[158] With half his 30 or so waggons still on the southern bank, together with elements of Major Fox's company, Monmouth could not risk being surprised. Therefore, with the men drenched, it was agreed that the foot should return to the town for shelter, and that they should prepare for a night attack. The first regiment into Keynsham was Wade's. They were supported by Captain Brand's squadron of horse and after Wade posted out-guards, the soldiers began cooking meals and drying their soaked coats over fires.[159] Brand and his two troops of horse had also taken the opportunity to withdraw to the shelter of the abbey ruins. Major Fox and his company from Matthews' foot were in the fields around to the north of the village.[160] Monmouth remained on Sydenham Mead with the horse, while the infantry filed across the old county bridge. With the Duke was Lord Grey, who saw a man with newspapers and crossed to him, purchased two and returned to Monmouth's side. The time was two o'clock.[161]

Oglethorpe had been shadowing Monmouth's army and 'about an hour and a half' after their rearguard had left,[162] he entered Pensford. Here they met the lead elements of Churchill's Brigade, possibly Wyndham's Troop.[163] With Churchill now coming up behind them from Wells, Oglethorpe started off to join Feversham at Bristol, but first he would see the situation

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[157] Anno, *Fifth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, Part 1 (London: Historic Manuscripts Commission, 1876), p.328.

[158] Muddiman, *Assizes*, p.166, 'Duke of Beauford being there with about four thousand men'.

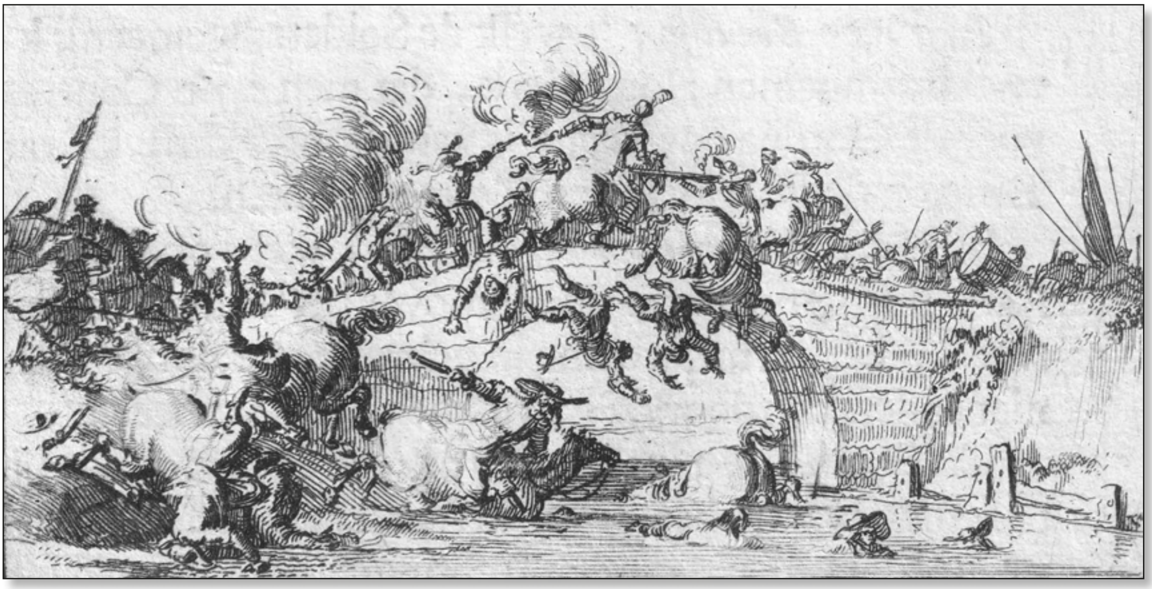
[159] BL, Harley 6845, f.278r, 'We were ordered to march back again and take up quarters [in the] town as if we intended to lodge their all night'.

[160] Muddiman, *Assizes*, p.166, 'our men being in the fields adjoining the town, refreshing themselves'.

[161] Historic Manuscripts Commission, *Fifth Report*, p.328, 'About 2 p.m. at Sydenham Mead … he saw the squire in Sydenham give 2 papers to Lord Grey, one about a foot long, and the other about a foot and a half long, and that Lord Grey gave them to a man that was by him with a star on the left breast'.

[162] Ormonde Manuscripts, Vol. 7 (London: Historic Manuscripts Commission, 1912), p.343.

[163] This would explain Wyndham's involvement in the events that followed, and the assertion that Churchill was involved.



Combat over a bridge *c*.1685. (Author's collection)

at Keynsham. Wyndham's men joined Oglethorpe's small force, which now contained about 140 troopers. This was comprised of 25 gentlemen from his own 3rd Troop of Horse Guards, 20 from Captain Parker's horse grenadiers, 50 from Wyndham's, and the rest from Captain Talbot's volunteer troop.[164]

By staying on the western approaches of Keynsham, Oglethorpe was able to approach, unseen, to within half a mile of the settlement. It was from the far side of the town that he could see the waggons and soldiers in the village. Seeing an opportunity to score a quick victory, he ordered Parker to scout ahead just in case they were the Gloucestershire militia.[165] After all, it was possible that Monmouth had marched to Bath, or towards Warminster. Oglethorpe had deployed Wyndham's and his own troop of Lifeguards to cover the town, with Talbot's covering the road back to Bristol and acting as the reserve.[166] It was about three o'clock as Oglethorpe watched Parker take his horse grenadiers towards the enemy.[167]

As Parker closed, he could see that the disorganised men in the fields[168] were not militia. His troop was in a perfect two rank line, each at the regulation spacing of three foot, and he yelled, 'Lay your hands upon your swords, draw your swords, put your swords into your bridle hands, lay your

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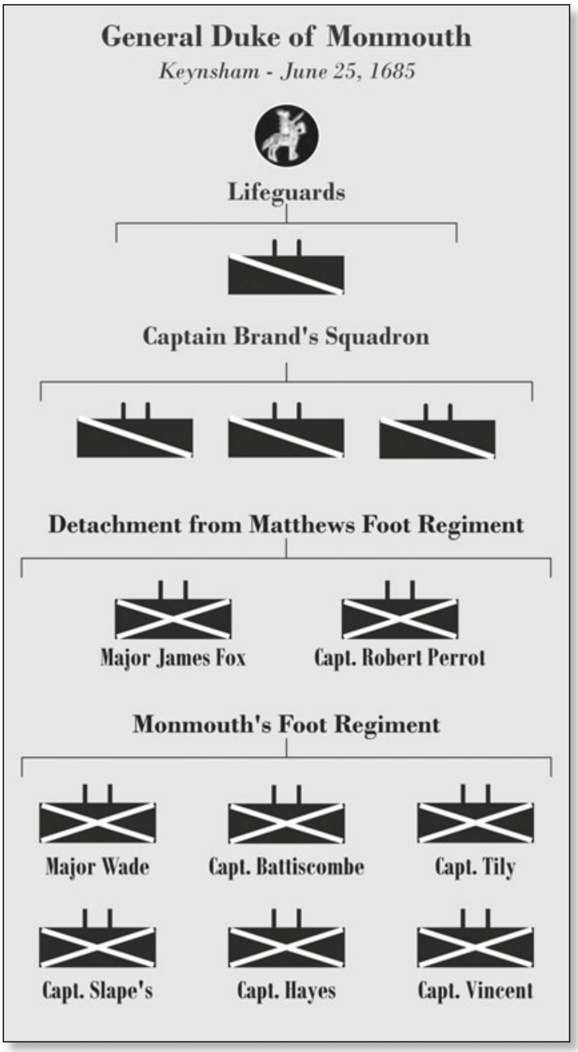
[164] The presence of Wyndham's Troop explains why later historians have assumed that both Churchill and Oglethorpe where at Keynsham. However, Churchill was marching from Wells to Pensford during the day, though Wyndham's Troop may well have arrived at Pensford a few hours after Monmouth had left. Ormonde Manuscripts, Vol. 7, p.343.

[165] Muddiman, *Assizes*, p.167, 'They came thither, thinking it had been their own forces', although it is more likely this refers to Wade's men in the town.

[166] Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.13, 'tho' it was only Colonel Oglethorpe's party (with one troop of my Lord Oxford's commanded by [Captain] Wyndham and Captain Talbot's militia troop whom Colonel Oglethorpe left at the entrance of the town to make good their retreat)'.

[167] Historic Manuscripts Commission, *Fifth Report*, p.328, 'about 2 p.m. he was in a mead called Sydenham … came and stood by the wall there for the space of an hour … When the rebels cried Horse and away'.

[168] Coad, *Wonderful Providences*, p.4, 'The enemy came upon us unawares'.


General Duke of Monmouth
Keynsham - June 25, 1685
Lifeguards
Captain Brand's Squadron
Detachment from Matthews Foot Regiment
Major James Fox
Capt. Robert Perrot
Monmouth's Foot Regiment
Major Wade
Capt. Battiscombe
Capt. Tily
Capt. Slape's
Capt. Hayes
Capt. Vincent

hands upon your pistols, draw your pistols, cock your pistols, advance!' Fox's company did not stand a chance, they were disordered and at rest as the horse grenadiers came on. The first rank fired their pistols at 20 paces, and then recovered their swords. As they passed through the enemy foot they cut down and slashed with their long blades. Behind them the second rank fired into the shocked and disorganised soldiers. Within moments they had cut down about a dozen men including Fox, and as their broken opponents fled, the grenadiers fired their remaining pistols. Then the trumpeter sounded the reform.

As the noise of combat and pistols rolled over the town,[169] Captain Brand hastily remounted and rallied his horse. He had been taken by surprise and could see the red-coated enemy reforming in the old abbey gardens. Brand now launched a piecemeal[170] counter-attack against Parker's reformed grenadiers. As his men cantered toward their foes, they drew swords, and a desperate melee broke out. At first the Whigs were outnumbered and cut down, but slowly they started to overwhelm Parker's men. Brand's attack had given the veteran Captain Parrot the respite needed to rally Fox's men. He had reformed the company and now advanced towards the horse grenadiers with charged pikes.

Five hundred paces away in the town, Major Wade had heard the firing and quickly formed his regiment. The Major then placed a stand of pikes on each of the roads into Keynsham, filling the surrounding buildings with musketeers. Then the Whig soldiers waited for an attack. In Sydenham Mead, Monmouth was alerted to the fighting and with his normal zeal, ordered his Lifeguards to form up. After sending orders for the rest of the horse to join him, he cried out 'Horse and away', before heading off towards the sound of combat.[171]

From his vantage point outside the town, Oglethorpe could see that Parker was in danger of being cut off by the enemy horse and foot. The Major now ordered Wyndham to advance into the town and bring out Parker's Troop. As Wyndham led his soldiers into the settlement, he became disorientated.

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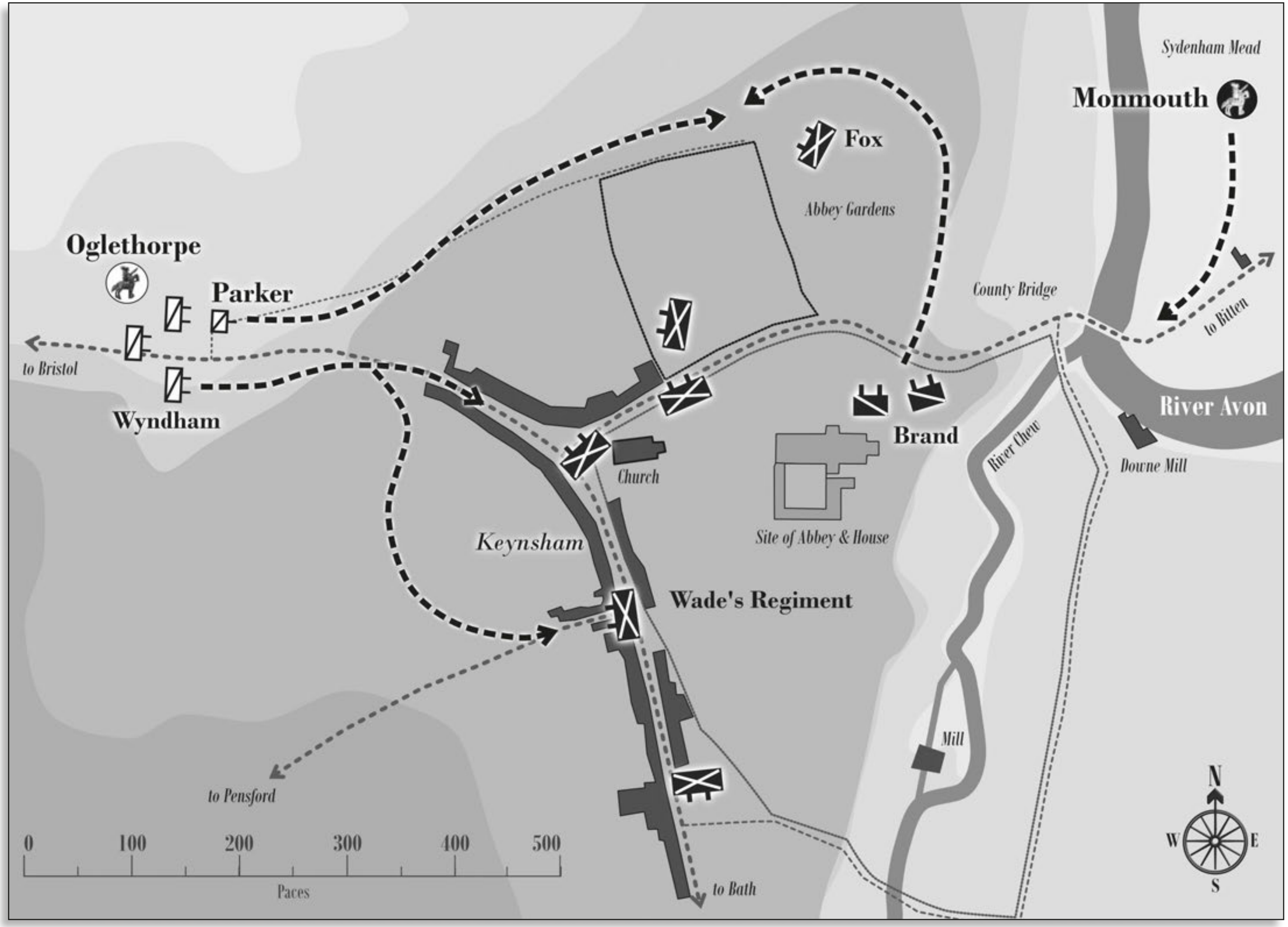
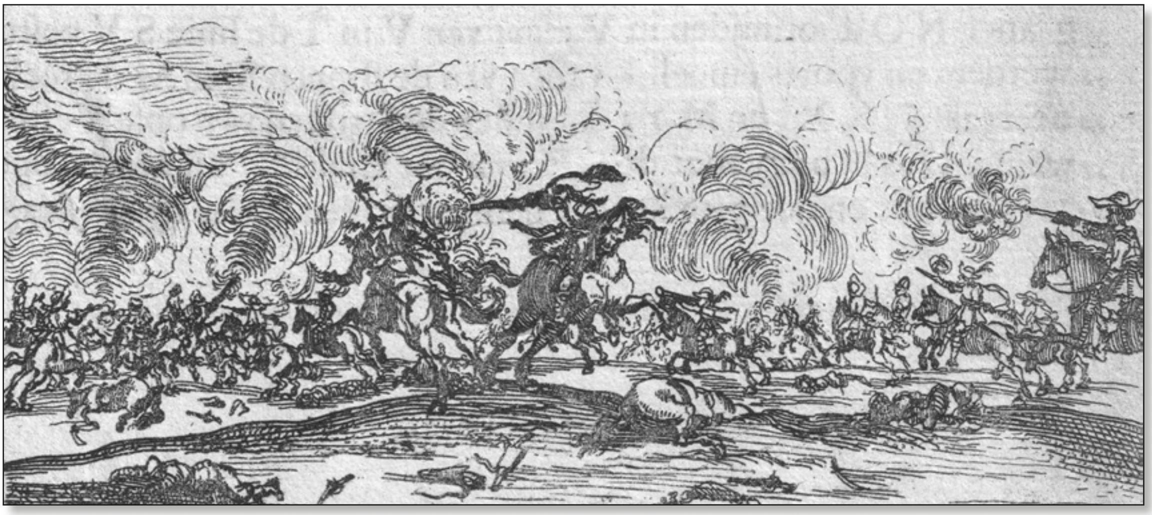
[169] Muddiman, *Assizes*, p.166, 'Being here lodged in the town we were on a sudden alarmed with the noise of approach of the enemy'.

[170] BL, Harley 6845, f.278r, 'our horse unadvisedly engaged'.

[171] Historic Manuscripts Commission, *Fifth Report*, p.238.


Sydenham Mead
Monmouth
Fox
Abbey Gardens
Oglethorpe
Parker
to Bristol
Wyndham
County Bridge
to Bitten
River Avon
Brand
Downe Mill
River Chew
Church
Site of Abbey & House
Keynsham
Wade's Regiment
Mill
to Pensford
N
W
E
S
0
100
200
300
400
500
Paces
to Bath

Oglethorpe advances into Keynsham – 25 June 1685. (Author's artwork)



Cavalry skirmish *c*.1685. (Author's collection)

Rather than head to the left,[172] Wyndham took his men into the town. As he did so, the troopers came under fire from the windows.[173] He now split his force into two parties. The Captain sent one division up the main road, whilst the other attempted to outflank the position on the right.[174]

Seeing Wyndham's error, Oglethorpe took his own troop of Lifeguards forward and fought his way through to Parker. By now, two of the grenadiers had been killed,[175] but the timely arrival of Oglethorpe with his gentlemen allowed Parker to extract his men from the tight press. Reunited with Oglethorpe, the Lifeguards and horse grenadiers galloped back to Talbot's Troop. In the town, Wyndham's troopers had been beaten back by the Red Regiment at push of pike,[176] and were coming under fire from unseen enemies in the windows. In the confused combat, Lord Newburgh[177] fell from his mount, shot in the belly.[178] Under increasing pressure Wyndham's troopers broke, and to the cheers of Wade's men, they fled back towards Bristol, leaving one wounded man behind them.

As Monmouth and his Lifeguards came over the bridge, Oglethorpe cantered away towards Bristol, leaving behind three or four wounded prisoners and two dead grenadiers. Monmouth's casualties had been around 12 of Matthews' Regiment and three or four troopers, including Captain

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[172] Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.13, 'The party which he had sent to Captain Parker's relief missing their way'.

[173] Muddiman, *Assizes*, p.167, 'our undisciplined fellows been too eager, and suffered them to come a little farther on'.

[174] BL, Harley 6845, f.278r, 'we had hardly taken up our quarters, but we were alarmed by 2 parties of horse falling into the town at 2 several places'.

[175] Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.13, 'Colonel Oglethorpe with 4 volunteers and 25 of the Guards … charged through some foot and about 200 of their horse that were endeavouring to cut off Captain Parker'.

[176] Coad, *Wonderful Providences*, p.4, 'Where I came to push of pike with them'.

[177] The Earl of Newburgh was commissioned to raise an independent troop, so he may have been leading a party of volunteer horse.

[178] Muddiman, *Assizes*, p.167.

Brand. They had a further 20 or so wounded including Major Fox.[179] The captured men told their interrogators that Feversham had 4,000 men close by and ready to attack the Whigs.[180] Monmouth ordered his army to march back over the Avon and then form into line of battle on the edge of town. With this, all thought of launching a night assault on Bristol disappeared.

Monmouth now called a council of war at his headquarters. It was here that Dr Hicks and Dr Oliver attended the wounded prisoners and they all told the same story, that the enemy infantry was following.[181] The enemy captives also gave the news of Argyll's defeat in Scotland.[182] This information would have been supported by the papers purchased by Grey.[183] With this fresh intelligence Monmouth ordered his men to be ready for another attack. However, by midnight the whole army was in the shelter of Keynsham. Monmouth had stood his men down so that they could dry their sodden coats and eat a quick meal. Unlike the talk of victory whispered amongst the rank and file outside, the mood in the council was melancholy.

Battle of Frome – 25 June 1685

In west Wiltshire, with news that 'King Monmouth' would be marching through the area excited crowds had gathered in the mill towns of Trowbridge, Warminster, and Westbury. However, with no sign of the Duke's army they made their way to Frome where the town constable had declared for Monmouth. On the morning of Thursday 25 June possibly 3,000 men and some 2–300 horse gathered in the streets of Frome to welcome the new king. With no sign or news of Monmouth's approach, Captain Adlam set off to find him and give him the news of the uprising. As Adlam left, the crowd started to collect weapons and make ready to resist the militia, who were reportedly marching their way.

Pembroke had received the news of the uprisings in Westbury and Warminster from the local militia at Bradford. Fearing the worst, he took a troop of Wiltshire horse west, with a division of musketeers riding pillion, to find out what was happening. As he travelled through Trowbridge and Westbury, he found the streets deserted. However, on reaching the outskirts of Frome he discovered great crowds mustering and forming new regiments. Dismounting his musketeers, Pembroke advanced on the disorganised Whigs.

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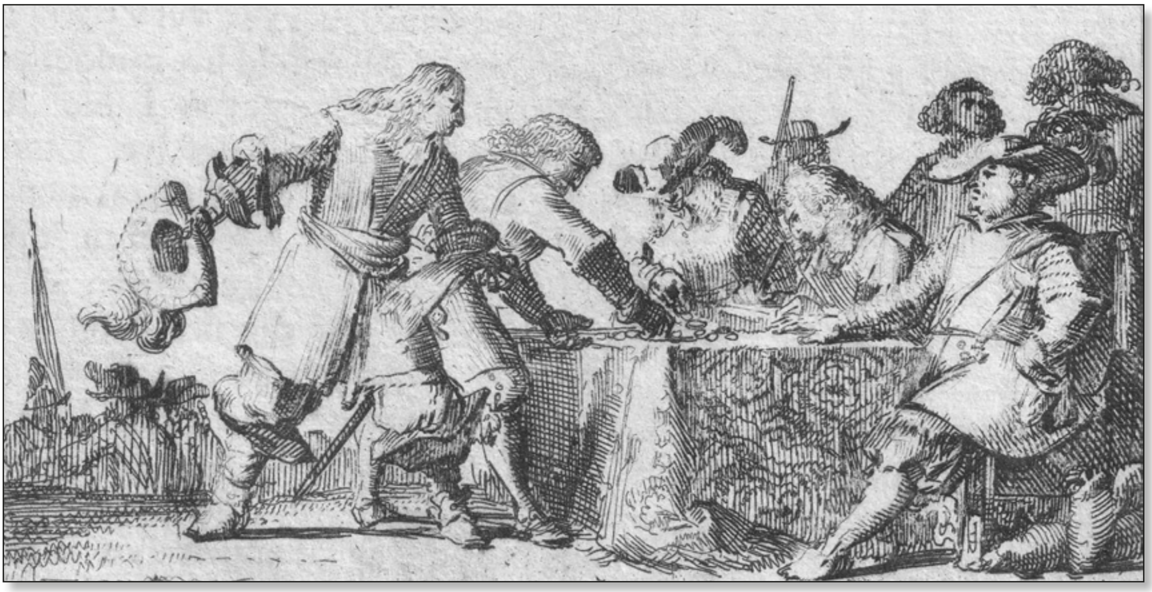
[179] Muddiman, *Assizes*, pp.166–167, 'wounded my lord Nubery, that it was thought mortal', 'they were fled, being not above sixty horsemen', 'it lasted not long', 'only took four prisoners and their horse' and 'with the lose only of 4 men on our side (who were carried away by the enemies horse in the crowd) and two of Captain Parker's killed on the place', 'They did us mischief, killed and wounded about twenty men'; BL, Harley 6845, f.279, 'loss of about fourteen of our own party'; and Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.13, 'rebels 15 they own, but we believe more, many being dismounted in the charge'.

[180] Muddiman, *Assizes*, p.167, 'Their infantry was following, but on their return came not forward'.

[181] Howell, *State Trials*, Vol. 11, p.232.

[182] See BL, MS 38012, f.5. This letter dated 23 June states 'yesterday morning came the good news of Argyle being taken'.

[183] This edition of the *London Gazette*, dated 18–22 June, detailed the fall of the castle at Eilean Dearg and the build-up to the encounter at Killearn.



The council of war *c*.1685. (Author's collection)#

Seeing the militia approaching, one brave man opened fire at Pembroke's force. But too late, as the militia discharged a volley into the closely packed street.[184] This caused chaos, and as the militia horse charged into the mob, they scattered the mainly unarmed men with ease. Within minutes the uprising had been put down and the unfortunate constable arrested and forced to tear down the Proclamation.[185] The Frome uprising was over before it began.

Back in Keynsham, it was clear that time was now the ally of Feversham and his masters in Whitehall. The council now knew that Monmouth's army would soon face the full force of the enemy on their own. Fresh from Bristol, Mr Roe confirmed that Feversham had a large army, and went on to explain that the great fire was a merchant ship in the wharf. Then Captain Adlam, who had come from Warminster, gave the council better news. Adlam told them that a force of two to 3,000 foot and 'a considerable body of horse'[186] had mustered in Frome. Captain Adlam told the council that these men were well armed and keen for the fight. Other intelligence possibly shared with the council was that the Wiltshire militia were marching into Bath from Bradford on Avon and that Churchill had arrived at Pensford. With these reports arrayed in front of the officers, Monmouth must have made it clear that they had three paths open to them.

The first was to attack Bristol from the east tonight. This would require surprise as they had no heavy artillery or the time to lay siege. For this venture to succeed there would need to be a general uprising within the city. However, with such a strong force in garrison the risk of a coordinated attack failing was high. Also, they would need to leave a strong party with the supply waggons in Keynsham as Churchill was so close to them. Then there

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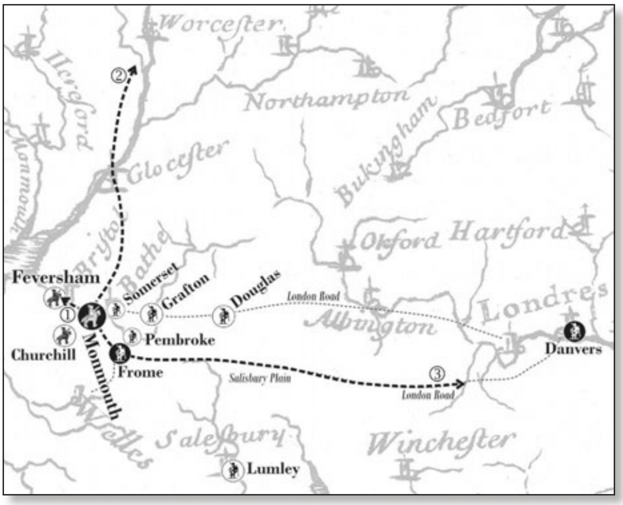
[184] *Gazette* #2046 28 June 1685.

[185] Adam Wheeler, *Iter bellicosum*, in *Camden Miscellany*, Vol. XII (London: Royal Historical Society, 1910), p.12.

[186] BL, Harley 6845, f.279.



Monmouth's three campaign options on the evening of 25 June 1685. (Author's artwork)

was the possibility of them being attacked in turn from both Bristol and Pensford on both sides of the river. Wade, Tily, and Roe encouraged this course of action, and begged Monmouth heartily to proceed in this direction. Monmouth and Brandt knew that dividing the army in two, so close to the enemy, would be dangerous and expose them to defeat in detail.

The next path proposed was to recross the Avon into Gloucestershire, then cross the Severn, and march north to Chester and Shropshire. This would put open country in front of the army and possibly give them a day's start over the enemy. However, they would be moving further from London. With no news from Chester, coupled with the report of Argyll's failure, the army could be stumbling into a trap, like Monmouth's father had in 1651. Possibly, with this picture fresh in the Duke's mind, the final path proposed was to turn east and head towards London via the Warminster road. As Adlam had pointed out, this route was now clear of the enemy and occupied by 3,000 well-armed Whigs. With time against them, it was agreed that London must be the objective once more. If they could keep the Avon between themselves and the enemy, they may be able to break out east. With Feversham and Churchill behind them, by making this move the Whigs would regain the initiative.

In summing up, Monmouth was clear that a strong enemy army was close at hand, making a further attempt on Bristol too dangerous. The arguments against a march to Gloucester were that it was three days away; that the soldiers wanted shoes; that there would be a considerable body of horse and dragoons to the rear that could force a fight before they reached Gloucester. Finally, with friendly forces close at hand in Frome, they would be able to rejoin the London Road, and have the strength to fight the enemy. These were the three paths on the table, and Monmouth now went around the gathered officers for their vote.[187]

That evening Oglethorpe arrived in Bristol with news of the encounter with Monmouth at Keynsham, but it was too late in the day to take further action. If Monmouth had crossed the Avon and was now on the Gloucestershire side, the Whigs could attack Bath, Bristol, or break out towards Gloucester. In effect, Feversham was now cut off from his main army and London. He had been totally outmanoeuvred by Monmouth. In all Feversham had about 4,500 militia foot and possibly 400 horse in Bristol. Churchill, who was only six miles away, only had 600 foot, 300 horse, and eight pieces of artillery, while in Bath the garrison numbered just 500 men.[188] Very early the next morning, Mr Creswicke arrived with two critical pieces of intelligence: the first was that Monmouth had approximately 8,000 foot, 1,000 horse and eight pieces of artillery.[189] This would give him possibly 10 to 12 battalions of foot and up to 20 troops of horse. The second was that Monmouth had remained on the south bank and had marched towards Warminster. For now, Feversham was off the hook.[190]

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[187] BL, Harley 6845, f.279.

[188] Ormonde Manuscripts, Vol. 7, p.323.

Battle of Norton St Philip – 27 June 1685

That night Monmouth's soldiers were back in the rain and tramping along muddy lanes. As the sun rose on 26 June, the Whigs were on the hills overlooking Bath. This attracted a great many people to gather on the walls and spread panic amongst the Tory population. However, Monmouth had no intention of storming the city. Leaving a strong covering force, possibly under Lord Grey, Monmouth and the rest of the army headed south towards Frome. The covering force at Bath sent forward a trumpeter to summon the city. With the main bulk of the army marching south, it is likely that this act of bravado was to draw the Government forces into the city. This worked, although the unfortunate trumpeter was shot and killed by a sentry.[191] To its surprise, the vanguard came into contact with a large body of enemy soldiers heading from the bridge at Limpley Stoke. This turned out to be three regiments of militia foot on the downs to the east of Monmouth's line of advance. It is probable that a large detachment of horse was sent to cover the Wiltshire militia, as they formed a single body and lined their muskets with pikes.[192] After two hours, the militia withdrew back towards Trowbridge.

By late morning, Feversham had arrived in the city of Bath with the horse and the Somersetshire Militia. Sometime later, having totally avoided all contact with Monmouth, Churchill's brigade marched into Bath from Pensford.[193] Pembroke had been forced to march the long way around from Trowbridge, and arrived late in the day with the Wiltshire and Hampshire militia. Finally, late in the evening, Grafton arrived with the Foot Guard battalions. By nightfall on 26 June, Feversham had a considerable army mustered at Bath, and was in a strong position. His scouts reported that Monmouth had encamped in the village of Norton St Philip, only a few hours' march away. That night, Feversham held a council of war. It was critical that contact should be made with Monmouth's army, and that the road to London be covered. The council agreed to muster the army early the

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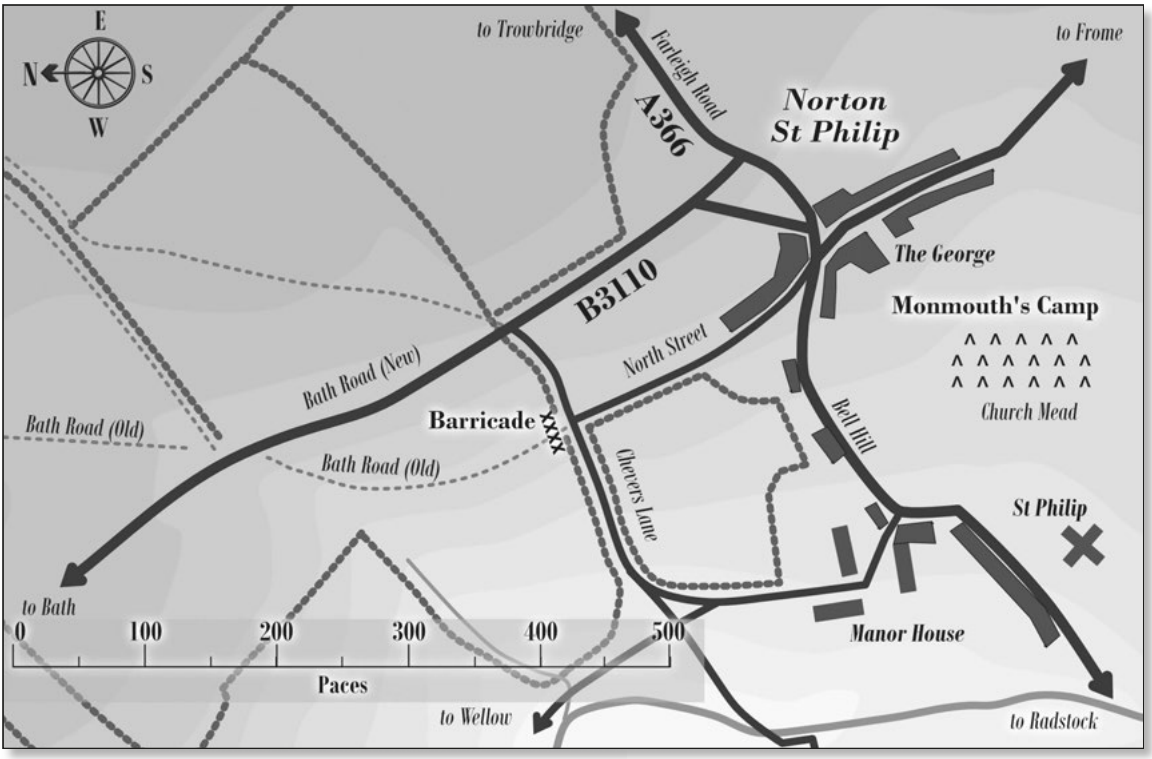
[189] Historic Manuscripts Commission, *Fifth Report*, p.328, 'the Army consisted of above 1,000 horse, about 8,000 foot and 8 field pieces'this is an impressive force, when one remembers King Charles I's army at Naseby was estimated at only 7,500 men.'

[190] Historic Manuscripts Commission, *Fifth Report*, p.327, 'Creswicke … gave his grace [Beaufort] the best intelligence that he had in the west of england'.

[191] Ormonde, *Manuscripts* Vol. 7, p.232.

[192] *Gazette* #2046.

[193] It is not documented how Churchill, with his nine companies of foot, a train of artillery and five troops of horse and dragoons, reached Bath. The most direct route would have taken them on the same road as Monmouth. Therefore, it must be assumed that they took the longer road via Bristol.


E
N
S
W
to Trowbridge
Farleigh Road
A366
Norton St Philip
to Frome
The George
Monmouth's Camp
Church Mead
B3110
North Street
Bath Road (New)
Bath Road (Old)
Bath Road (Old)
Barricade
Bell Hill
Chevers Lane
St Philip
to Bath
0
100
200
300
400
500
Paces
Manor House
to Wellow
to Radstock

Norton St Philip today, showing the new and old roads. (Author's artwork)

following morning, they would form up on the down to the south of Bath and march on the Whigs. Very early on the morning of 27 June, Feversham sent out parties to scout the enemy position at Norton St Philip, with orders to return to Bath only once they had made contact with Monmouth's army.

Monmouth's exhausted army filed into the village of Norton St Philip, cold and wet. They had been on the road for nearly two days with very little rest, and few provisions. The Duke set up his headquarters in the George Inn to the east of the village. With the artillery set up in the road outside, the horse had taken billets in the town houses that led down to the church. Behind these buildings and the church were large open fields, and it was here that most of the Whig infantry erected their encampment. After cleaning weapons and cooking meals, the soldiers spent the remainder of the night huddled around the campfires in the rain. From the church a track cut its way through the courtyard of the old King's manor house, to wind its way up to join the main Bath to Frome Road.

The main road then snaked its way up from the village, with high thick hedges on both sides for over a quarter of a mile.[194] It then crossed the downs and passed through Hinton Charterhouse, before coming down the steep Black Dog Hill to Midford. From here the road went over the final down, and across the Avon into Bath. The countryside that surrounded the village was split into hedged fields for livestock and corn. With the enemy at Bath, the main road had been barricaded at the junction between the track to

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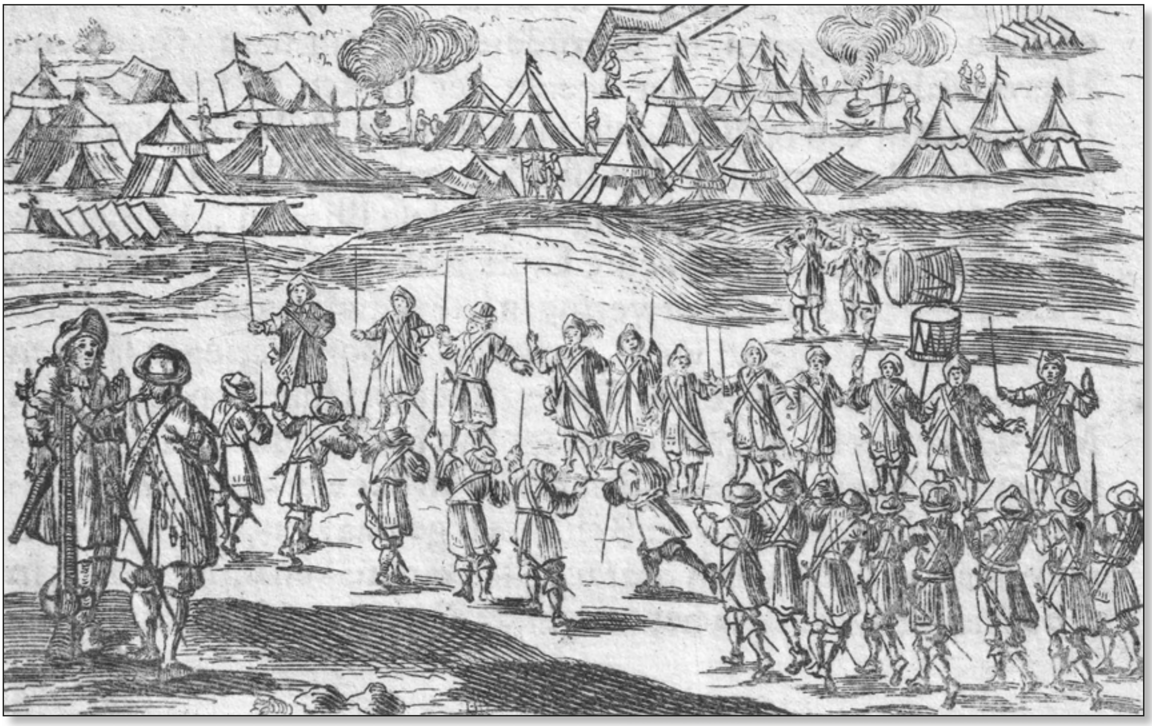
[194] BL, Harley 6845, f.279.



Running the gauntlet, as a punishment for a minor misadventure, *c*.1685. (Author's collection)

the manor house and the main road. This was about 600 yards from the George Inn.[195] Wade's Regiment had been ordered to guard the Bath Road, and he had placed two companies at the barricade, whilst the rest of the regiment camped in and around the old manor. During the night, the men were awoken twice as half-asleep sentries raised the alarm.[196] However, on both occasions the enemy appeared to be nothing more than farm animals in the fields.

Monmouth's officer aroused their men early on 27 June. Overnight it had stopped raining and as some Whig soldiers cooked meals, others loaded the baggage waggons. Once these had been made ready, the regimental adjutant-majors ordered the exhausted men to fall into their companies. Then, very slowly, the 40 carts and waggons started south towards Frome. The baggage train was guarded by most of the horse and Bovett's Regiment. Once this force was on the road, Foulkes' Regiment marched out of camp followed by Matthews' companies.[197] Monmouth and the other senior officers had

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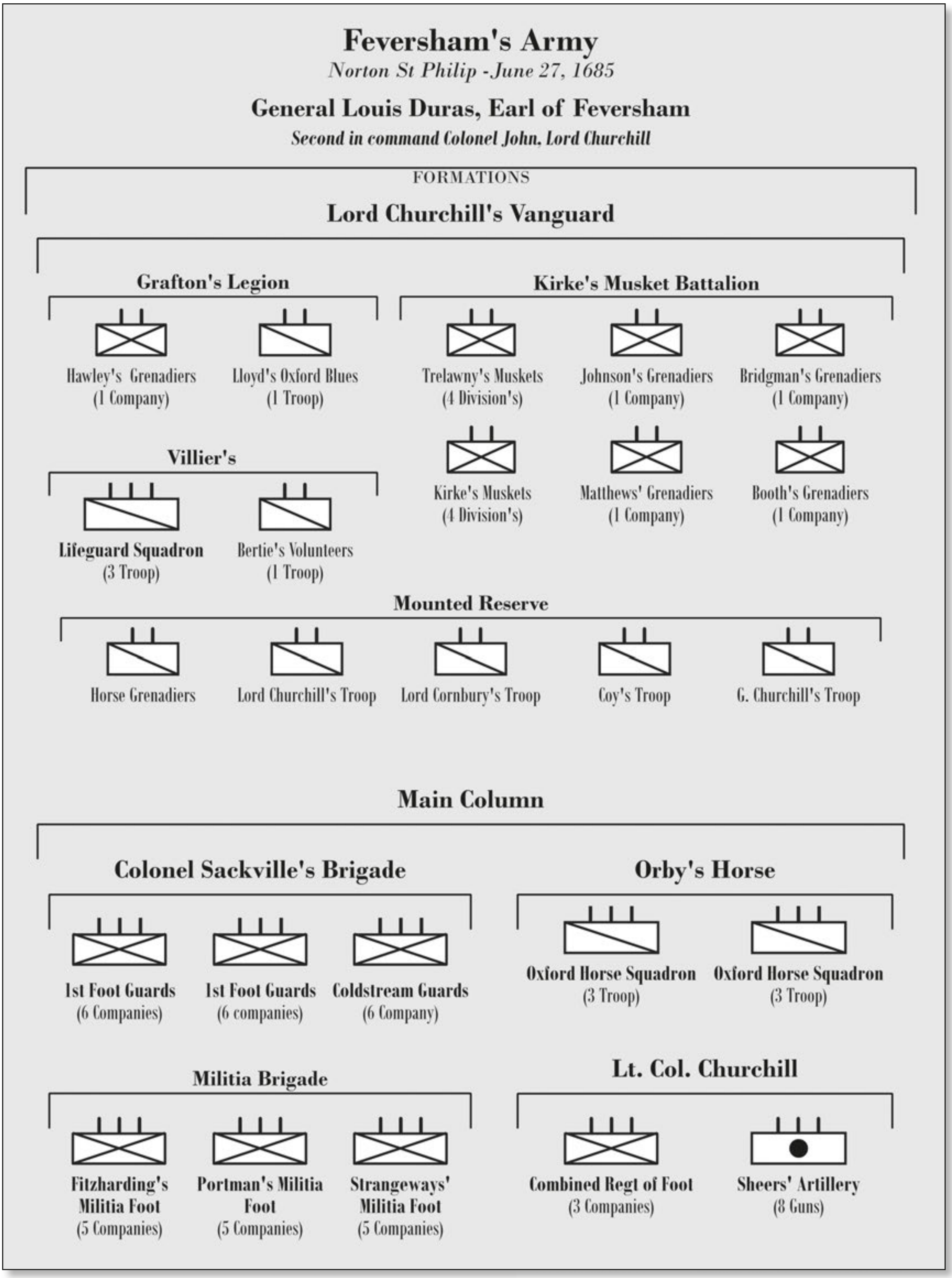
[195] BL, Add MS 28050, f.46 the roads into Norton St Philip were altered during the eighteenth century with the creation of the 'Black Dog Turnpike'. This straightened the road from the bridge at Midford and up the steep incline to Hinton Charterhouse, then down into Norton St Philip. The early toll road started outside the town, but around 1780 appears to have taken the current Bath Road route. Prior research shows the original road going down North Street, over Chever's (the Bloody) Lane and up the hill and across the new road.

[196] Local folklore has it that during the night an attempt was made on Monmouth's life. There are several reported assassination attempts, one at Lyme, one at Norton St Philip, and another at Bridgwater. See BL, Lansdown 1152, f.238.

[197] It is not clear the what the column of march was, but based on their return to the battle, Holmes' and Matthews' men were at the rear, following Foulkes' and possibly Bovett's at the front.


Feversham's Army
Norton St Philip - June 27, 1685
General Louis Duras, Earl of Feversham
Second in command Colonel John, Lord Churchill
FORMATIONS
Lord Churchill's Vanguard
Grafton's Legion
Hawley's Grenadiers (1 Company)
Lloyd's Oxford Blues (1 Troop)
Kirke's Musket Battalion
Trelawny's Muskets (4 Division's)
Johnson's Grenadiers (1 Company)
Bridgman's Grenadiers (1 Company)
Kirke's Muskets (4 Division's)
Matthews' Grenadiers (1 Company)
Booth's Grenadiers (1 Company)
Villier's
Lifeguard Squadron (3 Troop)
Bertie's Volunteers (1 Troop)
Mounted Reserve
Horse Grenadiers
Lord Churchill's Troop
Lord Cornbury's Troop
Coy's Troop
G. Churchill's Troop
Main Column
Colonel Sackville's Brigade
1st Foot Guards (6 Companies)
1st Foot Guards (6 companies)
Coldstream Guards (6 Company)
Orby's Horse
Oxford Horse Squadron (3 Troop)
Oxford Horse Squadron (3 Troop)
Militia Brigade
Fitzharding's Militia Foot (5 Companies)
Portman's Militia Foot (5 Companies)
Strangeways' Militia Foot (5 Companies)
Lt. Col. Churchill
Combined Regt of Foot (3 Companies)
Sheers' Artillery (8 Guns)

remained at the George with the artillery, the Lifeguards, a couple of troops of horse[198] and possibly the Lyme Company. As the army marched south Captain Vincent's company was manning the barricade across the Bath to Frome road, supported by Slape's scythe company, whilst the rest of the regiment were still down the track at the manor house. Vincent had ordered his men to remain silent and place pickets at the entrance to the lane from the fields.

As Feversham waited for his scouts to return, his army formed up in the fields to the south of Bath, possibly on Combe Down. A vanguard had been formed under the command of Churchill and was comprised of Captain Parker's and Captain Vaughan's troops of horse grenadiers, a division of Oxford Blues under the newly promoted Captain Lloyd, and all the dragoon troops. It also included a mixed battalion of 500 shot which had all 'five grenadier companies.'[199] Alongside Churchill, the senior officers were Kirke and Grafton. Behind them came the three troops of Lifeguards, nine troops of Oxford Blues, and the three Guards battalions of foot. These were followed by Captain Sheers with the Portsmouth artillery train, and the composite Tangiers Battalion under Lieutenant Colonel Charles Churchill.[200] In the rear were Strangways' and Portman's Dorsetshire regiments of foot, Colonel Fitzharding's Somerset Militia foot and Captain Bertie's volunteer horse from Oxford.[201]

While Feversham was reviewing his army, the commander of the scouts returned. The officer told Feversham that his men had reported that Monmouth was still in Norton St Philip, but when pressed, confessed that he had not seen the enemy with his own eyes. Angered by the lack of information, Feversham ordered Captain Lloyd with a division of the Oxford Blues to go directly to Norton St Philip. Lloyd was 'not to return … until they had been shot at'.[202] Behind Lloyd came the Duke of Grafton leading Captain Hawley's grenadier company and the two troops of horse grenadiers. Then Feversham and Churchill marched with the rest of the vanguard which now included the Lifeguards.

With the angry words of Feversham ringing in Lloyd's ears, his troopers came down the hill and entered the lane that led into Norton St Philip. The tall hedges blocked their forward view, but as they came around the bend in the lane, they saw the overturned waggons blocking their route, behind which were enemy musketeers and pike. Lloyd ordered his troopers to increase their pace and take out pistols. At around noon, while the rear element of the army was leaving town, the first Whig volley roared out, filling the lane with smoke and lead balls. This was followed by the pistol fire from the blue-coated horsemen, before another volley from the Whigs forced

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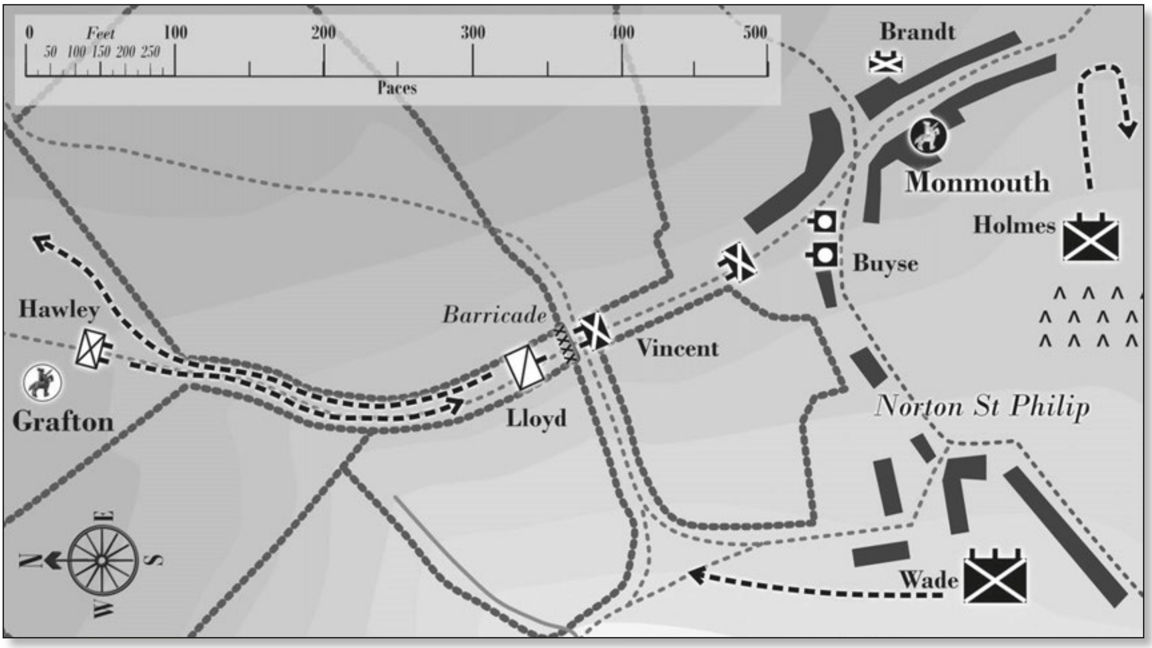
[198] Possibly Hewling's and Hucker's.

[199] Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.6, Feversham to James, Bradford on Avon, 28 June 1685, 'les cinq compagnies de grenadier estoint dans le nombre des cinq cents mousquetaires'.

[200] The four understrength companies of Kirke's Regiment and the three companies of Trelawny's Regiment would amount to around 500 once the grenadiers had been detached.

[201] Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.15, 'Bartue [Barton]': this may have been Captain Henry Bertie's Troop of Volunteer Horse, raised in Oxford on 18 June.

[202] Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.14.



Captain Lloyd is ambushed in the lane – midday 27 June 1685. (Author's artwork)

Lloyd to retire,[203] leaving several dead troopers and horses. Having made hard contact with the enemy, Lloyd raced back to Feversham. On hearing the shots ringing out, Churchill ordered Grafton to take Hawley's grenadiers forward to support Lloyd's men.

From outside the George, Monmouth heard the volley fire and instructed Colonel Brandt and Captain Slape to take his company and two of the guns into the fields on the right-hand side of the lane. Then he sent orders to Wade for the remaining companies of the Red Regiment to cover the left flank. To do this, Wade would march through the courtyard and up the byway leading to the barricade. In the encampment, Holmes had started to ready his regiment to march to Frome, but now the veteran officer wheeled his men around and started off towards the old King's Manor House. With messengers racing after the column marching to Frome, Monmouth ordered all available horse to mount.

At the barricade Vincent had seen off the enemy horse, but he was sure they would be back. The Captain wanted his inexperienced company to be ready for the next attack. Leaving the file leaders and corporals at the barricade to make ready in their own time, he reformed his company into its two musket divisions, one behind the other up the lane. Each division was deployed in semi-close order, in 10 files, and four ranks, with the senior lieutenant at the front. Vincent now yelled out, 'Silence, lieutenants make ready!' Each officer called out, 'Lay your right hand on your muskets, poise your muskets, rest your muskets, clean your pan with your thumb, handle your primer, prime, shut your pan with a full hand, blow off your loose corns.'

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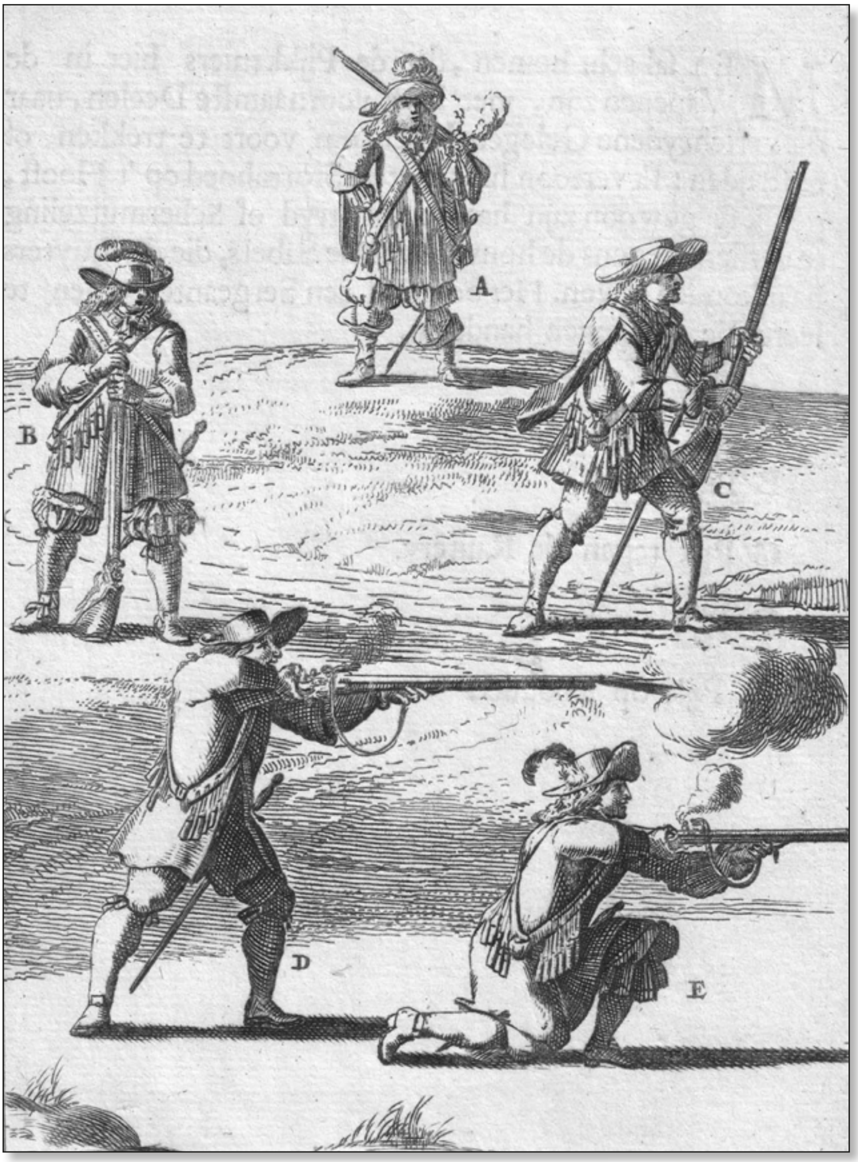
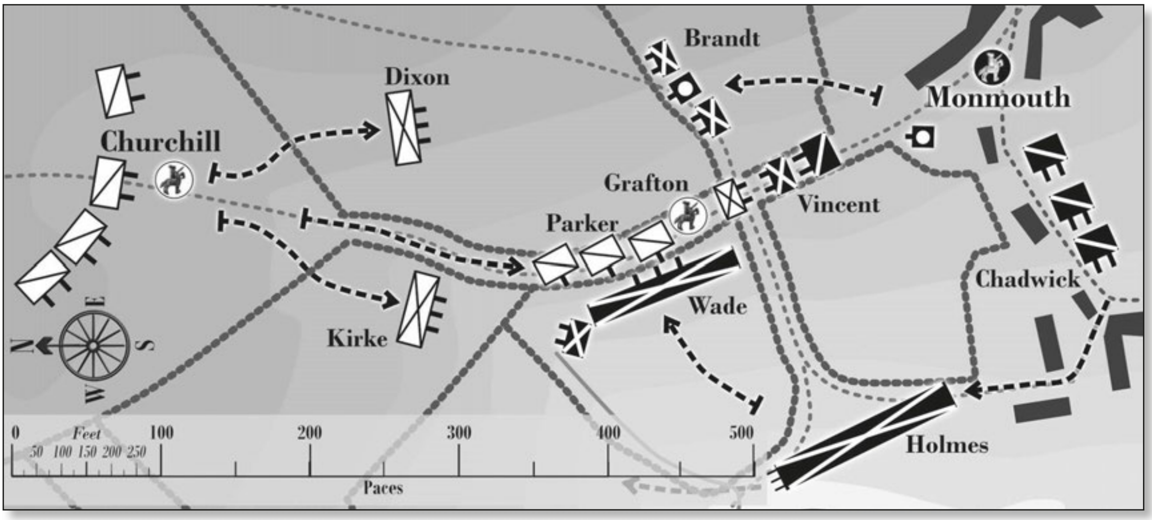
[203] In Feversham's own account he states hearing three volleys. See Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.6.



Matchlock musketeers in different poses, *c*.1685: A – at the shoulder; B – at the order or ease; C – at the poise with reversed musket; D – at the present; E – front rank kneeling at the present. (Author's collection)

The officers then waited for them to return to the rest, before continuing, 'Cast about to charge, handle your charger, open it with your teeth, charge with powder, draw forth your scowrer, shorten it to an inch against your right breast, charge with bullet, ram down powder and ball, withdraw your scowrer, shorten it to a handful, return your scowrer, poise your musket, rest your muskets, guard your pan.' The officers were glad to see that the rain was holding off. With this the musketeers were loaded and ready. It took about two minutes to complete the whole loading process. While the musket loaded, the pike division had formed up five paces behind the rear rank of muskets. To the right, there was just enough room for two files of musket to pass behind the pike division.

At the top of the lane, Captain Hawley's company of 45 grenadiers had formed into nine ranks. The NCOs ensured that the soldiers had loaded



Grafton launches an attack on the barricade – 27 June 1685. (Author's artwork)

their muskets and stood ready. The two lieutenants took command of their division of 20 in four ranks with a sergeant, whilst the senior corporal took the front rank. Hawley took up position at the rear of the company, then called out, 'Silence!' Then, 'Guard your pans, prepare to march, march.' The grenadiers had practised this on the parade ground, but as his company came around the bend of the lane, Hawley's grenadiers would be putting it all into practice.[204] Behind his company of grenadiers was Grafton mounted on his horse, with clear sight of the enemy behind the barricade.

The Whigs could hear the rattle of drums coming down the lane. Then the tall, red-coated grenadiers came into sight, boxed in between the hedges. At Keynsham, these Whig soldiers had faced and defeated the Government's best horsemen, but only from the safety of the buildings; now they faced a more deadly foe. From behind the barricade, the young Captain Vincent called out, 'Divisions will advance to the barricades and fire by two rank volleys, march!' Then he turned back to watch the enemy come on. The senior lieutenant called out, 'Front two ranks, handle your match, blow your match, cock and try your match, guard your pan, advance.' With the two ranks at the barricade, the rest of the six ranks behind stepped forwards into their place and cocked match, without word of command. The officer yelled, 'Halt, blow your match, present and open your pan, give fire!' This was finished with 'Wheel to the rear and make ready.' With the grenadiers still 40 paces away, the sergeant ordered the next two ranks to march. The lieutenant cried, 'Halt, blow your match, present and open your pan, give fire!' This process continued as the Whigs fired steady volleys.

In the rear the sergeants were running the musketeers through their loading procedure, step by step. This was to reduce the risk of the inexperienced soldiers panicking, ramming home more than one ball, forgetting to prime or charge, or leaving the scowrers in the barrels; all actions that lead to misfires, or worst going off at half-cock. When they were loaded and ready the sergeant would take them carefully through the pike division. While the musketeers fired by rotation, the file leaders at the barricade loaded, and fired between volleys. Through the smoke it was hard for Vincent to know if his shot was having an impact on the enemy. Just in case, his stand of pikes stood at the ready with weapons at the advance.

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[204] This would be the first use of grenades and plug bayonets on British soil.

Hawley waited until his front rank was within 30 paces, before crying out 'Halt, front division, prepare to give fire.' His men had already received two volleys, but with little impact. Then the corporal commanding the front rank yelled, 'Kneel!' After this the lieutenant cried out, 'Ranks to the right double, march!' The soldiers moved from four to two ranks, at the close order. Then Hawley called 'Give fire!' As the smoke engulfed the ranks and the boom rumbled down the lane, the lieutenant bellowed, 'Ranks to the left, as you were, march!' The lane was now full of the grey, acrid and sourer smoke of the black powder. They could only see the enemy by the flashes of the volleys.

Hawle, now called out 'Rear division, advance and make ready to fire, front division, ready your grenados, march!' With this, the front rank stood, and the rear division of four ranks marched through at double time, to halt in front of the discharged ranks. The corporal had taken his rank forward as the rear division marched on. Behind them the new division received the following orders: 'Open your pouch, stepping forward with your right leg, with your left hand at the bottom of the pouch, take out your grenado, face to the proper front.' Then the front rank received a volley, knocking some of the men backwards, but the corporal still called 'Kneel!' The second lieutenant yelled, 'Ranks to the right double, march, rest your musket, cock your musket, present your musket, give fire!' After this volley had smacked into the enemy he called, 'Ranks to the left, as you were, march, cast about to your right, handle your bayonets, draw forth your bayonets, put it into the muzzle of your musket, poise your musket, guard your musket!'

As soon as the front division had fired Hawley called, 'Front division will march through and deliver grenados, march!' This time as the division came up behind the kneeling front rank, the lieutenant called out 'Front two ranks only, blow your match, step back with your right leg, fire your fusee, deliver your grenados, wheel to the rear and handle your hatchets.' As they did this the spherical iron balls, filled with gunpowder landed around the barricade. Then the rearward ranks advanced, and the officer called, 'Blow your match, step back with your right leg, fire your fusee, deliver your grenados, handle your hatchets!' As the grenades exploded, sending pieces of iron shrapnel into the Whigs, Captain Hawley cried out 'Divisions, ranks to the right double, march', and finally 'Charge!' and the grenadiers came on.

The first grenades had sent shards of iron into the barricade, killing and wounding those closest to the explosions. While the dazed Whigs recovered their wits, the second set of detonations spread more death. Then with their ears still ringing, some may have heard the grenadier officer shout 'Charge!' and turned to see the tall redcoats with their mitre caps running towards them, axes in hand. They withdrew. Vincent had the presence of mind to order his stand of pikes to charge and advance, but it was too late. The grenadiers flooded over the barricade, as Vincent's musketeers fell back to the cover of the pikes. The file leaders clubbed muskets and with charged

Monmouth's Army

Norton St Philip -June 27, 1685

General James, Duke of Monmouth

Chief of Staff, Colonel Brandt, Count of Horne

REGIMENTS

- Troop of Lifeguards
- Capt. Buyse's Artillery (4 Guns)
- Capt. Gaitch's Lyme Cy.

Colonel Matthews' Brigade

UNITS

- Major Wade's Red Regiment (6 Companies)
- Lt. Col. Holmes' Green Regt (6 Companies)
- Col. Matthews' Yellow Regt (6 Companies)
- Capt. Chadwick's Squadron (2 Troops)

Colonel Foulkes' Brigade

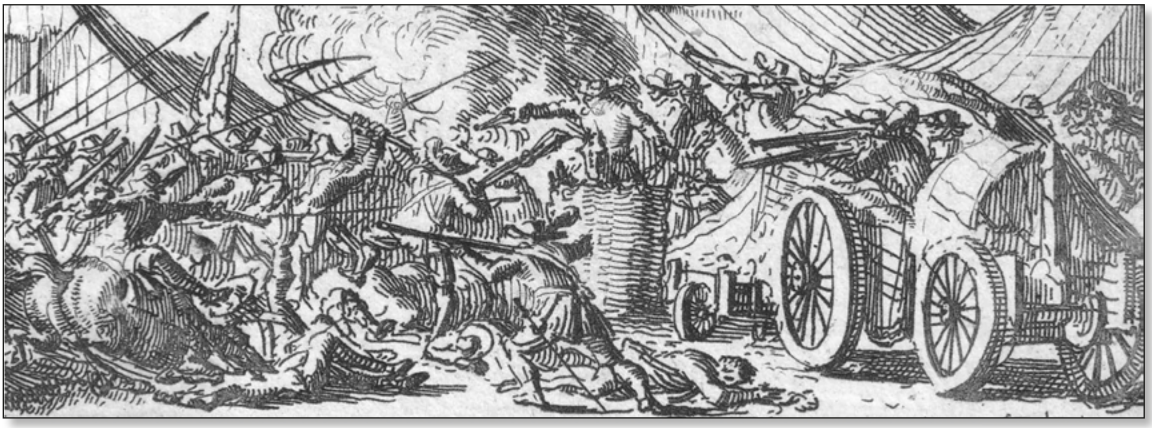
UNITS

- Lt. Col. Bovett's Blue Regiment (6 Companies)
- Col. Foulkes' White Regiment (6 Companies)

Lord Grey's Horse

UNITS

- Lord Grey's Squadron (3 Troops)
- Col. Speke's Squadron (3 Troops)
- Capt. Hewling's Squadron (2 Troops)
- Capt. Jones' Squadron (3 Troops)
- Capt. Hucker's Squadron (3 Troops)



Close fighting over barricades *c*.1684. (Author's collection)

pikes over their shoulders, faced the grenadiers. As the vicious melee broke out, they were pushed back down the bloody lane. It was here that Thomas Coad fell to the ground badly wounded.[205]

With the barricade taken, Grafton watched as Hawley reorganised his company, pulling out the first division to reform, whilst the deadly stab of bayonet was countered by thrust of a charged pike. At the barricade, Grafton could see over the hedges. On his right the field sloped down the hill, whilst on the left the ground climbed away up the hill. As he looked to his right, there was a new threat, and it carried red colours. What appeared to be a regiment of foot was marching up the now bloody lane from the town. After warning Hawley, Grafton sent a rider back up the lane to bring down reinforcements. Hawley instantly saw the danger and pulled his men back to the barricade. Under the covering fire of his corporal's front rank, the second lieutenant's division tried to unplug bayonets and make ready.

Major Wade brought his regiment up the lane from the old manor house, he had heard the musket volleys and explosions. Rather than forming his men into battalia, they marched towards the enemy in their companies. As the Major approached, he sent the leading company up the lane to support Captain Vincent and took the remaining three companies of the regiment into the fields to his left. From the lane to his right, musket fire erupted, and to his front he could see a mounted officer over the hedge. As he watched, streaks of flame spewed from the greenery and a couple of his men went down. As soon as possible, he wheeled the first company into line facing the hedge, and Wade ordered the captain to give fire by two rank volleys. As this unit started firing at the enemy, Wade brought the next two companies into line.

Grafton watched the enemy march across his right flank, and form into a firing line. While Hawley's senior lieutenants' division held the Whigs at bay around the barricade, the Captain had spread the second lieutenant's division out along the lane facing downhill towards the new enemy threat. These men formed a rough line and were firing as fast as they could at the enemy. Then the first volleys erupted from the Whigs, but they were aiming uphill and most of the shots went over Grafton's head. On the second or third volley from the enemy, his horse screamed, and Monmouth's brother fell to the ground.

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[205] Coad, *Wonderful Providences*, p.5.

On the far left, Captain Hawley saw that the enemy were advancing unopposed, and quickly ordered his second lieutenant to bring two files back and face the new threat up the lane. Hawley was trapped and Grafton was down. Hawley could see that the enemy fire was getting closer to the lane, while at the barricade the enemy were gathering for an assault, but there was nothing from his left. His sergeants now tried desperately to cut a path out of the lane, his company close to defeat.

Feversham heard the volleys and was pleased to see Captain Lloyd coming up. Lloyd reported that the enemy had set up a barricade across the lane, and that Grafton was forcing this position. The General ordered Churchill to take the vanguard forward in support and sent the two troops of horse grenadiers under captains Parker and Vaughan back with Lloyd's men to support Grafton. Churchill had all the companies of grenadiers: Bridgeman's, Matthews', Johnson's, and possibly Booth's, plus the two large musketeer companies, formed from both Kirke's and Trelawny's regiments. These were supported by the four troops of dragoons. Leaving the dragoons as a reserve, Churchill sent the infantry companies forwards on both flanks of the lane. Here they deployed and crossed the first hedgerow, below them was another, and behind this they could see the enemy.

With Lloyd's troopers leading the way, the horse grenadier troops galloped towards the sound of brutal fighting. As they came down the lane, they fired their pistols at the enemy foot trying to cross the hedge to their right. They were pleased to find Hawley's men still alive, but hard pressed. When Lloyd arrived, he found Grafton, dismounted and in the thick of the fighting. Hawley's grenadiers had been pushed back from the barricade and were desperately trying to hold back the enemy along the lane. As Lloyd's horsemen joined the melee, their impact allowed the grenadiers to reform and get into the fields on the left. To help Grafton escape, Lloyd gave the Duke his horse. Grafton did not refuse the invitation, and quickly mounted to make his way into the field. To their rear, a division of grenadiers commanded by Captain Robert Dixon[206] from the 2nd Troop of Horse Grenadiers, came down the lane to support Lloyd. Meanwhile, more Government companies were arriving either side of the lane, and Churchill's musketeers began firing at the Whigs' open flank.

Wade could see that Vincent's company had been joined by a troop of horse, and together the Whigs were pushing the enemy back up the lane. Wade's three companies had joined the fighting across the thick hedges, but with the arrival of the enemy horse this effort had been checked. Further up the lane, where the enemy was weakest, his men faced a new threat as redcoats started to line the hedge on his left, no more than 20 paces away. Wade had no choice and pulled this two company of the left back to cover his flank. On the other side of the lane, Slape's company and the two guns started firing into the enemy grenadiers that were attempting to reform after cutting a gap in the hedge. However, a new enemy arrived here in the shape of enemy musketeers advancing across the fields.

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[206] In the narrative of Feversham's march (see Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.14) the name given is Captain Rupert. However, there was no commissioned officer by the name of Rupert. It is therefore my assumption that this was Lieutenant Robert Dixon, gGrenadier officer of the 2nd Troop of Lifeguards. This would have made some sense as his men had been put into a combined horse grenadier troop, leaving him nothing to do.

The flank attacks relieved the pressure in the lane, allowing Lloyd, Vaughan, and Parker to cut their way out of the trap. They were hotly pursued by the Whig cavalry, but these were checked by the musket volleys from Dixon's supporting division. At the top of the lane they were joined by Grafton, with the remains of Hawley's grenadiers. On both sides of the lane a firefight developed, with volley matched by volley. On the right flank, Kirke was having more success with his command,[207] and was pushing back the Whigs. Over on the left, the two Guard grenadier companies had fallen back behind the hedgerow after the appearance of the Whig horse, and a company of scythe-men. Hawley's exhausted men retreated to the ridge where Feversham sat watching the battle unfold with the Lifeguards and six troops of Oxford Blues.

Wade had wheeled his left most two companies to face the enemy and these soldiers were holding their ground. With the support of a troop of horse, Vincent's company had repulsed the enemy, but they needed to be relieved and resupplied. It is likely that his musketeers were down to their last few flasks of powder. Wade was therefore pleased to see Colonel Holmes' fresh battalion arrive to his rear. The Green Regiment had marched from the encampment and deployed into battalia to his left. They were now advancing up the slope into the face of the enemy fire, supported by two troops of horse under Captain Chadwick. Holmes' soldiers were keen to prove themselves and marched forwards to the sound of the regimental drums. However, outnumbered and threatened by Chadwick's cavalry, the red-coated musketeers that had crossed the hedgerow pulled back to safety and made ready.

Holmes had fought in the British Civil Wars as an officer in Harrison's New Model Horse Regiment and had seen service in Scotland. After this he played a part in the Penruddock rising of 1655, and then served in the Low Countries before retiring to London and becoming a brewer for a while; then he joined Argyll in Holland. Holmes ordered his regiment to stand around 40 paces from the enemy line. Here the sergeants busied themselves reordering ranks, aligning files, and checking muskets were loaded. The Green Regiment would need to be prepared if it was to advance uphill into the face of heavy enemy fire. The Colonel was three paces in front of his men and yelled, 'Silence!' Followed by 'Advance your pikes, musketeers lay your right hand on your muskets, poise your muskets, rest your muskets, handle your match, blow your match, cock and try your match, guard your pans.' It was now or never for his raw regiment. Holmes understood the importance of keeping his men moving: if they stopped too long, it would be hard to push them into combat.

Holmes called out, 'Prepare to march, march!' With drums beating and the enemy muskets starting to belch fire and smoke, his men closed the gap step by step. When Holmes judged the distance to be about 20 paces he

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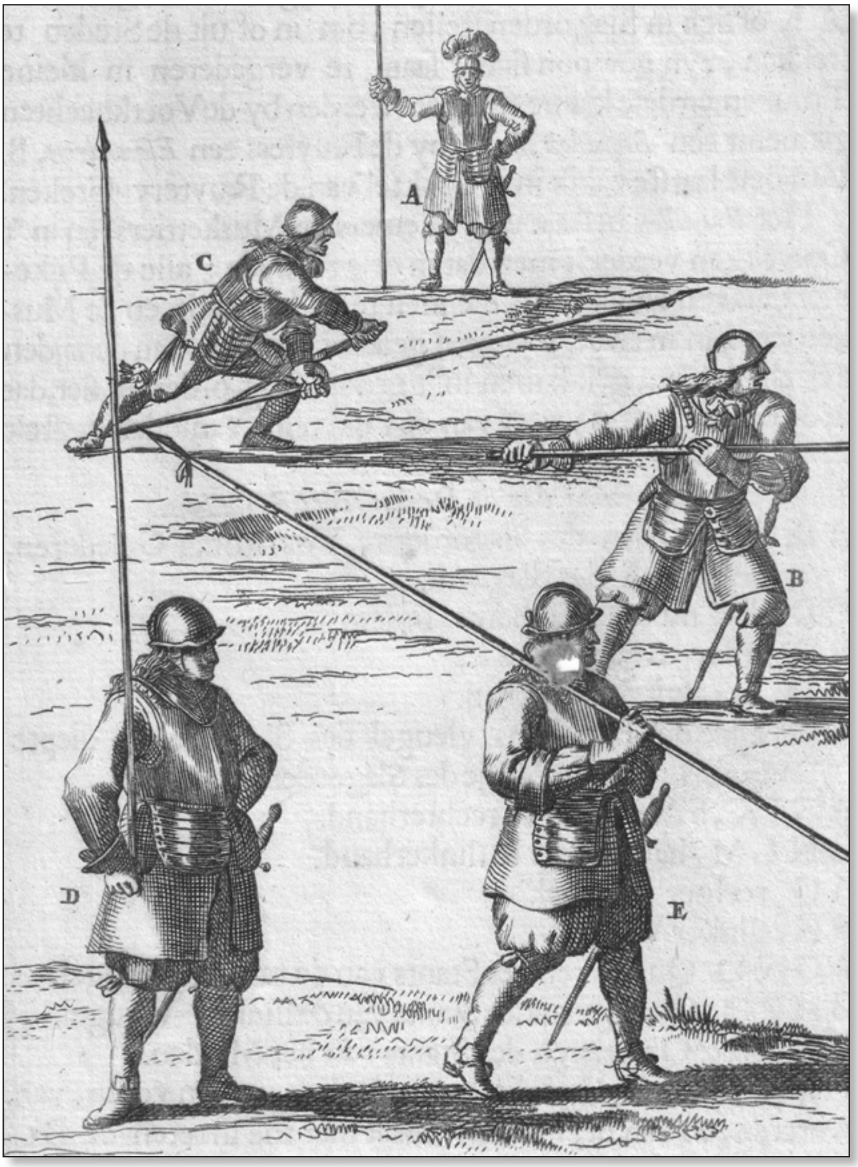
[207] It must be assumed that on the right flank, Colonel Kirke commanded the grenadier company and four divisions of musket from Trelawny's, plus the grenadier company and four divisions (or all) the musket divisions from his own regiment. Each musket division numbered 34 soldiers and a corporal, commanded by a sergeant or lieutenant.



Postures of pike, *c*.1685: A – at the order, B – at the charge, C – charge for horse, D – at the advance; E.– at the shoulder. (Author's collection)

yelled, 'Halt, rear half-files, to the right hand double your front, march!' This brought his men from open, to close order. The pike went from eight ranks to four, while the muskets reduced from five to three ranks. The Colonel's next command was 'Musket divisions, prepare to give volley fire, pike division, charge your pikes.' The captains on the wings called out, 'Front rank kneel, blow your match, cock your muskets, present and open your pans.' Holmes roared, 'Give fire, pike divisions advance!' At the same time the officers also charged their pikes and the regiment started towards the enemy through the smoke. On the wings the shot stood, clubbed muskets, and drew whatever swords they had and marched on. On the far right the scythe-men marched through their musket division to engage the enemy for the first time.

Behind the hedge, the crash of the enemy's musket volley was followed instantly by the sound of a whizz, crack, and thump as lead hit wood and flesh.

At this range it shattered bones and sent splinters into the front rank of Kirke's shot. Some of Kirke's men returned a ragged fire into the smoke. Elsewhere, the grenadier sergeants ordered their men to 'Handle your bayonets, draw forth your bayonets, put it into the muzzle of your musket, poise your musket, guard your musket, charge.' However, all along the line, the experienced officers could see the ranks were in some disorder, but it was too late to reorder the men. As the enemy hit, the sharp blades of the pike-heads came through the hedges. On the wings, a bloody struggle broke out between the opposing musketeers. In the centre Kirke's men were pulling back, cutting with hatchets, and stabbing with bayonets, but were unable to counter the pike thrusts. On his far left, the scythe company of the Green Regiment cut its way through the hedge. Outflanked, Kirke ordered his men to pull back up the hill to the next hedgerow. The redcoats broke and ran back up the slope, and here they found Lord Churchill with three troops of dismounted dragoons. Behind them Chadwick's horse came through the gap created by the scythe-men. Luckily for Kirke's soldiers, the slope slowed down the enemy horse.

Holmes watched Chadwick's horse return down the slope. They had been forced to withdraw after musket volleys had erupted from the hedges. It was clear that the enemy had been reinforced. Instead of chasing the redcoats, Holmes ordered his regiment to halt as soon as they had crossed the obstruction. The Colonel waited for his sergeants to reform ranks and files, and then the lieutenant started the process of loading and making ready the musket wings. To his left, Matthews' Regiment was coming up, along with more troops of horse. Once his regiment was ready Holmes bellowed, 'Silence! Advance your pikes, lay your right hand on your musket, poise your musket, rest your musket, guard your musket, march!' With this, the regiment advance into the musket fire, but the rain had now started causing the sergeants to call out 'Cover your pans, guard your match.'

To Holmes' left, the Yellow Regiment advanced in line with his men, and to his rear a few troops of horse were waiting for the spoils of his attack. Once the Green Regiment was about 20 paces from the enemy, the Colonel yelled 'Halt, fire by double rank volleys, pike division rear half-files, to the right hand double your front, march!' With this the file leaders on the wings of shot knelt, then his musket captains cried 'First two ranks, make ready, present, give fire!' Holmes called out 'Charge your pikes, advance!' Then Holmes stepped off. Within moments, the old colonel was knocked over sideways as a musket ball struck his arm.[208] All he could do was watch his pike march around him, as a captain rushed to his side.

All along the Government line, the lieutenants were firing by rotation, with one musketeer loaded, one loading, and one ready to fire. Mounted a little way back, Churchill watched as the enemy came forwards. There were now two regiments, supported by several troops of ragged horse. To his left the Guards grenadiers were holding their own, and some 200 paces away on the ridge behind him were nine troops of horse. The veteran of Enzheim[209]

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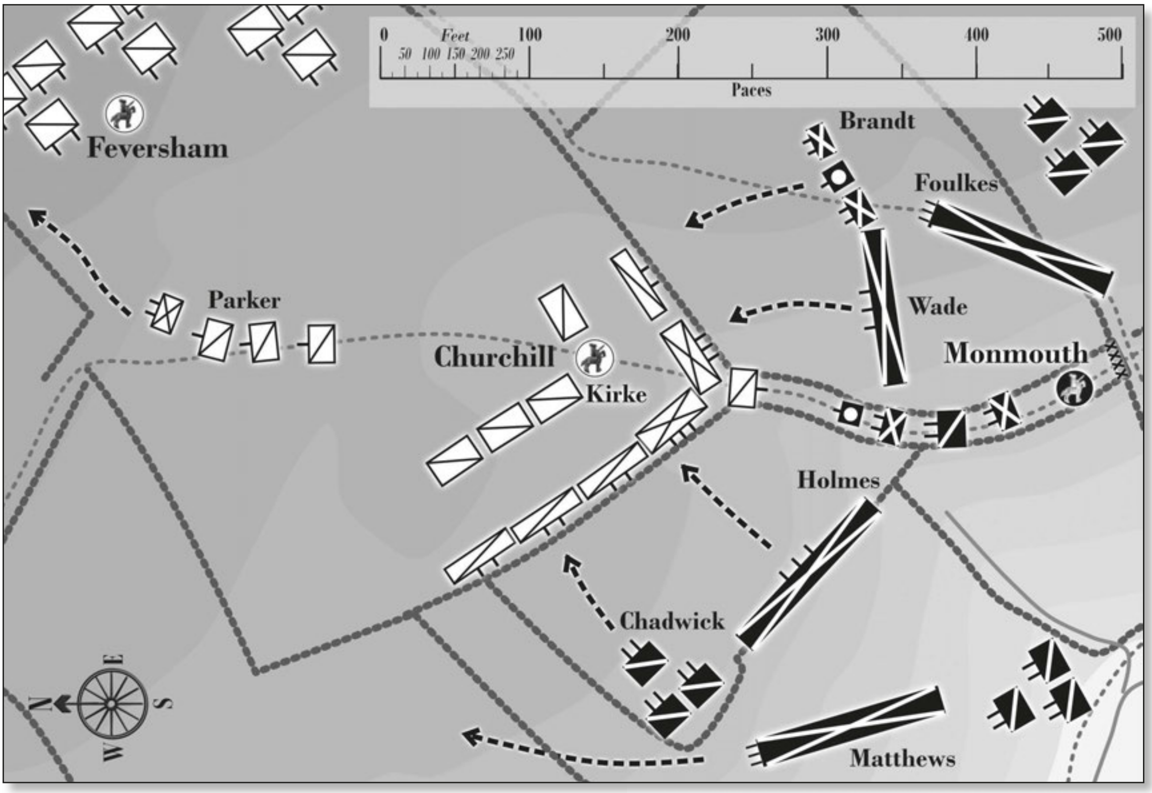
[208] Lansdowne 1152 f.240.

[209] At the Battle of Enzheim, 4 October 1674 [New Style], the then young Colonel Churchill and Captain Kirke pushed the enemy back through hedgerows and a wood.

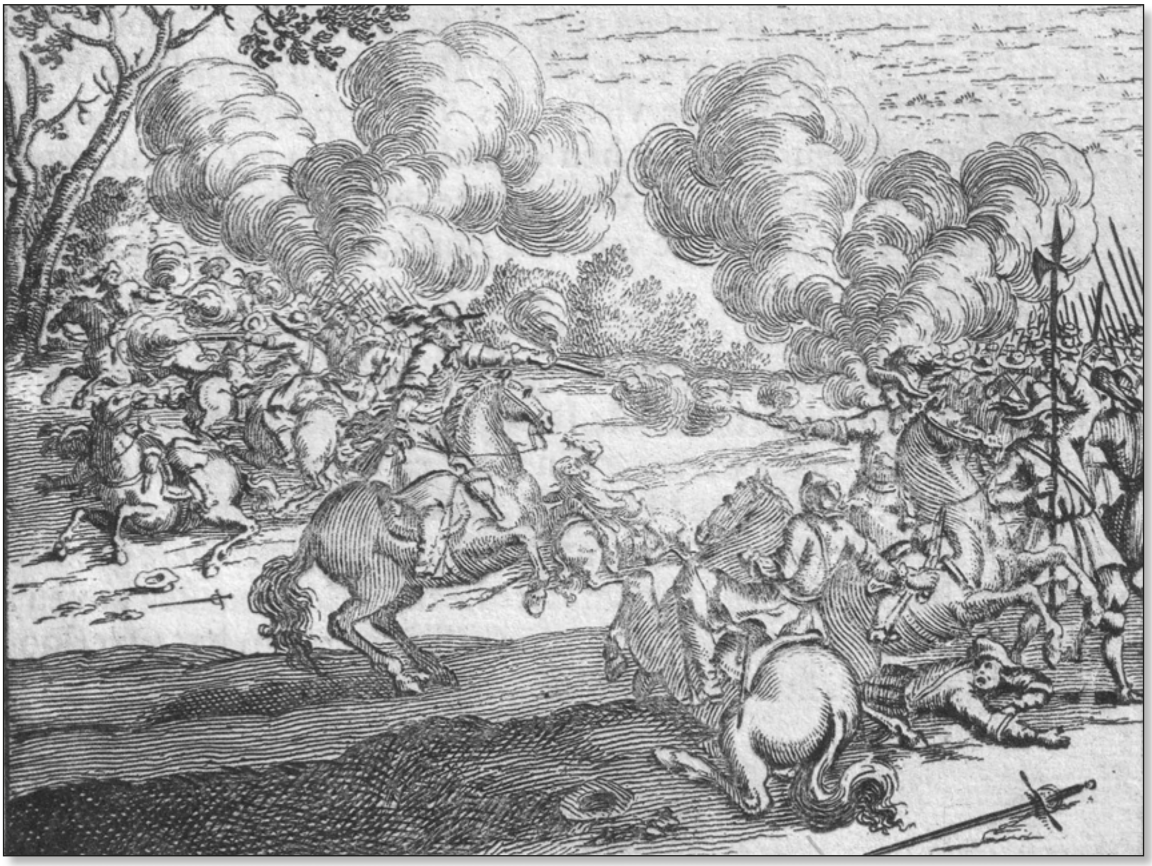


Monmouth attacks the Government line – 27 June 1685. (Author's artwork)

felt confident that his men could easily repulse these rebels. As the enemy stopped to give fire, rather than reloading the dragoons and grenadiers took this as the signal to plug bayonets, the rest drew swords and waited for the assault. The officers now held back the final shot. As the Whigs came within 10 paces, his men discharged their final volley. Churchill was pleased to see the enemy colonel go down, but they still came on.

Fierce hand-to-hand fighting spread along the hedgerow, as Churchill's men stabbed with bayonets, slashed with swords, and shattered heads with butts of muskets. Those men that faced the pikes could only fend off the sharp points, while those facing the musketeers were easily holding their ground. As the Whig offices pierced the undergrowth with half-pike, halberd or partizan, the redcoats were pushed back. Slowly, the Whigs started to gain footholds in the hedge, and only vicious and costly counter-attacks held the enemy at bay. However, Churchill could see the scythes starting to cut large holes in the defensive line, especially on the left close to the lane.

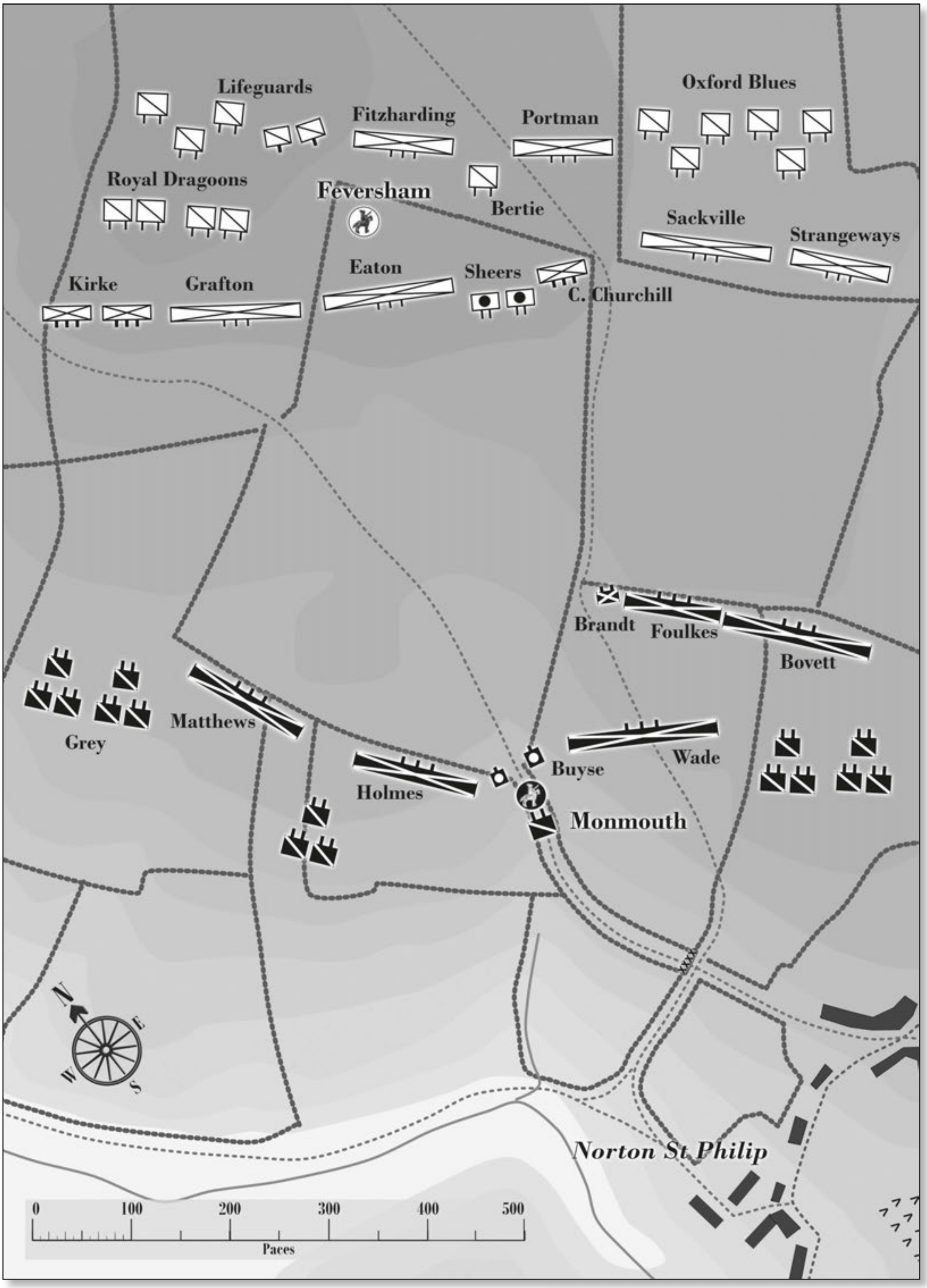
Wade had reformed his regiment on the right flank of the lane. With a troop of horse and two light guns firing up the bloody lane, Vincent's men were now in reserve. Across the field, still strewn with dead redcoats, the Major could see possibly 100 grenadiers. He had five companies of foot, including the Lyme company, together with a couple of troops of horse, and Vincent's men in support. Between the divisions, Captain Buyse had two of his guns keeping the heads of the grenadiers down with iron shot. With the scythe companies on the right flank, and his musketeers in five ranks made ready, the Red Regiment advanced up the hill towards the fire coming from the enemy. The light field



Caption: Foot in battalia engage horse *c*.1685. (Author's collection)

guns were pushed forwards by the Dutch gunners, each loaded with a tin of pistol shot and an iron ball. Once within 30 paces, Wade called out 'Halt! prepare to give volley fire!' With this the front rank knelt, and the rear half-files closed their order, turning five quickly into three ranks. Next the Major yelled, 'Charge your pikes, give fire!' With this, over 300 musket balls and cones of pistol bullets hit the enemy. Then his men charged from out of the smoke, but they found that the grenadiers had withdrawn to the ridge. In the centre, the company of the Red Regiment had reached the top of the lane and now deployed their guns to face into the flank of the enemy. While in front of them, arrayed on a ridge possibly 200 paces away were nine troops of enemy horse.

Feversham watched as Churchill pulled his men back from the last hedgerow. The disordered infantry and dragoons left a good number of dead and wounded behind them. To cover this retreat, Feversham deployed his three squadrons of horse ready to countercharge downhill if the Whigs pressed forwards. It was possibly around two o'clock, and the bulk of the Government army was arriving on the ridge. The first to reach the position were the three Guard battalions, and the militia foot regiments of Strangeways, Portman and Fitzharding. Some way off at the back of the column was Captain Sheers with the Portsmouth artillery train. They were supported by the combined Tangiers Battalion, and Captain Bertie's volunteer horse. Unfortunately, Sheers had struggled to bring the eight guns up the muddy and steep Black Dog Hill, but


Lifeguards
Fitzharding
Portman
Oxford Blues
Royal Dragoons
Feversham
Bertie
Sackville
Strangeways
Kirke
Grafton
Eaton
Sheers
C. Churchill
Brandt
Foulkes
Bovett
Grey
Matthews
Holmes
Buyse
Wade
Monmouth
N
E
W
S
Norton St Philip
0
100
200
300
400
500
Paces

The opposing armies face each other at Norton St Philip – 27 June 1685. (Author's artwork) as each piece came into line, the crew open fire on the enemy.[210] Feversham had over 5,000 infantry and 700 cavalry looking down on the Whigs.

Holmes had been shot through the arm,[211] but his men had pushed away the remnants of the Government line. As the old soldier left his division commanders to reform ranks and make ready, he learnt that his son, one of the company captains, was dead, as was Captain Chadwick. Leaving command of the regiment to Major Robert Parsons, and the army wing under Colonel Matthews, Holmes retired to the George. Here he found Monmouth watching Colonel Foulkes' men march past with 'four white flags, and a battalion with pikes'.[212] Foulkes was to march up the lane, and Colonel Bovett was to support Wade on the right flank. Holmes reported the nature of the enemy position and then Monmouth allowed the wounded officer to have his arm dressed.[213] The Duke followed Foulkes up the lane.

As Monmouth reached the top of the lane, he was confronted by the enemy host aligned across the ridgeline. The Duke had Matthews' and Holmes' regiments on the left, Foulkes in the centre, with Wade and Bovett on the right flank. The four light guns were in the centre of the line, and behind these a dozen troops of horse. In all Monmouth had around 5,000 infantry and 700 cavalry. The Whigs now had two choices, and Monmouth called his senior officers together. The first option was to leave a good defensive situation, then attack uphill against a well-positioned and evenly matched enemy. The alternative was to wait for the enemy to come down and attack them.

As the rain turned heavier, the council agreed with Monmouth: they would bombard Feversham, and force the enemy onto his pike and musketeers in the hedgerows. The Whigs were ready to repulse any assault. The Dutch gunners of Captain Buyse started to target the enemy formations, and the enemy guns replied. After two hours all but a couple of the roundshot had made a mark on either side. To the cheers of his men, Monmouth watched from his white horse as the enemy started to march from the field. It was possibly five o'clock, and knowing that the rain would cause his musketeers to misfire, Monmouth elected not to follow up the enemy.[214] However, the Whigs had won a hard-fought victory, although Monmouth knew it was not enough to win the campaign.

Leaving Wade's Battalion, a troop of horse and the artillery to cover the rear, Monmouth ordered is men to set off once more for Frome. By now the muddy roads and the swollen rivers made the march hard going. At around 11 o'clock that evening, Wade's drenched men finally withdrew from the battlefield. The blood had now washed down the line into the courtyard of the old manor house. The Whigs had lost around 20 men, including two captains and a lieutenant from Holmes' Regiment. In the waggons heading through the knee-deep mud were another 40 wounded, but only one man had been killed by Captain Sheers' guns during the cannonade. As he left, Wade counted around 80 dead enemy soldiers in the lane and surrounding fields.[215]

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[210] Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.7, 'The gun is not yet come, it is not however lack of care of Mr Shiers whom I find very diligent in everything, but the very nasty roads'.

[211] Lansdowne 1152 f.240. 'He was shot at Philipsnorton in the arm, & commanded the green Regt.'

[212] Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.9, 'il nous sist paroistre quatre drapeaux blancs, et un bataillon avec des pikes'.

[213] There is a common folk story that Holmes amputated his own arm in the kitchens of the George. As he commanded the regiment at Sedgemoor and would have mentioned this at his examination, this interesting 'fact' remains a good story.

[214] Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.8. Feversham wrote 'It seemed to me only a man on a white horse who was more excited than the others; Parker assures me that he saw the Duke of Monmouth who came to look at us as we walked they were only five [o'clock].'

While the artillery duel was underway, Feversham sent Captain Coliford off to find quarters for the army. Coliford returned recommending Bradford on Avon as the best location. As the rain got heavier, Feversham ordered his army to withdraw from the field, covered by the horse and dragoons.[216] By 11 o'clock that night, the whole army had found billets in the Wiltshire town. At midnight Oglethorpe took out a patrol of 100 troopers in a wide loop to Trowbridge. On the road they passed through the now empty village of Norton St Philip and here he learnt that the Whigs had marched to Frome.

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[215] BL, Harley 6845, f.280.

[216] Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.6, 'we had a very large rainfall that made us feel very uncomfortable having no tents, so I judged with the opinion of the colonels that we could best do this would be to march'.

4

Shot in the Dark, July 1685

> '… I hope that your majesty does not think it ill that Lord Dartmouth should send me some [tents] in all haste, ... for if I had tents I would camp half a mile from him, and as he could never march, nor have any provisions, instead as I am I must always be three or four miles from him at the nearest…'
>
> Feversham to James, Bradford on Avon, 28 June 1685[1]

Warminster – 29 June 1685

During the night of 28 June, Monmouth's army marched in the rain from Norton St Philip to Frome. As they trudged through the mud a few of the Whigs soldiers took the opportunity to return home. As in Taunton and Bridgwater, the soldiers were welcomed as liberators, with Major Wade and the Whig rearguard arriving in the town at eight o'clock that morning.[2] Once Monmouth's men had found billets, they started cleaning weapons, fixing shoes, and drying out kit. They talked of their part in the recent battle, discussed taking London, and the news that Argyll had been defeated and captured near Glasgow. Then there were the hushed whispers about Whitehall's General Pardon. This offered all men in arms, but not from Holland, a reprieve. They had eight days to turn themselves in to the authorities and produce the General Pardon.[3] For most of the army, they had joined to fight for liberty and the Protestant religion, against popery and tyranny, and the pardon was seen as a trap. At the edge of the campfires, fathers sent sons away and the less passionate slipped out of town.

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[1] Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.9, '… j'espere que vostre majeste ne trouvers pas mauvais que my lord Dartmouth m'en envoie en toute diligence, … car sire si j'avois des tentes je m'irois camper a un demi mille de lui, et comme cela il n'auseroit jamais marcher, et n'auroit point de provision, au lieu que comme je suis il me faut toujours estre a trois ou quatres milles de lui pour le plus pres …'

[2] BL, Harley 6845, f.280.

[3] Wheeler, *Iter bellicosum*, p.13, 'Where the Kings Maties Gracious Pardon was proclaimed to all such as had taken up Armes against him, if in 8 daies. They would come in and accept thereof.'

During the day, Colonel Venner and several officers met with Monmouth. They now persuaded the Duke that the only course of action was to escape the country, and they proposed taking the horse and making for Poole, where they would seize a boat and sail to Holland. They would leave the rest of the army to shift for themselves, or take the General Pardon.[4] Venner pointed to the lack of desertions from the Government army, that they had been left to fight alone. None of the promised uprisings had materialised, Chester, Bristol and London had all remained silent. The Colonel emphasised that Frome was empty of all the horse promised by Captain Adlam,[5] and this was proof that the country had abandoned the cause. Venner emphasised that Argyll had been defeated, leaving Monmouth to face the whole of James's army. Finally, there was Goodenough's announcement that they would run out of money and provisions within days.[6] Venner argued that leaving England was the only sensible course of action for those that came from Holland.

That evening Wade joined the council of war called by Monmouth and it quickly became clear that the Duke was in a low and melancholy mood. All the talk of victory at Norton St Philip was forgotten and Monmouth told the gathered officers that the country had forsaken the cause. Therefore, the Duke would take all those that came from Holland to Poole, and from there back to Holland. They would leave orders for the army to surrender and make terms with the enemy. Colonel Venner and several of the senior officers applauded the Duke's statement. However, far more called out 'No!'

Then Lord Grey stood and addressed the Duke, stating that this was such a base thing, that it would never be forgiven by the people, and if the Duke deserted them he could never be trusted again.[7] Possibly others in the room argued that they had just won a victory at Norton St Philip, that the capital was only six days away across the great Salisbury plain.[8] While the enemy was still sleeping, London was an open city and was ready to rise. The Soho apprentices just needed to see the army's colours to take to the streets. Others must have spoken out, to state that they owed it to Argyll and the Scots who had lost everything for the cause of 'Liberty and the Protestant Religion'. They had landed at Lyme to save those loyal Englishmen who called him King, and Monmouth could not abandon them in their hour of need. Much to the disgust of Venner, the majority were for the campaign to continue. They should press on for London, defeat Feversham, and force James out of power. With such strong sentiments coming from the gathered officers,

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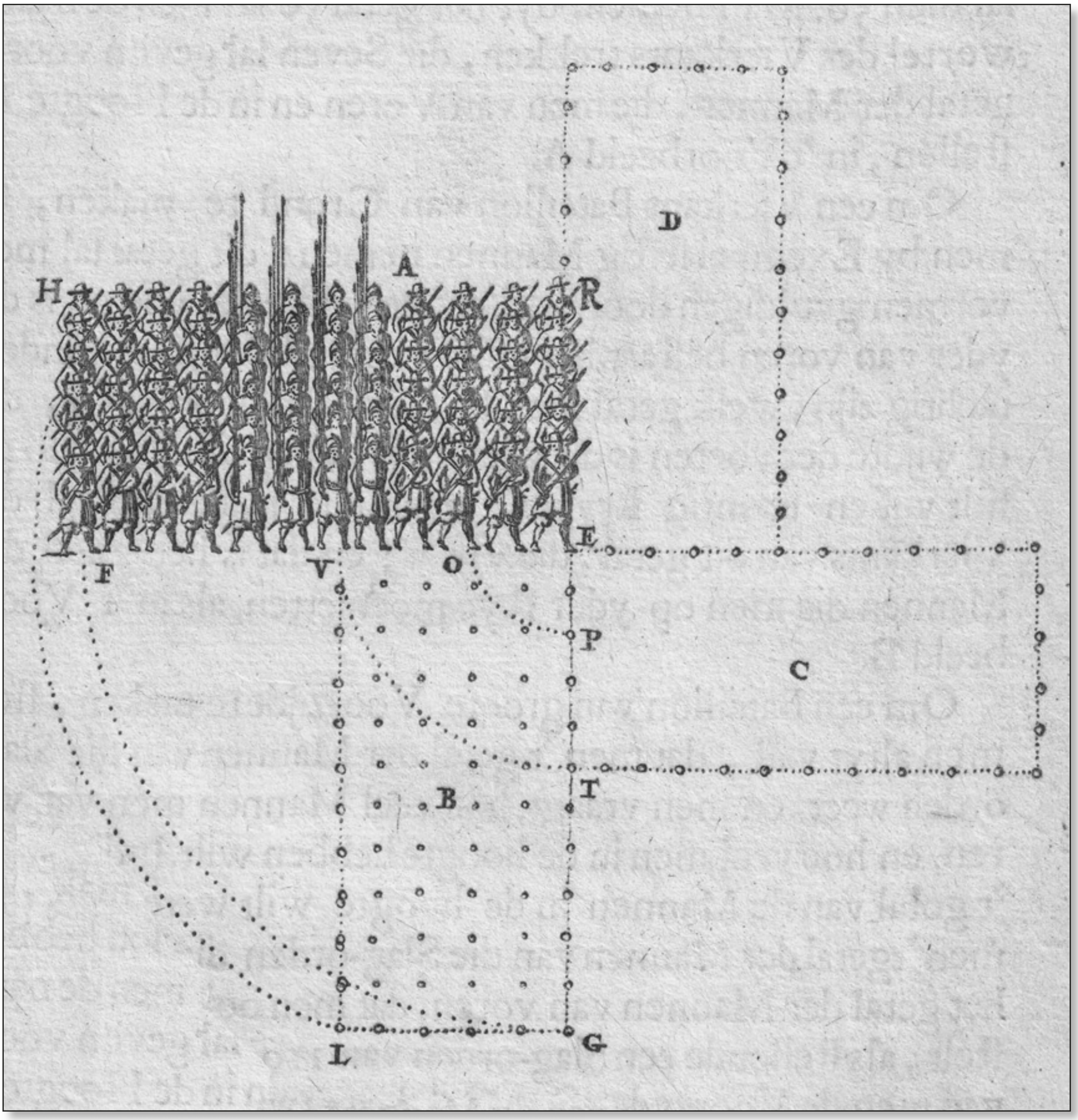
[4] Muddiman, *Assizes*, p.168, 'Twas at last agreed on, that we that came with the Duke, should get good horses that night, and so for Pool, a little seaport town not far off, where we were to seize a ship and set forth to Holland again, leaving our infantry to the mercy of the country'.

[5] Unfortunately, these men had been broken and dispersed on 25 June while Monmouth was at Keynsham.

[6] Muddiman, *Assizes*, p.168, 'Here came the unexpected news of Argyle's being defeated and likewise of the advance of the King's forces from London, with considerable baggage and thirty field pieces. On this news, together with our want of money and arms'.

[7] BL, Harley 6845, f.280, 'a thing so base that it could never be forgiven by the people to be so deserted and the Duke must never expect more to be trusted'.

[8] NA, WO5/1, f.273. The route of march was Warminster, Amesbury, Andover, Basingstoke, Hartley Wintney or at a stretch to Bagshot, London.



Wheeling a company in close order *c*.1685. (Author's collection)

Monmouth resolved to stick by his men and the cause, declaring that the army would march to Warminster on Tuesday, 30 June.[9]

The following day, as Monmouth's officers drilled and trained their soldiers, it became clear that Colonel Venner and Major Parson had taken their horses and slipped away during the night.[10] To cover this up, Monmouth explained that these officers had been sent to collect more arms and ammunition from Holland. At midday the leader of the Somerset Clubmen arrived in the town.

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[9] This account of the meeting is based upon Wade's account found in BL, Harley 6845, f.280.

[10] BL, Lansdown 1152, f.237.

He told the Duke that 10,000 well-armed men awaited him at Glastonbury.[11] Then scouts returned with the news that the enemy had marched into Westbury, just seven miles from Frome. This move by Feversham blocked the road to London and stopped all thought of moving to Warminster. If Monmouth advanced now, he would be attacked in the flank or forced into Warminster with little in the way of supplies. The council agreed that the only option open to the Whigs was to retire to Shepton Mallet. The army would retire into friendly country, were the people could provide provisions. Once resupplied, the Whigs would take the next opportunity to force an engagement or sweep around the enemy and reopen the route to London. Late in the day, Captain Speke took his troop of horse out towards Bruton. As the troop passed through the guards, he told them that he was reconnoitring the road to Somerton.[12] He never returned.

Monmouth's army marched into Shepton Mallet on 29 June. It had not been pressured or hindered by the enemy horse during the day and found comfortable quarters in the town. During the evening the officers took the opportunity to exercise the army.[13] The following day they arrived in Wells to find a waggon left by Kirke's Regiment a week earlier, which contained cases full of brand new muskets,[14] bundles of pikes, ammunition, and cash.[15] There was possibly enough equipment for 200 soldiers, but even with this windfall the army had run out of money. Monmouth's only option was to let his men pillage the great churches and rich houses. This could be justified as the city was Tory in sympathy, and the captured plate could be used to pay for provisions elsewhere. To the shock of the townsfolk, the soldiers took lead from the rooftops and cord from their beds.[16] The cord was soaked overnight in a blend of saltpetre and urine, and then dried to create slow match. The molten lead was poured into moulds, and then sieved to ensure the gauge was correct for each bore of musket.

The next morning, the army set off for Bridgwater, camping overnight on the great Sedgemoor. Luckily, the rain had now stopped, and the warmer summer evenings had returned. On the moor they were joined by the great Clubmen army that Monmouth had been promised. The host only numbered 160, rather than the 10,000 that had been promised, but this was better than nothing. The next day, 3 July, Monmouth's army re-entered Bridgwater to a more solemn welcome than that of a fortnight earlier. The Duke, riding his white horse, led the Clubmen into the town and across the bridge to join the

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[11] It is not clear if this had any impact on Monmouth's choice, especially as the promise had been made before and the sheer number would have been impossible to believe.

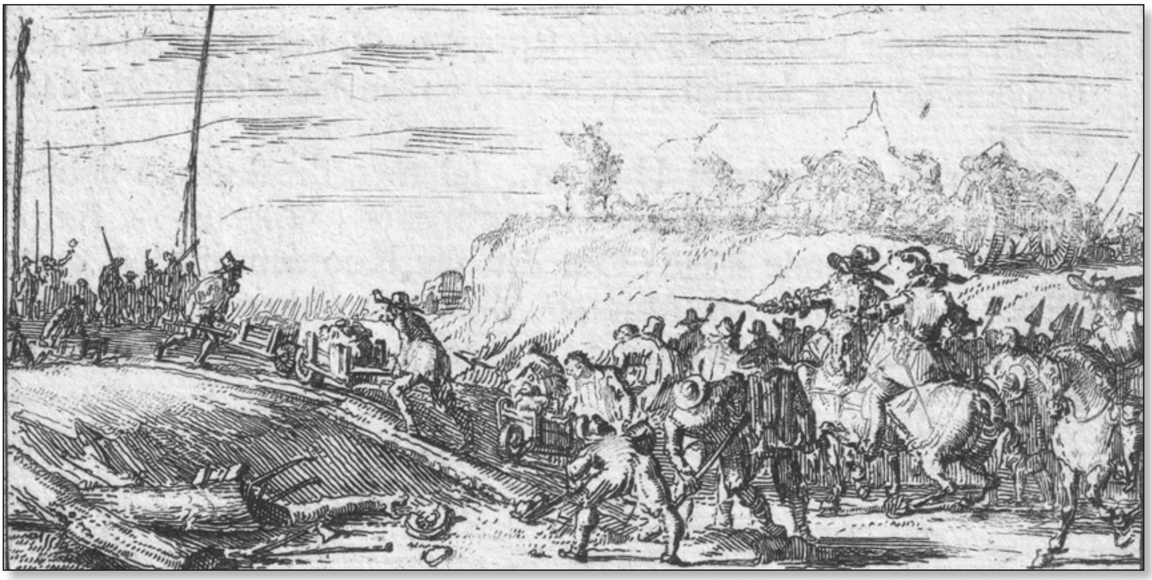
[12] BL, Lansdown 1152, f.243.

[13] Wheeler, *Iter bellicosum*, p.161, 'a Ground was shewne which lay within Prospect, where Monmouth and his Army was drawne up and exercised'.

[14] Anon., *The Manuscripts of the Earl of Dartmouth* (London: Historic Manuscripts Commission, 1887), p.128, 'that the arms last received from Whitehall were all lost at Wells' (Kirke to Dartmouth, 13 July 1685).

[15] Dartmouth Manuscripts, p.126, 'the enemy lay in Wells last night, where they took a waggon of Kirke's with arms ammunition and money'.

[16] BL, Add MS 38012, f.21.



Fortifying a town's defences *c*.1685. (Author's collection)

townsfolk who had been summoned by Richard Goodenough. They were equipped with spades, pickaxes, and wheelbarrows.[17]

Then the town's eastern approaches were strengthened, and the town gates barricaded.[18] Some of the old ditches used during the Civil Wars were redug and banks erected around the Castlefield. Then supplies of corn and cattle were brought into Bridgwater, and Goodenough paid the farmers with silver plate. Once the town had been readied for an attack, the army set about fixing weapons and exercising.[19]

The following day preparations for battle continued and companies were remodelled, replacing the holes in the ranks through desertions and casualties. It was now that a local man approached the Duke and offered him the use of his new military invention,[20] a frame containing 12 heavy musket barrels.[21] These could be fired simultaneously, and then the frame could be quickly replaced with a loaded set of barrels. This enabled almost continuous fire if enough frames were available. Due to the nature of the weapon being more suited to defence, it was set up as part of the fortifications of the town. That afternoon a large party of Whig Horse chased off a troop of enemy dragoons who had come within half a mile of the town.[22] No damage was done to either party, and with Feversham still two days away, that evening Monmouth allowed the local men to return to their homes.[23]

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[17] Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.12.

[18] BL, Add MS 38012, f.25.

[19] BL, Harley 6845, f.280.

[20] NA, WO 55/1734, f.19, 'Engine of 12 musq't barrels taken from the late Duke of Monmouth' this description is an assumption based on documentary evidence, and that the piece was not recovered from the battlefield.

[21] NA, WO 55/1730 (page unnumbered).

[22] BL, Add MS 31956, f.7.

[23] BL, Harley 6845, f.280.

Whitehall – 30 June 1685

On 28 June, Feversham wrote to James in Whitehall, declaring a victory at Norton St Philip. He estimated that the Whigs had lost over 100 soldiers, for the loss of only 20 killed on the Government side. The General explained that he had withdrawn to Bradford only for the want of tents. For now, his aim was to block the roads to both Bristol and London. He would not risk closing with Monmouth without the ability to encamp his foot, as being billeted in houses risked defeat if the Whigs launched a surprise attack. Feversham's plan was to stay a day's march from Monmouth. To rectify this situation, he sent a request to Lord Dartmouth that enough tents should be dispatched for the foot and artillery.[24] While the main Government army sheltered from the rain at Bradford on Avon, Pembroke and the militia marched to Westbury. This move stopped a surprise attack being launched by Monmouth.

During the day Oglethorpe had taken out a patrol to cover Frome, and received intelligence from within Monmouth's army, that they were planning to advance to Warminster.[25] To block this move, in the early hours of 29 June Feversham's army marched to Westbury. Fearing a battle, Feversham ordered the Tower artillery train to leave the heavier guns at Devizes and march directly to Westbury.[26] The following day, with Monmouth withdrawing to Shepton Mallet, Feversham waited for the artillery to arrive before entering Frome. However, some in the army felt that the enemy should be pressed harder, and Churchill complained to his wife about the bad weather and lack of activity.[27] Feversham knew that the Government had time and numbers on their side. Therefore, even the reports of Monmouth's army ransacking the city of Wells, and capturing some of Kirke's baggage,[28] did not change Feversham's mind. As he had stated to James a few days earlier,[29] his tactic was to stay one day behind Monmouth and be ready to block any move towards London or Bristol. He would not press the enemy until his foot had ample tents to allow them to encamp. The encounter at Norton St Philip had demonstrated to Feversham that Monmouth could not be taken for granted. The General would not and could not risk being attacked whilst his army was dispersed in billets within some hostile town. From London, three waggons with the extra 250 tents requested by Feversham set off for the army.[30]

Support was coming in the shape of Colonel Mackay and the three veteran regiments of the Scots Brigade. These men had finally disembarked

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[24] Dartmouth Manuscripts, p.126, Feversham to Dartmouth '… entreats that some tents may be sent to him with all speed', 28 June, 1685.

[25] Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.15.

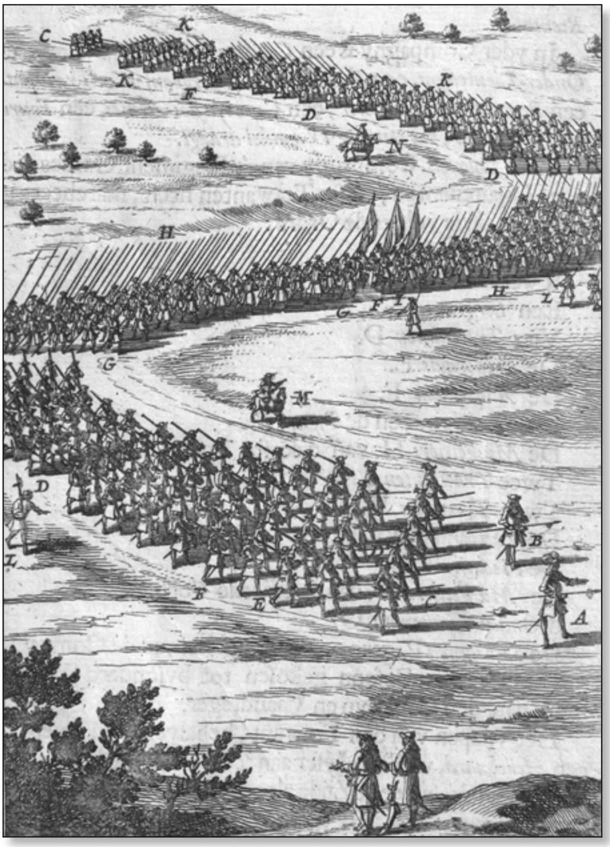
[26] Dartmouth Manuscripts, p.12,6 'Lord Feversham has found it necessary to leave the heavy cannon and other things at Devises under a good guard'. It is possible that this included the two 12 pounders and the four 9 pounders, and two of the old sakers, to leave sixteen guns.

[27] Winston Churchill, *Marlborough his Life and Times*, Vol. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), p.197.

[28] Left after the rapid advance of Churchill to Pensford a week earlier.

[29] Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.7.

[30] NA, WO 47/15 f.66, this order is dated 2 July 1685, and reflects the extra tents dispatched to the army. However, the date is either too late, or it was added as a record after the date requested which was 28 June.



Regiment of foot in marching column *c*.1685 (Author's collection)

at Gravesend on 30 June.[31] The first unit ashore was Colonel Hugh Mackay's, which amounted to 36 officers and 568 soldiers; then came Colonel Barthold Balfour's, with 36 officers and 605 privates; and lastly Colonel John Wanchope's with 37 officers and 557 men.[32] On 1 July, the brigade was billeted in Lambeth and Foxhalls,[33] and the next day the regiments marched through the City of London, to be quartered in Kensington and Knightsbridge.[34] On 3 July, they paraded for James on Blackheath before heading to Hounslow Heath.[35] The regiments were organised in the Dutch way, therefore each had 12 companies with a captain, two lieutenants, two sergeants, three corporals and 50 soldiers;[36] each company contained 16 men armed with pikes and 34 with matchlock muskets.[37] While in camp the brigade was issued tents, slow match, and ammunition for 1,800 soldiers.[38] Mackay was to be joined by Captain Slingsby's Troop of Oxford Blues,[39] and Captain Russell's Troop of Dragoons.[40] On 5 July, the Scots Brigade started marching west via Bagshot; they would be arriving in Amesbury on 10 July.[41] Here they would be joined by three troops from the Earl of Peterborough's new regiment of horse. These troopers would be marching from Colebrook on 6 July.

Other troops ordered to support the campaign were four companies of the Royal Scots[42] and Captain Legg's Troop of Horse, who were marching to Newbury.[43] Behind these would be 100 new recruits for the Foot Guards[44] and seven companies of the Prince of Denmark's Regiment marching to

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[31] Back in May, the Scots had been within a day's march of Monmouth in Utrecht, but after being at sea for three and a half weeks, they were now two weeks away.

[32] NA, WO 5/1, f.127 for more details see Mugnai, Vol. 1, *The Army of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, 1660–1687*.

[33] NA, WO 5/1, f.114.

[34] NA, WO 5/1, f.127.

[35] Luttrell, *State Affairs Vol. 1*, p.351.

[36] BL, Add MS 41817, f.144 and NA, WO5/1, f.127.

[37] NA, WO 47/15, f.67, 'each regimt of 600 men whereof 1/3 Pikes'.

[38] NA, WO 5/1, f.130 and NA WO 47/15, f.68.

[39] NA, WO 5/1, ff.126–127.

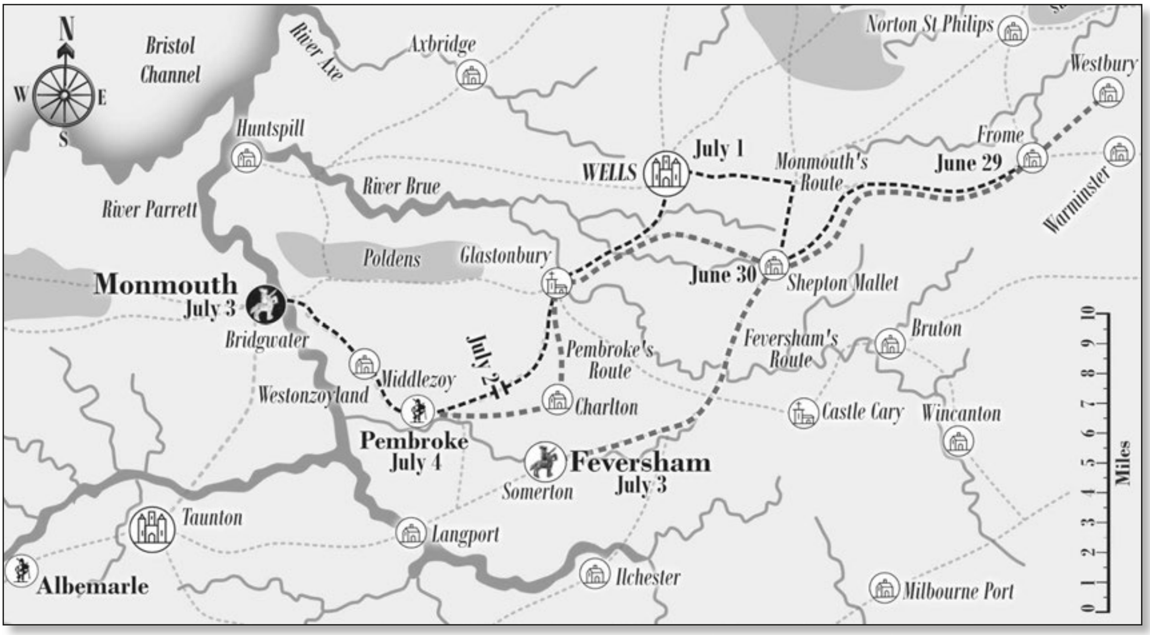
[40] NA, WO 5/1, ff.128–129.

[41] NA, WO 5/1, ff.125–126.

[42] NA, WO 5/1, f.111 30 June 1685.

[43] NA, WO 5/1, f.117 2 July 1685.

[44] NA, WO 5/1, f.110 30 June 1685.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W
E
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Bristol Channel
River Axe
Axbridge
Norton St Philips
Westbury
Huntspill
River Brue
River Parrett
WELLS
July 1
Monmouth's Route
Frome
June 29
Warminster
Poldens
Glastonbury
June 30
Shepton Mallet
Monmouth
July 3
Bridgwater
Middlezoy
Westonzoyland
July 2
Pembroke's Route
Charlton
Feversham's Route
Bruton
Castle Cary
Wincanton
Pembroke
July 4
Feversham
July 3
Somerton
Taunton
Langport
Ilchester
Albemarle
Milbourne Port
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Miles

Feversham follows Monmouth at a distance – 30 June to 3 July 1685. (Author's artwork)

Brentford.[45] Further afield, in Ireland the Earl of Arran had assembled a force of 1,000 foot and horse, ready to be transported to Chester. With the defeat of Argyll, the Earl of Dumbarton was readying the Scottish army to march south, and this contained all the regular units in and around Glasgow. On 2 July, Whitehall ordered all seaports to be closed to passengers without a pass from Sunderland or a principle secretary. The final act could begin.[46]

The Government army had waited in Frome until 2 July, before advancing tentatively to Shepton Mallet. Feversham was using Pembroke and his Wiltshire militia as a shield and these troops were now at Glastonbury.[47] On 3 July the Government army took its next step, and the militia moved to Charlton, while Feversham entered Somerton. Here Feversham was joined by the three waggons loaded with 250 tents,[48] and this was the first night that the army encamped.[49] On 4 July, the army's leading officers received promotions dated 3 and 4 July. Colonel Kirke and Lieutenant Colonel Sackville became brigadiers, and Colonel Mackay and Lord Churchill were both made major-generals of foot and horse.

On 4 July, with the all-important tents now at hand, Feversham was ready to press Monmouth and finally advance into contact. With the Scots Brigade on the road and the other redeployments, Whitehall had created a second line of defence covering London. The English regiments from Holland were due to arrive at Gravesend, and these would strengthen the capital's garrison. Albemarle held Exeter and Beaufort sat in Bristol, both with over 4,000 militia. Pembroke with his militia were still acting as an advance guard, and they had moved to Middlezoy. Feversham sent Captain Coy out to locate the enemy, and after a skirmish the dragoons confirmed that the Whigs were still in Bridgwater. That evening, after conferring with his officers, Feversham issued orders to the army: tomorrow they would march towards Bridgwater and force an engagement on the enemy.

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[45] NA, WO 5/1, f.113.

[46] NA, SP44/56, f.249.

[47] In *Iter bellicosum*, Wheeler states that on 1 July he was in Shepton Mallet, then Glastonbury, Charlton and finally at Middlezoy on 4 July. All these locations sat between Monmouth and Feversham's army.

[48] NA, WO 47/15, f.66. The Tower artillery train had tents for the Guards and Royal Scots, but Kirke's and Trelawny's also needed tents.

[49] Dartmouth Manuscripts, p.127, 'this is the second night the foot have encamped and we find it much the best way' (Sheers to Dartmouth, 4 July, 1685).

Bridgwater – 4 July 1685

On Saturday 4 July Captain Manley's son arrived in Bridgwater from London. He brought bitter news from the capital: Rumbold had been executed on 26 June, and Argyll had died on 30 June.[50] William Disney the printer had been hanged, drawn and quartered in Lambeth on 29 June,[51] and hundreds more had been arrested in London. As a result, both Major Wildman and Colonel Danvers were in hiding. Then there was worse news: the Scots Brigade had landed at Gravesend on 30 June and it was rumoured that the English Brigade would be landing soon after, and finally that the Foot Guards marched out from London 2,000 strong, with a train of heavy artillery following close behind.[52]

That night, it was clear to everyone on the army council that they would need to act. Monmouth and the Whig leadership had four paths open to them: retreat, defend, attack or break out. The first had already been ruled out after a deputation from Taunton indicated that the army was unwelcome in that quarter,[53] especially with Albemarle at Exeter. As for defending Bridgwater, since the siege of 1645 the town walls had become a quarry, and the castle was a ruin. Although the Whigs had refortified the approaches to the bridge on the east bank of the river Parrot, it would not withstand the heavy artillery heading their way. The army had limited supplies, making its ability to withstand a siege for more than a few weeks impossible. In case it did result in a siege, Captain Hewling's and Captain Cary's troops of horse were dispatched to Dunster Castle, to seize and bring back the artillery pieces there. It was obviously thought that these heavier guns would bolster the defences of Bridgwater.

With Feversham over a day away they could not march out and make a surprise attack on the Government army. They would be spotted by the enemy's superior horse, giving Feversham enough time to form into line of battle, and pick the field. With the Scots Brigade now marching to reinforce Feversham at Somerton, breaking out towards London could be result in a battle on two fronts. So, that evening the Whig Council made their decision, they only really had one path to take: break out north. They would try to

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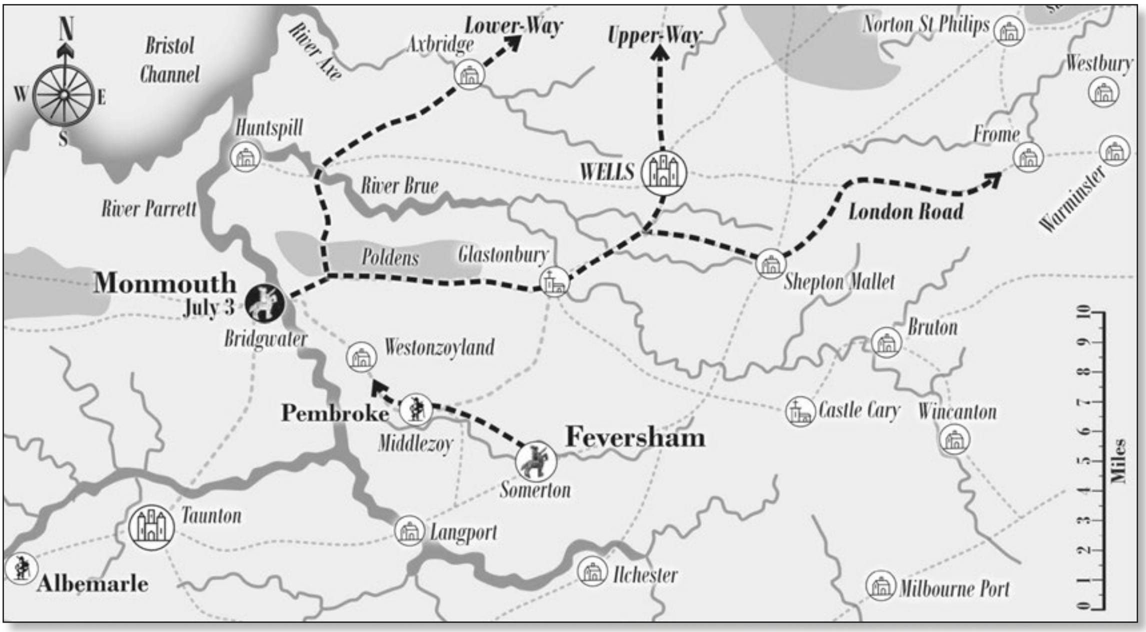
[50] *Gazette* #2047.

[51] *Gazette* #2046.

[52] *Gazette* #2045.

[53] BL, Harley 6845, f.238. On 3 July the people of Taunton sent a delegation to Monmouth asking that the Whigs did not return to the town out of fear for the retribution from Whitehall.


N
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Axbridge
Upper-Way
Norton St Philips
Westbury
Huntspill
River Brue
WELLS
Frome
River Parrett
London Road
Warminster
Poldens
Glastonbury
Monmouth
July 3
Bridgwater
Shepton Mallet
Bruton
Westonzoyland
Pembroke
Middlezoy
Feversham
Somerton
Castle Cary
Wincanton
Taunton
Langport
Ilchester
Albemarle
Milbourne Port
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Miles

Monmouth's options on 4 July 1685. (Author's artwork)

cross the River Avon at Keynsham and march towards Gloucester.[54] There were four ways from Bridgwater to Bristol: by the river into the sea, through Westonzoyland, via the Lower Way, or by the Upper Way.[55]

Downstream from the bridge, the River Parrett was navigable and for centuries it had been a busy seaport. Unfortunately, all the ships had left the town before Monmouth arrived, removing escape by sea as an option. To reach Bristol by road the army needed to recross the bridge and then had three options: use the road via Westonzoyland, take the Upper Way along the Poldens, or cross the hills following the Lower Way. To reach the alternative roads, the army needed to march north-east on the Long Causeway, which went from the East Gate to the foot of Knowle Hill via Horsey. For the Lower Way, from Knowle Hill the army would need to cut over the Poldens to Woolavington, however this was not always passable and was subject to floods, making this road dangerous to travel along, especially without guides. Once over this marshy ground the army would arrive at Axbridge, and from here the route climbed up the steepest part of the Mendip Hills to Pensford. The single track would slow down the army and restrict movement.

The alternative was the Upper Way. This followed the ridge through the village of Bawdrip to take an old Roman road to Ashcott. However, there was a track that passed through Stawell, Moorlinch and Greinton to Ashcott. Then the road when through Street, where the Upper Way joined the Bridgwater Road from Westonzoyland. The army would then march north to Wells, before cutting north over the Mendips to Pensford. However, by marching on these roads the army would pass very close to the enemy at Somerton. If they were to break out, it would need to be attempted the next day, and the Lower Way was selected as the best route. Once this had been agreed, Major Manley's son was sent back to London to urge the leaders in the city to finally rise up and stop Whitehall sending the whole army west.

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[54] BL, Harley 6845, f.280r.

[55] Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Thro' the whole Island of Great Britain*, Vol. 1, 1724 (Letchworth: Aldine Press, 1962), p.270.

Early on the morning of 5 July, the Whigs loaded waggons and carts with the remaining powder, supplies, and cooking pots. Then the baggage crossed the bridge and moved into the Castlefield. Here they were joined by the bulk of the soldiers, who filed across the river, until by noon the army was ready to leave Bridgwater. It is possible that Monmouth was waiting for the return of Captain Hewling from Dunster, but then everything was put on hold when scouts returned with the news that the Government army was advancing from Somerton. This was followed by a report that leading elements of the enemy force had arrived at Westonzoyland, just three and a half miles away.[56] This changed everything: Feversham had moved to within striking distance of Bridgwater and the planned line of march. At around three o'clock, from the tower of St Mary's Church in Bridgwater, Monmouth's officers watched the enemy horse arrive in force[57] and form a perimeter covering the village. The Whigs could not risk marching out in open sight of such a strong cavalry force and the decision was made to delay leaving the safety of the town until the enemy's arrangements became clearer.

Westonzoyland – 5 July 1685

Earlier on the morning of 5 July, Colonel Robert Ramsey, acting as adjutant-general of the foot,[58] headed out from Somerset. He was looking for a suitable place for that night's army encampment. Ramsay needed to find a secure location close enough to Bridgwater to threaten Monmouth, but not so close that the enemy could attack while the camp was still being set up. He needed to do this as early as possible to ensure the army was settled by dusk. For the foot lodgement, Ramsey was looking for a space at least 600 paces wide and 100 paces deep. While the horse could be billeted in a nearby village. The five options were Middlezoy, Sutton, Stawell, Chedzoy or Westonzoyland. Both Sutton and Stawell were badly situated, while Chedzoy was too close to the enemy.

Initially, Ramsey went to inspect the ground around Middlezoy where two regiments of Wiltshire Militia foot and some Hampshire horse were quartered. He found that this village had a restricted frontage and no natural obstructions, meaning that the camp would require entrenching. From Middlezoy, Ramsey moved to Westonzoyland. This small village sat about three miles from Bridgwater on the edge of the great Sedgemoor. This low-lying land covered thousands of acres of soft boggy ground called the Levels. The huge moor was encircled by watercourses called rhynes or ditches, which ran around the base of the corn-covered hills that surrounded the

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[56] In 1685 the village was simply called Weston.

[57] Oldmixon, *History of England*, p.703 and Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, p.269, 'he went up to the top of the steeple, with some of his officers, and viewing the situation of the Kings Army, by the help of perspectives'.

[58] Ede-Borrett, *The Army of James II*, p.19.

Levels. Other rhynes[59] crossed the moor, and all acted as drainage. These watercourses flowed from the Polden Hills, across and around the Levels, before entering the River Parrett.[60] The settlement of Westonzoyland itself was built on a mound, or zoy, on the southern bank of the Bussex Rhyne.[61] It is possible that the fortnight of heavy rain had risen and broadened the level of these watercourses making them impassable to horse away from the plungeons, or fords.

From Westonzoyland the main road ran to the south of the moor and followed the river into Bridgwater via Dunwear and the East Gate. However, there were two other paths from the village, the first ran from the Lower Plungeon, and across the moor to Chedzoy via Fowlers Plot. From here it went via Bower and Sydenham into Bridgwater. Another path also ran from the Lower Plungeon, but this ran diagonally over the moor to the Longmoor Stones where it crossed the Longmoor Rhyne at a ford. From here the track cut past Chedzoy and then ran parallel to the Black Ditch,[62] to reach Peasey Farm near Bradney. Another path ran from the Longmoor Stones, to the Upper Plungeon and joined a track that cut over the moor to the village of Sutton.[63] This path then crossed the Halsom Rhyne,[64] before entering Westonzoyland from the north-east.

Ramsay saw the potential of this position and selected the slightly higher ground on the edge of the Bussex. This had the Lower Plungeon and the main road on the left flank, while on the right flank was the path to Sutton and the Upper Plungeon. About a mile away to his front he could see the church tower at Chedzoy and to the rear of his proposed camp was the village, ideal for the horse, generals, and staff quarters. After sending his report to Feversham, with the help of the pioneers, Ramsay started roughly pacing[65] and pegging out the encampment. This began by measuring the gap from the entrenchment, which would be the Bussex, to the lodgement. This would be the 'drawing up' space, and the manual stated 300 feet or 100 paces,[66] but due to the boggy nature and shape of the Bussex, this would need to be wider. They measured and plotted the ground, then placed the drawing-up area about 70 or 80 paces further towards the village. This would ensure the battalions could form a single line. From this space the length of the lodgement would stretch another 100 paces up the gentle slope. Each battalion was initially allocated a frontage of 100 paces, but Ramsay saw the danger on the left flank and considered placing one unit facing left toward

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[59] Also called 'lakes'.

[60] See Chapter 7.

[61] SA, DD/AH/47/11/1. Map showing the landscape before the King's Sedgemoor Drain.

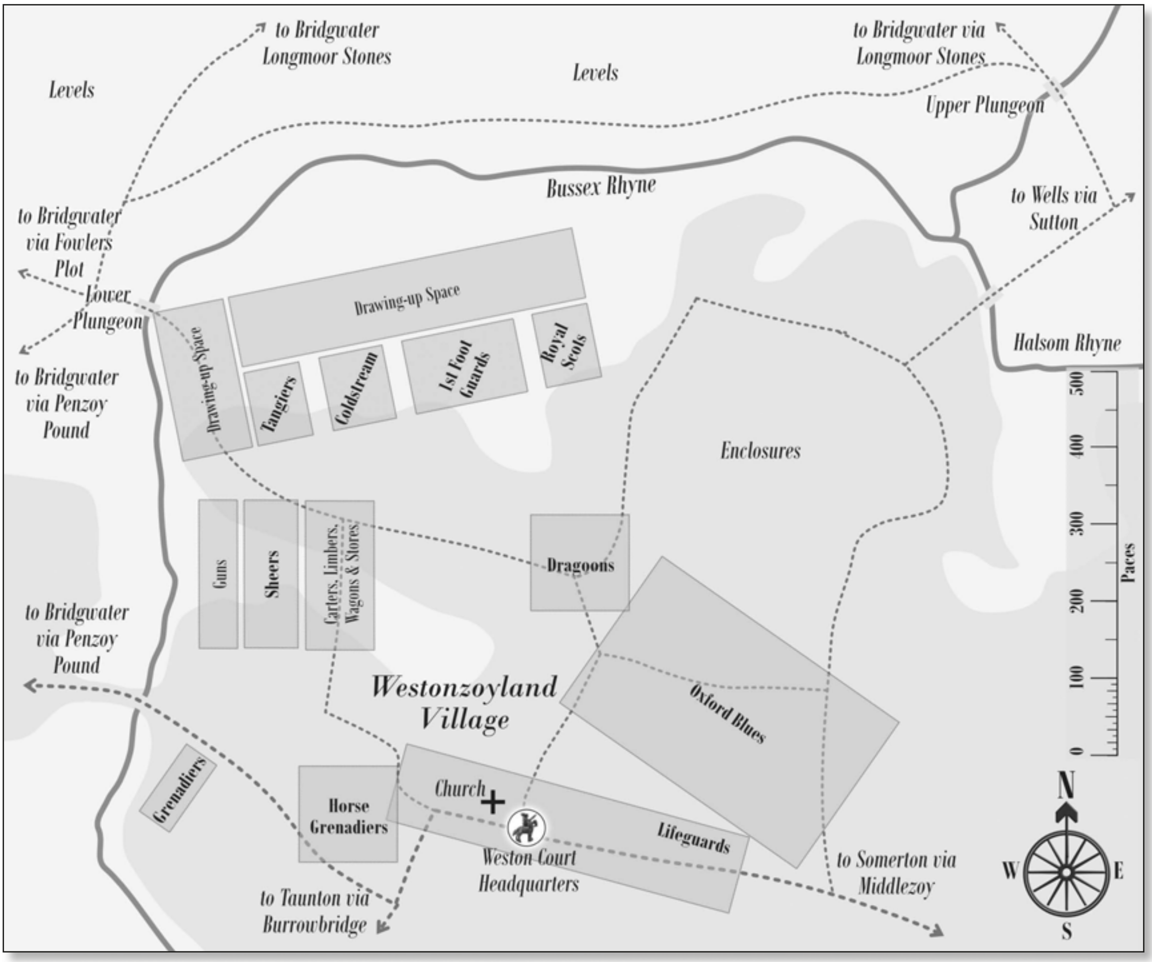
[62] Unfortunately, far too many historians old and new have incorrectly assumed that the Black Ditch followed the course of today's King's Sedgemoor drain. This has led to the many errors in the layout, size, and shape of the battlefield. However, period maps show that the Black Ditch followed the contours along the base of the hills and can still be seen today. See Chapter 7.

[63] SA, DD/AH/47/11/1, the 'Rowing Lake'.

[64] This is the name used on the 1886 OS Map. However, in 1795 after the King's Sedgemoor Drain was completed it was called the Old Drain. This was the drain along southern edge of the King's Sedgemoor. SA, D/P/w.zoy.

[65] Bull, *Military Discipline*, p.111, 'by pace, here is meant three foot'.

[66] Orrery, *A Treatise of the Art of War*, p.83.


to Bridgwater Longmoor Stones
Levels
Levels
to Bridgwater via Longmoor Stones
Upper Plungeon
Bussex Rhyne
to Bridgwater via Fowlers Plot
to Wells via Sutton
Lower Plungeon
Drawing-up Space
Drawing-up Space
Royal Scots
1st Foot Guards
Coldstream
Tangiers
Halsom Rhyne
to Bridgwater via Penzoy Pound
Enclosures
500
400
300
200
100
0
Paces
Guns
Sheers
Carters, Limbers, Wagons & Stores
Dragoons
to Bridgwater via Penzoy Pound
Westonzoyland Village
Oxford Blues
N
Grenadiers
Horse Grenadiers
Church
Lifeguards
Weston Court Headquarters
to Somerton via Middlezoy
W
E
S
to Taunton via Burrowbridge

Possible layout of the Government camp at Westonzoyland – 5 July 1685. (Author's artwork)

the Lower Plungeon. This would be next to the artillery park, and the camp would finally end with the encampment for the grenadiers covering the open left wing.[67]

At around three o'clock in the afternoon Feversham arrived with General Churchill, the Lifeguards, a few troops of Oxford Blues under the newly promoted Lieutenant Colonel Sir Francis Compton, the grenadier companies and the four troops of dragoons.[68] The senior officers now surveyed the ground and agreed with Ramsay's initial dispositions. As the eldest regiment, the Royal Scots would be on the right, next came the two battalions of 1st Foot Guards and then the Coldstream Guards. The line would end with the combined Tangiers battalions flanking the Lower Plungeon, then came the artillery parks facing the main road. Finally, would come the combined grenadier battalion holding the far left of the line. It was agreed that the dragoons and horse would be quartered in the town with the staff. With this settled, Ramsay moved his pegs, and started pacing the site to place each battalion. Feversham now sent Captain Coy with a troop of dragoons to cover his army's left flank at Burrowbridge. As this was the first crossing point up the Parrett from Bridgwater, by holding this location he would ensure that Monmouth could not attack from this quarter. More importantly, it gave him access to the west bank of the river and the western approaches to the town if they needed to assault the following day.

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[67] Bull, *Military Discipline*, p.102.

[68] This is my assumption based on the formations at Norton St Philip.

It was critical for the fast deployment of the army that the camp was structured and allowed the space needed. After all, this was why Feversham had waited so long for his tents. While the dragoons and Oxford Blues formed a picket, Ramsay started laying out the camp. He had over 250 tents, enough for 2,500 soldiers. Starting with Kirke's Battalion, he would have checked the establishment strengths, and seen that this had four companies of 50 soldiers. Each of these would be a file of tents, each 12 feet wide, plus two lanes each of eight feet for the movement of the soldiers. This gave Kirke's Regiment a lodgement breadth of 64 feet. Then came the regulation 68 feet for the colonel's lodgement. As Kirke's would share a camp with Trelawny's, these would be next. This regiment had three companies of 100,[69] and each company would form two files, covering 24 feet, plus three lanes of eight feet, to give a breadth of 96 feet. For the two old Tangiers battalions the pioneers paced out a frontage of 228 feet, or 76 paces.[70]

After a street of 15 paces, the next unit was the Coldstream Guards Battalion, containing six companies of 100 soldiers. So, the calculation performed by Ramsay was six times 24 feet for each company, plus six times eight feet for the lanes with the additional 68 feet for the colonel's tents. This gave a lodgement frontage of 260 feet or 87 paces for this battalion. Then a street of 15 paces, and the 1st Foot Guards. This regiment had 12, 100 soldier companies, each at 24 feet. Then came the 12 eight-feet lanes, plus the space for the colonel's tents of 68 feet. This gave a total frontage of 452 feet. At the end of the line was Douglas's Royal Scots with five 100-man companies,[71] to make a lodgement of 180 feet. This gave the whole breadth of the camp facing Chedzoy of 1,303 feet.[72] In front of the tents the pioneers paced out the drawing up space of 100 paces. Once all this had been completed, they brought up the waggons containing the tents. Now under the supervision of Tent Master Henry Davenport,[73] the pioneers placed a pile of tents and poles in each lodgement area. With the camp laid out Ramsay could retire to the village inn for lunch. The grenadier encampment could wait until the artillery train arrived.[74]

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[69] NA, WO 5/1, f.51, states that four companies should march. See Chapter 6.

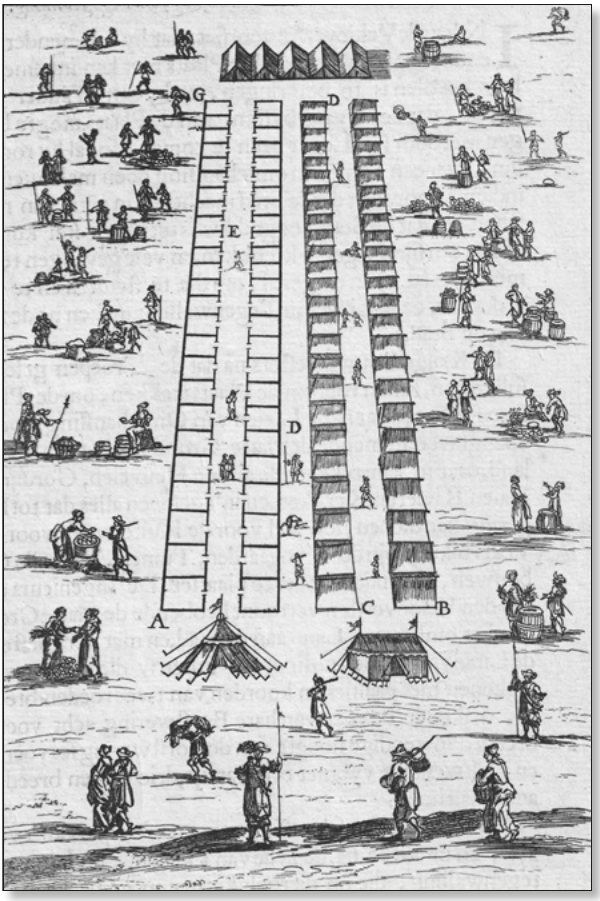
[70] Orrery, *A Treatise of the Art of War*, pp.88–92, also see Chapter 6.

[71] NA, WO 5/1, f.44. The companies are under Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Douglas, Captain James Moncrief, Captain George Murray, Captain Munro Mackenzie, and Captain Robert Halkett.

[72] See Chapter 6.

[73] NA, WO 47/15, f.49

[74] See Chapter 6.



Lodgement for two companies of foot *c*.1685. (Author's collection)

Feversham's army had marched out from Somerton at noon, and the first regiment of foot to reach Westonzoyland was the Royal Scots,[75] under Lord Douglas. This unit had fought under Monmouth in Flanders just 10 years earlier and its red coats had white facings making them easy to recognise from a distance. With the battalion drawn up facing Chedzoy, the regimental quartermaster and marshall, Jerome Broomer, started laying out the lodgement. The first space was for the captain and subalterns' tents, of Douglas's own company. This had a breadth of 24 feet by 40 feet in depth. Then came the lower byway which took up the next 20 feet. It was here that the soldiers placed their pikes on a cross or a stand, with the muskets on either side. In the centre was the colour. After the lower byway came the soldier's tents. The 24 feet was divided into three equal parts, the lane was in the middle and the two files of tents on either side. The space for each tent was seven feet square, with a foot to the next tent. The tent row took up 200 feet, and then came the upper byway of 20 feet in length. No fires were permitted below this byway. Above this came a space of 10 feet for the sutlers and victuallers. The final 10 feet was for the camp kitchens.[76]

On the far right, Lieutenant Colonel Douglas ordered the regiment's quartermaster Jerome Broomer to layout their lodgement within the space defined by Ramsay. With the senior Douglas's company on the right, next came Murray's, Halkett's, Mackenzie's, and on the far left was Moncrief's. An eight-foot lane ran between each company and a lane of 16 feet on the flanks of the colonel's camp. In the remaining 52 feet, the tents for the senior officers and regimental staff. This area went from the lower to the upper byway, making it 200 feet in length. In the centre, behind the colonel's space, across the upper byway were the regimental waggons and carts. Once Broomer had finished pegging out the Royal Scots' lodgement, the company sergeants then took files of men to erect their tents.

This whole process took over an hour, and while the Royal Scots were laying out their camp, the Foot Guard brigade had arrived. These three large battalions now faced Chedzoy and the closest to the Royal Scots was the 1st Battalion of Foot Guards, under Grafton. Then the 2nd Battalion under Major Eaton and finally the Coldstream Guards under the command of Lieutenant

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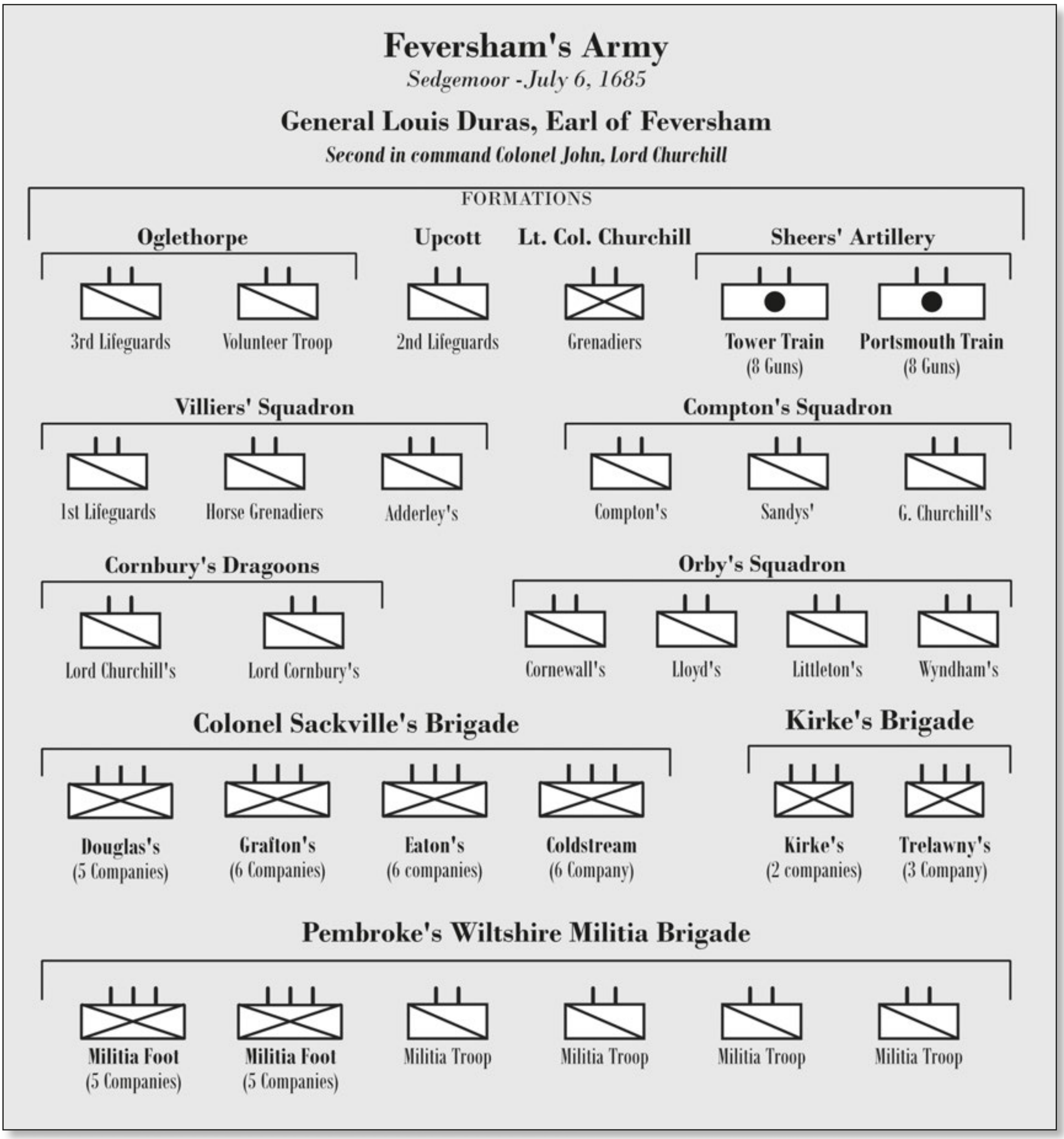
[75] This regiment's colonel was the Earl of Dumbarton, who was commanding the Government army in Scotland. At Sedgemoor the battalion was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Archibald, Lord Douglas.

[76] See Chapter 6.


Feversham's Army
Sedgemoor - July 6, 1685
General Louis Duras, Earl of Feversham
Second in command Colonel John, Lord Churchill
FORMATIONS
Oglethorpe
Upcott
Lt. Col. Churchill
Sheers' Artillery
3rd Lifeguards
Volunteer Troop
2nd Lifeguards
Grenadiers
Tower Train (8 Guns)
Portsmouth Train (8 Guns)
Villiers' Squadron
Compton's Squadron
1st Lifeguards
Horse Grenadiers
Adderley's
Compton's
Sandys'
G. Churchill's
Cornbury's Dragoons
Orby's Squadron
Lord Churchill's
Lord Cornbury's
Cornewall's
Lloyd's
Littleton's
Wyndham's
Colonel Sackville's Brigade
Kirke's Brigade
Douglas's (5 Companies)
Grafton's (6 Companies)
Eaton's (6 companies)
Coldstream (6 Company)
Kirke's (2 companies)
Trelawny's (3 Company)
Pembroke's Wiltshire Militia Brigade
Militia Foot (5 Companies)
Militia Foot (5 Companies)
Militia Troop
Militia Troop
Militia Troop
Militia Troop

Colonel Sackville. By six o'clock the three companies of Trelawny's and the four companies of Kirke's Regiment arrived and set up their lodgement.[77] These companies had been marching with the artillery train, which established a park between Kirke's and the main road to Bridgwater. This was set up with the cannon closest to the road, with the files of gunners' tents, and then the carriages.[78] Beyond the gunners, on the far left flank was the brigaded battalion of the five grenadier companies.[79] Meanwhile, the adjutants of the Oxford Blues and the Royal Dragoons had been finding billets for their men in the village. The staff had found Feversham quarters in a small manor called Weston Court opposite the church, with the Lifeguards and horse grenadiers in the inn and surrounding buildings.[80]

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[77] These two units may have been brigaded together under Kirke.

[78] Dartmouth, p.127, 'All our people of the train likewise encamp between the cannon and the carriages which is very commodious and expedites our march very much'.

With his foot encamped, Feversham sent out patrols to cover the approaches to his position. Covering the left flank in Middlezoy was Pembroke with two regiments of militia foot and a regiment of militia horse. This was only three miles away, and beyond this was Coy's Troop of Dragoons at Burrowbridge. On his left flank he posted two divisions of musketeers, probably from Trelawny's, in a small enclosure called Penzoy Pound. This was an animal enclosure on slightly raised ground that sat midway between the main Bridgwater road and a path that crossed the moor from Chedzoy to the Lower Plungeon. At the top of this path, near Fowlers Plot, was Captain Upcott with 50 troopers of the 2nd Lifeguards. Out on the right flank was Compton with a mixed squadron containing two troops of Oxford Blues and one of dragoons.[81] Compton's outpost covered both the Upper Plungeon and the entrance into the moor at the Longmoor Stones. These old stones marked slightly higher ground and a ford which was used by locals to cross from Stawell to Chedzoy. Compton posted pickets to cover this entrance onto the moor.

Now Feversham was satisfied that his army was deployed and secure, he sent a trumpeter to Bridgwater.[82] The messenger took an offer of battle, or if Monmouth declined this, a threat to burn down the town. Feversham never received a reply but was already planning to besiege the town the following day. To support this, mortars were now on the road from Bath, and the grenadier companies had been brigaded. The next move would have been to send the militia across the River Parrett at Burrowbridge to block the western approach to the town and bring up Albemarle from Exeter. The main army would then move to Chedzoy and establish artillery batteries at Sydenham.

During the evening, reports arrived from agents in Bridgwater that the bulk of Monmouth's army had crossed the river and was on the eastern bank in and around Castlefield. To allow for the possibility that the Whigs may attempt to break out towards Keynsham or Bristol, Feversham sent Oglethorpe out with a patrol to watch the Upper Way and the main road towards London.[83] At around 11 o'clock that night,[84] Feversham toured the army's perimeter. First, he visited the musketeers within the Penzoy Pound, and then found Upcott guarding the direct route from Bridgwater into the moor. All was quiet, but if Monmouth was to attack this would be the obvious line of march from Bridgwater. From here, Feversham turned right and headed along the Langmoor Rhyne. This ditch formed the boundary between the moor and the raised cornfields that surrounded Chedzoy. After about 10 minutes, Feversham reached Mount Close Batch where the Langmoor dog-legged left and then the Longmoor Rhyne cut across to the Black Ditch. Feversham followed this to the ford where the track from Peasey Farm entered the moor. It was here that he found some pickets from Compton's squadron. This was the second access point into the moor and it passed close to Chedzoy, were a party of Oxford Blues were also posted. Although this was not a direct route from Bridgwater, it was the fastest way to his open right flank. Some 900 paces back from the Longmoor he found Compton, who had dismounted his men to rest the horses. The moor was quiet and his men alert, so with his tour complete, a guide took the General to the Black Ditch and they followed this to its junction with the Bussex Rhyne, and then turned right to locate the Upper Plungeon, which was about 700 paces below Sutton Mill and from the Black Ditch.[85] They then cut down towards the village and over the Halsom Rhyne. To his right, about 700 paces away, he could hear soldiers in the foot lodgement. Finally, at quarter to one on the morning of 6 July, Feversham returned to his headquarters with his staff officers. The General now waited for news from Oglethorpe before retiring for the night.

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[79] This practice had been used at Norton St Philip and accounts refer to the 'five companies of grenadiers.' On a couple of Paschall's battle plans, the grenadiers are shown at this location in the camp.

[80] This is my assumption based on the geography of the town.

[81] Compton's own troop, Sandys' troop and possibly Captain George Churchill's.

[82] BL, Add MS 4162, f.127, 'A Trumpeter is said to have been sent into the town to challenge them forth to fight; or, in case they refused, to threaten them with firing the town about their ears the next morning'.

[83] BL, Harley. 6845, f.290, 'Sent Major Oglethorpe with a party of horse to crosse both the roads which go toward Bristol and Keynsham'.

[84] Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.16.

Oglethorpe took his own troop of Lifeguards plus an equal number of gentlemen volunteers and headed out past Colonel Compton. The patrol crossed both roads heading to Wells, the Upper Way, and the track the crossed near Chedzoy and ran to the village of Sutton. By about 11 o'clock he was at the top of Pendon Hill,[86] looking for any signs of movement on the lanes below. After an hour, with no sign of the enemy, he took his patrol down into Chedzoy from the east. Here he found the party of horse, who had also seen nothing of the Whigs. After an hour, Oglethorpe gathered up his men and sent Sir Hugh Middleton to Feversham,[87] with the news that the enemy were still in their camp. The Major then made his way through Bower and Sydenham to the East Gate at Bridgwater. In the distance, Oglethorpe could see Monmouth's men guarding the gate. Seeing an opportunity to collect more information, he sent a couple of his volunteers forward to talk to the Whigs.

At quarter past one on the morning of 6 July, Middleton arrived at Feversham's lodgings. The General read the dispatch from Oglethorpe, which indicated that Monmouth was still in Bridgwater. Feversham could finally retire for the night, he had done all he could to secure the army. Across the moor the mist rose and silence settled across the camp, but in the village some staff and cavalry still made merry on the local cider. The cavalry horses in the village remained saddled and ready to ride,[88] while elsewhere some of the officers and soldiers slept uneasy, knowing that Monmouth was only three miles away and likely to attack.

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[85] This location is based on a combination of maps by Paschall, Dummer's maps in the Pepys Library and those in the Somerset Archives. See Chapter 6.

[86] Many later historians, without insight into the roads of 1685, have placed Ogelthorpe on Knowle Hill, on the modern Bristol Road. However, it would have been impossible for Oglethorpe to go to Chedzoy from Knowle Hill without clashing with Monmouth near Bradney. Therefore, as Pendon Hill covered the Stawell and Sutton Road, and was on the road from the Upper Way to Chedzoy, this is the most likely place to watch the Bristol Roads. See Chapter 7.

[87] Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.16.

Bridgwater – Afternoon, 5 July 1685

Monmouth needed to decide his next move, with the enemy so close the breakout had to be delayed until dusk. Monmouth and his council of war were torn between heading north or launching a surprise attack on the enemy. During the day it had become clear to Monmouth that Feversham was intending to encamp at Westonzoyland, only three miles away; however, if Feversham did not entrench his position, he left himself open to a night raid and even defeat. This could be the opportunity for all-out victory that the Whigs had been waiting for since Frome. Some of the local officers knew enough about the landscape to understand that the rhynes could be crossed at the fords and that if the enemy did not entrench their camp the prospect of all-out victory was temptingly close at hand. The army was ready to march but would have to wait until sunset before attempting to break out.

Monmouth had until 10 o'clock that evening to make the final decision. The council agreed in principle to an attack on the enemy camp, but only if Feversham had not entrench the position. If this was the case, the very least they should do was beat up the enemy's quarters to teach them a lesson and stop any interference with the march north. That afternoon scouts left Bridgwater to spy on the enemy deployments and the condition of the Government position. During the long evening, as Feversham's men completed their lodgement and their company kitchens cooked evening meals, Monmouth's spies watched and gathered intelligence. From the church tower at Bridgwater, the Whig officers could see that the Government right wing was exposed and vulnerable. The information coming from the scouts and local men indicated that no attempt had been made to erect any earthworks. Furthermore, the enemy horse was not camped, but billeted within the village, some way back from the foot. The artillery was facing west down the Bridgwater road on the left flank. This left the enemy foot encampment totally exposed on the right wing. There was the Bussex, covering the moor side of the camp, and the local men assured him that there were two fords over this final obstruction, the Upper and Lower Plungeons.

It is not unreasonable to assume that the Whig officers had now been told of Feversham's threat to assault the town the next day. They now seriously considered a surprise attack as the best possible option. This could either be a full-on assault and battle, or simply a raid to beat up the quarters and stop any attempt to follow the Whigs to Keynsham. The horse could easily raid

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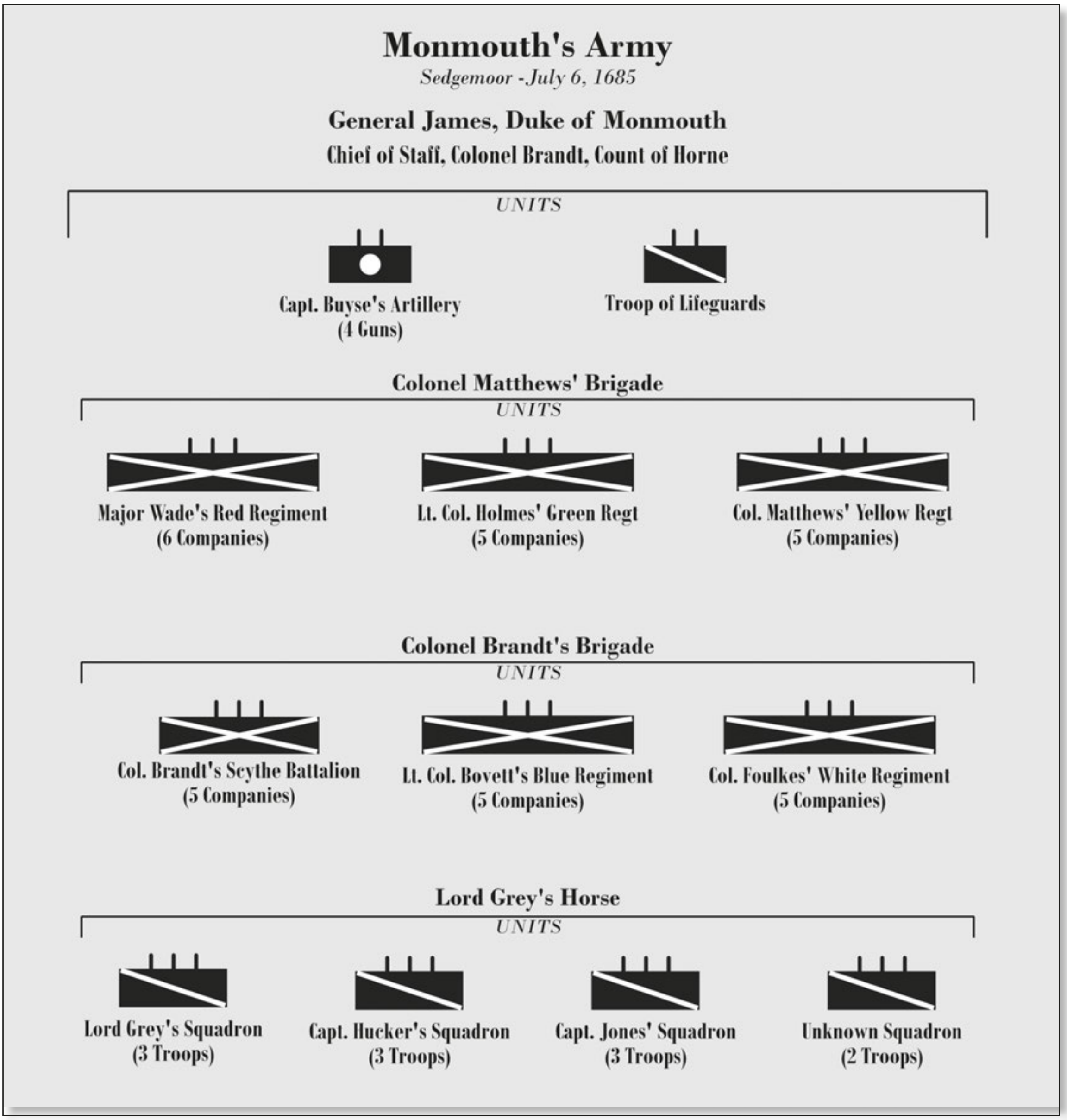
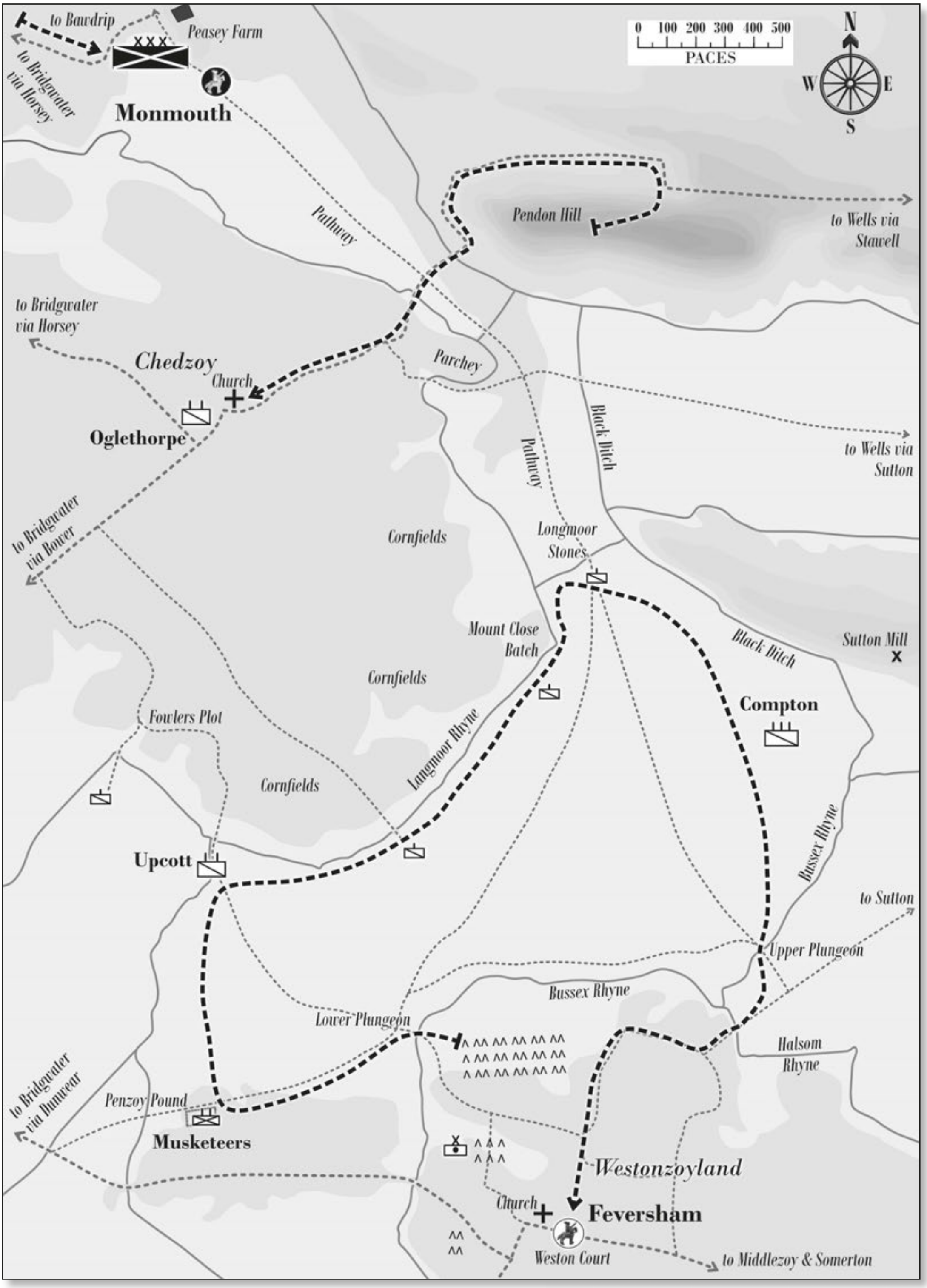
[88] Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.16.


Monmouth's Army
Sedgemoor - July 6, 1685
General James, Duke of Monmouth
Chief of Staff, Colonel Brandt, Count of Horne
UNITS
Capt. Buyse's Artillery (4 Guns)
Troop of Lifeguards
Colonel Matthews' Brigade
UNITS
Major Wade's Red Regiment (6 Companies)
Lt. Col. Holmes' Green Regt (5 Companies)
Col. Matthews' Yellow Regt (5 Companies)
Colonel Brandt's Brigade
UNITS
Col. Brandt's Scythe Battalion (5 Companies)
Lt. Col. Bovett's Blue Regiment (5 Companies)
Col. Foulkes' White Regiment (5 Companies)
Lord Grey's Horse
UNITS
Lord Grey's Squadron (3 Troops)
Capt. Hucker's Squadron (3 Troops)
Capt. Jones' Squadron (3 Troops)
Unknown Squadron (2 Troops)

the enemy camp and village: they could cross via the Upper Plungeon under Sutton Mill, and cut down the redcoat foot whilst they slept, and then return to the army via the Lower Plungeon. To do this they could travel down the track and past the Longmoor Stones onto the moor. This passed between Bradney and Chedzoy and passed over two ditches, before opening out into the flat moorland beyond. The infantry could deploy to cover the horse while the baggage train set off on the Lower Way to Axbridge. The alternative was for Grey to march through Bower, past Fowlers Plot and onto the moor. He would then cross the Lower Plungeon and wreak havoc through the enemy camp and exit via the Upper Plungeon. The horse would then rejoin the army near Bawdrip. Monmouth selected the entrance at Longmoor Stones for the


to Bawdrip
Peasey Farm
to Bridgwater via Horsey
Monmouth
0 100 200 300 400 500
PACES
N
W
E
S
Pathway
Pendon Hill
to Wells via Stawell
to Bridgwater via Horsey
Chedzoy
Parchey
Church
Oglethorpe
Black Ditch
Pathway
to Wells via Sutton
to Bridgwater via Bower
Cornfields
Longmoor Stones
Mount Close Batch
Black Ditch
Sutton Mill
Cornfields
Compton
Fowlers Plot
Langmoor Rhyne
Cornfields
Upcott
Bussex Rhyne
to Sutton
Upper Plungeon
Bussex Rhyne
Lower Plungeon
Halsom Rhyne
to Bridgwater via Dunwear
Penzoy Pound
Musketeers
Westonzoyland
Church
Feversham
Weston Court
to Middlezoy & Somerton

The situation around midnight on 5/6 July 1685, showing Feversham's parameter, Oglethorpe's location, and Monmouth's at Peasey Farm. (Authors artwork) attack, possibly because this allowed the foot to support Grey and cover the baggage train.

To help guide Grey to the Upper Plungeon, a local man was found, called Benjamin Newton. He lived in Sutton overlooking the moor and knew the way from Bridgwater at night.[89] As the army would need to cross the rhynes quickly, Monmouth ordered small wooden bridges to be constructed for the foot.[90] This would allow them to cross in multiple places, leaving the fords for the horse. With this done, at seven o'clock the drums started beating and the battalions formed their ranks in the Castlefield, then Monmouth marched through the crowded streets and across the bridge to join the army. Guards were posted in the town and at the barricades across the east cut that led to the bridge. If the breakout failed, the army would need to return to the safety of Bridgwater. They would be marching through Horsey, and then with the large oxbow lake to their left, continue up Knowle Hill via Bawdrip. This would take them onto the Lower Way. To cover the baggage train, the bulk of the foot would stay at the top of the track near Peasey Farm. While Grey raided the enemy camp, the Red and Yellow regiments would be deployed at the Longmoor Rhyne with Buyse's artillery and supported by Holmes Regiment. Further back would be the White and Blue guarding the road with one gun under Colonel Brandt. These two regiments would then form the army's rearguard and cover the returning foot horse and break any counter-attack.[91]

By the evening, Feversham's right wing was still was still unfortified and vulnerable,[92] and the Whig army council agreed on an all-out attack. No enemy guards had been placed on the Upper Plungeon, although there was a party of enemy horse in Chedzoy, which needed to be avoided. The plan was changed and only a couple of infantry companies and a gun would act as baggage guard. These would be joined by possibly 2,000 poorly armed soldiers. Grey would strike their exposed right flank and send parties through the camp and village. On the moor, the foot and guns would assault the enemy camp from across the Bussex Rhyne, rather than just covering the horse's withdrawal. This was the opportunity for an all-out victory, the one they had been waiting for, the risk needed to be taken. If the main Government army was defeated, the Whigs throughout the country could rise against the 'tyrant' and the fight for liberty would be won.

By 11 o'clock,[93] all the preparations were complete, and Monmouth addressed the gathered army. The Duke told the soldiers that the enemy were encamped upon a very large and level common, which was about three miles away. He explained that their foolish foes had not entrenched or even fortified their camp, and that by now they were all defenceless and sleeping.

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[89] Oldmixon, *History of England*, p.703. The eighteenth-century historian Oldmixon was a child living in Bridgwater on the night of 5 July 1685, and watched the army leave. He names Newton as Grey's guide and it is possible that Mr Godrey was Monmouth's guide.

[90] Morrice, *Entring*, Vol. 3, p.28.

[91] This is my assumption based on the line of march and later events.

[92] BL, Harley 6845, f.287.

[93] Muddiman, *Assizes*, p.168, and BL, Harley 6845, f.287.

Therefore, they could destroy the enemy foot whilst they slept without heavy fighting or loss. Monmouth went on to explain that the Government horse were in a village called Westonzoyland about a mile from the camp. However, Monmouth emphasised that to win, the army must observe two directions: the first was that they must stay silent, no noise should be made in the ranks and no one could talk as they marched. Secondly, that no musketeer or trooper should shoot or discharge their arms until they were ordered to fire by an officer.[94]

With his words of command passing through the companies and troops, Monmouth ordered the newly promoted Lieutenant Colonel Wade to march off at the head of the column. Behind him came Monmouth's foot regiment numbering 800 soldiers, in six companies, with Captain Slape's scythe-men leading the way. These were followed by the volunteers carrying the bridges. Each company was deployed in a division column, with the captains at the front of their companies, and the colour before the pike division. Where possible they marched in open order with 12 feet between the ranks. This was to stop the soldiers talking to each other and allowed the sergeants to move amongst the men. Then came the baggage waggons, and three or four squadrons of horse numbering 600 troopers. Unfortunately, Speke's two troops had never returned after leaving Frome, and Hewling's two troops were still marching from Dunster. Therefore, Grey's leading squadron was under Captain Hucker, with Captain Jones's three troops at the rear. Then came the four guns under the Captain Buyse, with Monmouth and his staff, followed by the Lifeguards and the 80-man Lyme Company. After this came the rest of the foot battalions: Matthews with 500 soldiers, Holmes and Bovett with 600 men each and at the rear was Foulkes with 600 men.[95] All along the column the sergeants and officers enforced silence within the ranks, and stopped the soldiers whispering to each other.[96]

It was around midnight that the column reached Peasey Farm, and here the track down to the Longmoor Stones started. Wade wheeled his battalion to the right, whilst the baggage train continued up the road to Bawdrip. The waggons would stop further on and wait for the baggage guards. These were the raw and poorly armed men,[97] who would hinder movement in the upcoming battle. At the rear of the train, the ammunition waggons pulled off into the farmyard. They would be joined by a company from Foulkes' Regiment,[98] and supported by one of the guns.[99] Now Monmouth issued his final orders to the regimental officers:[100] Lord Grey, guided by Newton, would lead the horse down the track, followed by Buyse and the Lyme Company. After this would come the foot battalions. Once over the first rhyne near Parchey, they would form into two columns, one of horse on the left and the foot on the right. They must march in total silence. The army finally filed past the baggage train at about midnight and headed down the track towards Sedgemoor. The warm night had caused the mist to rise above the moor, but otherwise it must have been a dark, clear night. With the help of the guides, the horse crossed the first defile at Parchey, and waited for the cannon and foot to cross using some of the bridges. Then in two columns, with the Black Ditch to their left and Chedzoy to the right, the Whigs advanced silently towards the Longmoor Rhyne. This defile would need to be traversed quickly, as beyond it lay the open enemy flank covered in a thick fog.[101] The Whigs were on the verge of victory, if they remained undiscovered.

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[94] Morrice, *Entring*, Vol. 3, p.27.

[95] BL, Harley 6845, f.293. This is the order of march described by James II, after Wade.

[96] BL, Harley 6845, f.287, 'wee marched in great silence along y road that leads from Bridgwater'.

[97] These men were reported to be 2,000 strong, and this tallies with the reported strengths of the army.

[98] This is my assumption based on the reduced size of the White Regiment, and its position at the rear of the army. This was like the Parliamentarian army's baggage train at Edgehill.

[99] The great historian, David Chandler, assumed this was due to a 'squeaky' wheel, but I have found no evidence to support this, therefore it is more likely being used to cover the lane into the moor or the baggage and the road north. Monmouth did the same thing on the 12 June.

Longmoor Stones – 1:30 a.m., 6 July 1685

Major Oglethorpe had taken his patrol close into Bridgwater and by around half past one, the troopers could see men on the barricades at the old East Gate of the town. The Major sent two of his volunteers forward to ask for news from the enemy. At first the guards were alarmed by the approach of unknown horsemen. However, the volunteers pretended to be Whig scouts with a report for Monmouth. Falling for the deception, the soldiers on the gate told the riders that the army had marched around two hours earlier, intent on attacking the papists in their beds. The guards told them that they would need to ride hard by way of Bawdrip to catch the Duke. As soon as the volunteers returned with this vital information, Oglethorpe galloped back to Feversham. He took the short way to Westonzoyland, past Fowlers Plot, and here he came to Captain Upcott's outpost. The Major gathered up these men, before continuing into the moor across the Langmoor Rhyne. The enemy was on the move, and he needed to warn his master![102]

The pickets of Compton's dragoon squadron were half asleep, it had been a long day and now the mist blanketed the moor. Overhead they could see the faint glow of the moon, but visibility was no more than 50 paces. At first, they could make out the muffled sound of horses, but then this could also have been a herd of cattle moving on the moor. Slowly, the noise became louder and one of the pickets mounted his horse whilst the others, now alert, readied carbines. Could it be Oglethorpe's men coming back from their patrol or the troopers returning from Chedzoy? However, it became clear to the dragoons, who could now see the grey silhouettes of mounted soldiers off

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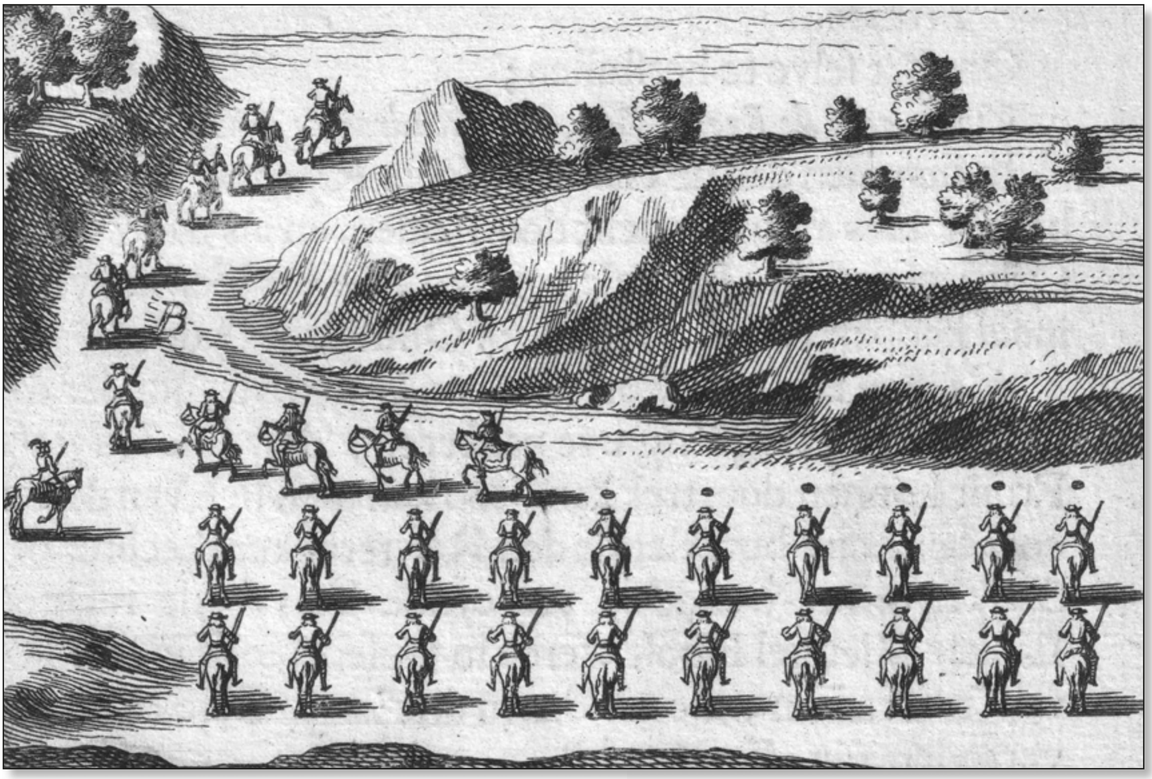
[100] BL, Harley 6845, f.287, 'The horse should advance first and push into the k's camp and mixing with the k's foot endeavour to keep them from coming together that the cannon should follow the horse and the foot the cannon and draw all up in one line and so finish what the horse had begun before the k's horse or cannon could get in order.'

[101] BL, Add MS 31956, f.7.

[102] Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.16.



Taking a troop of horse through a defile *c*.1685. (Author's collection)

to the right, that there were possibly 3–400 riders. This was not Oglethorpe's patrol. One of the dragoons pointed his long carbine in the air.

Benjamin Newton was walking beside Lord Grey and Captain Hucker at the head of the Whig Horse. As a local man he had strolled this way hundreds of times, but he realised that after crossing the ford near Parchey they had moved away from the pathway. The heavy rain of the past few weeks, and the movement of cattle had removed most traces of the dirt track. Newton was sure that it was to his right, but as he approached the Longmoor Stones, a flash of light illuminated the stones, instantly this was followed by the loud bang of a carbine discharge. The silence was shattered,[103] and Newton panicked as Lord Grey and the Whig cavalry spurred forward leaving him to run as fast as he could behind them. With this, Grey and the Whig horse cantered off into the fog, and Newton was left to stare into the mist.[104]

Captain Hucker led his troop along the rhyne, and quickly found the ford. The process to cross such a defile was in all the military textbooks,[105] but it would take time, especially with fresh horses. To immediately make a front to the

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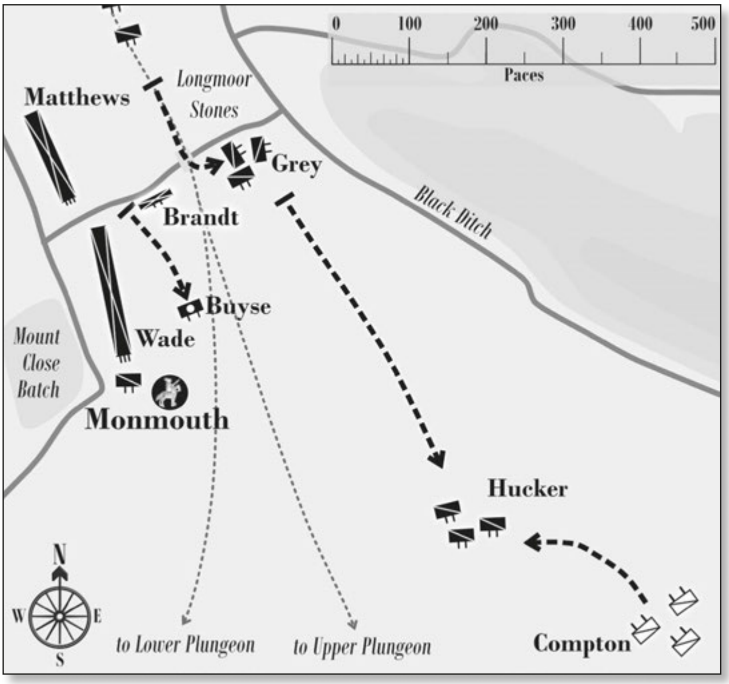
[103] Oldmixon, *History of England*, p.703.

[104] Muddiman, *Assizes*, p.168, 'but our men seeing the enemy just before them, ran furiously on, and lost the guide.'

[105] Bull, *Military Discipline*, p.109, 'To pass a narrow defile, the readiest way to perform it, and draw up again in order, as soon as past, is to make the ranks files: if to the right, the right-hand-man files first, and the rest follow him, till the defile be past; then they rank again as they were. This seems better than files filling, because it immediately makes a front to the enemy.'



Compton attacks the Whig Horse – around 01:40, 6 July 1685. (Author's artwork)

enemy on the other side, the Captain's first action was to order his troop to deploy from column into line. Then he commanded the front rank of the troop to wheel right into a file, then took these troopers over the boggy ford. After this he wheeled them back into a rank on the far side of the rhyne. The cornet then repeated the process with the second rank and reformed behind the front rank. In the rear, his lieutenant ensured that the men did not go astray. Captains Alexander and Tucker brought their men over the Longmoor, and it must have taken at least 10 minutes for Hucker's three troops to cross and then form into squadron. At this point Hucker must have looked around for Newton, but there was no time to wait for the guide, so he ordered his squadron forward across the moor.

Lieutenant Colonel Compton heard the warning shot and ordered his troopers to remount. By the time the first picket arrived, his men were ready. Once the animated man had told Compton of the enemy's approach, he was sent back to Feversham with the news, post-haste. The message was clear, there was a large body of enemy horse heading towards the Longmoor Stones, and the camp would soon be under attack. With his squadron ready, Compton advanced towards the Longmoor Stones. His two troops of Oxford Blues formed his front line, and they were supported by the dragoons, some 50 paces behind. As they moved towards the Longmoor, in the gloom they could just make out the grey shadows of the Whig horse. The enemy had crossed the thyne and Compton ordered his men to ready their pistols and draw swords. At about 20 paces, Compton called out, 'Make ready, fire!'[106] after his troopers had discharged their pistols,they recovered their swords and fell on the enemy's exposed left flank.[107]

As Compton's men closed, they could see some of their opponents turning to face them, some even spurring forward, pistols in hand. Some others fired carbines, but far more of the enemy twisted away in panic. As the front rank of blue-coated troopers hit, swords in hand, the Whig formation disintegrated. In the confused melee that followed, the Government troopers cut their way through the enemy, but Compton had been wounded, shot at close range in the chest.[108] With the Whigs streaming back to the Longmoor Rhyne, the trumpeter played the recall. The wounded Colonel passed command over to

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[106] BL, Add MS 31956, f.8.

[107] BL, Harley 6845, f.291r.

[108] Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.17.

Captain Sandys, with orders to take the squadron back to the village. In the distance it was clear that the Whig horse were attempting to form up again. Sandys took this opportunity to wheel his men around and take them over the Upper Plungeon. They had done their part for now; it was time to pull back.

Grey had just brought over his squadron, when Hucker's broken men came streaming back into his men.[109] The three troops of broken Whig horse caused chaos and disorder as they forced their way through the ranks and across the ford. In the confusion many of the fresh horse also broke and followed Captain Hucker's men back to Bridgwater. As Grey and the other Whig officers struggled to rally groups of soldiers, the chance of the surprise attack succeeding was rapidly fading away. Once Grey had formed two or three ragged troops under Lieutenant Savage, he took them forwards into the darkness to find the Upper Plungeon. Behind him in the gloom, Captain Jones was left to assemble the remaining men, with orders to follow on as soon as possible. It was still not two o'clock and the Whig attack was crumbling apart. If Grey could still get some of the cavalry amongst the enemy foot, all was not lost.[110]

To the right of Grey, Monmouth was with his foot regiments when the first muffled shot reached his ears. It was approximately half past one, and it was highly likely that they had been discovered. Leading the way was Colonel Brandt with the brigaded scythe companies and the three guns under Captain Buyse. Using all the remaining bridges, the Longmoor Rhyne was quickly navigated by the artillery and then came Monmouth's own regiment of foot under Wade. The Red Regiment was in a column of divisions. To cross the obstruction, each company captain led his lead division over by files across the bridges. They were then redeployed into their divisions once across. After this the company sergeants got busy dressing the ranks and files. Behind them came Matthews with his Yellow Regiment, whose men passed over the bridges as quickly as they could and formed up with Wade's men in the darkness. In the distance, above the low fog, the black outline of the church tower could be just seen against the dark purple sky.[111]

When Monmouth heard the volley of pistol bullets, he knew his men needed to advance quickly or all would be lost. The Duke now left Colonel Brandt[112] and the scythe battalion to hold the crossing, with orders to send the rest of the foot forward as soon as they arrived. Monmouth ordered Buyse to bring the guns up as swiftly as he could, and then commanded Wade and Matthews to advance in quick time across the foggy moor.[113] As the units passed Mount Close Batch on their right, they picked up the track that took them diagonally across the open soft ground of the moor. This would take them to the Lower

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[109] BL, Add MS 31956, f.8.

[110] BL, Harley 6845, f.287.

[111] The church tower at Westonzoyland can clearly be seen above Mounted Close Batch and easily from the position of the Longmoor Rhyne.

[112] This is my assumption, otherwise it hard to see how the army would know to advance at the double. Later Brandt turns up on the left wing.

[113] Morrice, *Entring*, Vol. 3, p.28.

Plungeon, and in the distance they could see the soft glow of the kitchen cook fires. From here the church tower was a silhouette against the night sky, sitting above the low cloud that covered the levels. The army had about 1,500 paces of open ground to cross before reaching the enemy encampment along the edge of the Bussex.[114]

Westonzoyland – 1:55 a.m., 6 July 1685

The messenger sent by Compton knew the importance of warning the army. Having made his way over the Upper Plungeon, he crossed to the tents arrayed along the foot of the rise. The trooper had arrived at the encampment of the Royal Scots. After dismounting, he ran to the closest tents but got little response. It is possible that he was at the upper byway, and he now went down the file of tents, shouting the alarm. Finally, he reached the stands of pikes and muskets, and found a drummer. Grabbing the drum, the exhausted trooper now beat with all his might.[115] As the soldiers stumbled half-awake from their tents, other drummers took up the call and started beating the men to their quarters. The officers put on swords, and the sergeants organised the men. At the artillery park, Dummer was awoken by the distant sound of pistol fire, followed by the commotion made by the drummers.[116] They were under attack.

Most of the soldiers had slept in their uniforms, fearing such a raid by Monmouth. Now the importance of a well-structured lodgement became apparent. Closest to the drawing up space were camped the captain and his lieutenants, then came the file leaders and corporals, while at the top of the tent file were the sergeants. As each soldier came from his tent, he headed down the eight-foot lane towards the lower byway to pick up his weapon. By now the file leaders had formed up facing the Bussex, and these firelock-armed musketeers had already started making ready. Alongside them the corporals started lighting new lengths of match. At the top of the tent files the sergeants checked each tent and pushed forwards any shirkers. In the drawing-up space, the musketeers were sorting out bandoliers, the pikemen were buckling on armour, and the corporals and file leaders now stood with loaded muskets.

Once the company sergeants arrived, halberds in hand, they set the spacings to the order, with a pace between each file and two between each rank. Then it was time for the shot divisions to make ready. For their first volley, it was imperative that the musketeers were correctly loaded. The lieutenants called out, ‘Silence! Order your muskets, poise your muskets, rest your muskets, clean your pan with your thumb, handle your primer, prime, shut your pan with a full hand, blow off your loose corns, cast about to charge, handle your charger, open it with your teeth, charge with powder, draw forth your scowrer, shorten it to an inch against your right breast, charge with bullet, ram down powder and ball, withdraw your scowrer, shorten it to a handful, return your scowrer, poise your musket, shoulder your musket.' While the musketeers had been making ready, the corporals had lit match, and now passed these along each rank. In turn, the soldiers touched their match on the orange ember, blew on the coal to ignite their own piece of cord, and then passed the match to their left.

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[114] This based on my own field walk of the battlefield, and the correct placement of the Black Ditch.

[115] Morrice, *Entring*, Vol. 3, p.28.

[116] BL, Add MS 31956, f.8.

Once each company was formed up, and the shot had made ready, Colonel Douglas shouted out 'Silence!'[117] His regiment had five companies, and each company had two musket divisions and one pike division. As the regiment was deployed in order and each musket division had seven files of five ranks, while the pike division had four ranks, giving the total frontage of each company as 20 paces. There was a gap of four paces between each company, and this gave the battalion a frontage of 116 paces or 348 feet.

Then the colonel yelled, 'Musketeers, to the right and left outwards, pikes, to the right and left inward, interchange ground, march!' The musket divisions at either end of the battalion stood, while the rest of the musketeers faced outwards from Douglas. The pike divisions would turn towards the centre, and march through the musketeers, until they came face to face with other pikemen. This would place the pike divisions in the centre of the battalion, and the musket divisions on either wing. Next the colonel shouted 'Officers, to the right and left, take your posts upon the wings of the battalion, march!' Douglas was in the centre of the battalion, at the head of the pike block; Captain Moncrief, being the officer next in degree,[118] was at the rear of the pikes; Captain George Murray, being the third in degree, was in front of the right wing of shot; and Captain Munro Mackenzie, being the fourth in degree, was in front of the left wing of shot. Finally Captain Robert Halkett stood to the rear of the right wing of shot. The lieutenants were placed, four in the front, four in the rear, and one on each flank. The five ensigns stood in front of the pike block, and five drummers stood between the pikes and wings of shot. The sergeants were stationed on the right and left of each rank.[119] Only now was the Royal Regiment of Foot under Colonel Douglas truly ready for battle.[120]

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[117] In BL, Harley 6845, f.292r, James wrote of Monmouth's battalions 'guiding the march by the matches of Douglas, (wch was the only Batt. of the King foott, had match locks).' However, it is unlikely the orange embers of 28 match-cords could be seen through the mist, especially as the front rank did not have matches and would have obscured the ranks behind. The path and sound of beating drums may have been more of a draw. If the embers could be seen so could the church tower and lines of tents.

[118] By degree in the seniority of the officer's commission date, first captain, second captain etc. For Dumbarton's this was: Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Douglas, Captain James Moncrief, Captain George Murray, Captain Munro Mackenzie, and Captain Robert Halkett.

[119] Bull, *Military Discipline*, p.95, 'The Grenadiers (when there are any) are to be drawn up on the right of the battalion, and to augment it, without intermixing with it, or troubling the order of it; they being a separate number of men that are to be always ready for whatever shall be commanded them.'

[120] BL, Harley 6845, f.291r, 'And now in the camp as soon as they had the allarme, the foott stood to their arms, and were in a moment drawne up in battale at the head of their tents, in very good order.'

The Duke of Grafton had slept in his tent at the centre of the 1st Foot Guards and was up as the soon as the drums started beating. Whilst still dressed in his nightgown,[121] he oversaw his regiment form into two battalions to the left of the Scots. The 1st Foot Guards moved into their drawing-up space in the same way as Douglas's soldiers had done. However, the Guards companies had a different company structure to the Royal Scots, and therefore frontage. Each musket division contained 30 firelocks, who formed into six files of five ranks. The pike division contained 40 soldiers, formed into five files of eight ranks. This made each company 19 paces wide, when the lanes were included each battalion's frontage was 134 paces. The rightmost company of the 1st battalion was Grafton's, and the leftmost of the 2nd battalion was Major Eaton's. This made the frontage of the 1st Foot Guards 313 paces, including the lane between battalions. Grafton took command of the right or 1st Battalion, and Eaton the left or 2nd Battalion and both battalions now independently interchanged their pike and musket to form battalia, with Captain John Berkeley commanding the right wing of the 1st Battalion's shot.[122]

Approximately 45 paces to the left of Major Eaton's Battalion was Lieutenant Colonel Sackville and the Coldstream guards. This battalion had the same company structure as the 1st Foot Guards, and the six companies created a frontage of 134 paces. At the end of the lodgement were Kirke's and Trelawny's smaller battalions. These regiments had a reduced frontage and were brigaded under Colonel Percy Kirke. Trelawny's had six musket divisions of 34 soldiers and three pike divisions of 32 men. Kirke's had two musket divisions acting as an outpost in the Penzoy Pound, leaving just four musket divisions of 34, and three pike divisions of 32. This gave Trelawny's a reduced frontage of 52 paces. Kirke's Regiment only had 64 pike, in eight files of eight ranks, or a width of just 24 feet, and when the four musket divisions were added this created a frontage of only 52 paces.[123] Both of these regiments may have been drawn up facing the Lower Plungeon. Within 30 minutes of the first warning shot, the Government foot were deployed and ready for battle. Ramsay had done his job well.[124]

Out on the moor, Monmouth was pressing his infantry forwards, but was still over 1,000 paces away when the drums started beating in the enemy camp.[125] The Duke knew that the army must attack fast and hard, and he had about 20 minutes to reach the camp. Monmouth ordered Wade and Matthews to form battalia. With Captain Slape's mixed scythe and shot company forming the right hand of his line, Wade wheeled each division from column into a line facing towards the enemy. Wade had about 800 men in six companies, five of which had around 140 men,[126] split into two musket divisions, and a pike division. The musket divisions contained around 50 men in 10 files of five ranks, giving a frontage of around 11 paces. The pike division had about 40 men, in five files of eight ranks. Slape's scythe company had two divisions of around 50 men and had a frontage of about 21 paces. Once all his companies were formed up, with four paces between each company the Red Regiment had a frontage of around 151 paces.[127] Like his counterparts across the battlefield, Wade called out 'Silence!' then 'Battalion will form battalia, musketeers, to the right and left outwards, pikes, to the right and left inwards, interchange ground, march!'

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[121] Morrice, *Entring*, Vol. 3, p.28, 'The Duke of Grafton (and those in his tent) was the first person of quality awakened and came forth in his gown only'.

[122] BL, Harley 6845, f.292.

[123] See Chapter 6.

[124] BL, Add MS 4162, f.20, Paschall states the Scots officer Macintosh 'marked out the ground between the tents and the ditch' but this was almost certainly done by Ramsey the day before.

[125] Morrice, *Entring*, Vol. 3, p.28. Monmouth estimated the distance to the camp under 100 musket shots, but this is vague term, more like 100 paces, which would place them on the path opposite Dumbarton's or the 1st battalion, of the 1st Foot Guards.

To Wade's left, Matthews was forming up his smaller regiment of 500 soldiers in five companies. Each had two musket divisions and a pike division. Each musket division would have an average of seven files of five ranks, and the pikes in four files of eight ranks. This made each company frontage of 20 paces. This would have made the Yellow Regiment around 116 paces wide. After Matthews interchanged the pikes and muskets to form battalia, the line was ready for battle, and Monmouth ordered his men to advance. They had orders not to stop and fire until they had crossed the rhyne.

Lower Plungeon – 2:00 a.m., 6 July 1685

Grey took the Whig cavalry forwards; his guide had disappeared, but the general of horse knew the Bussex Rhyne had to be crossed at the Upper Plungeon. Unfortunately, in the gloom Grey missed the vital crossing point and instead headed towards the sound of the drums down the rhyne. They now cantered along the northern bank of the Bussex, and instead of finding the ford they came to the right wing of the Royal Scots. From across the watercourse a Scottish voice called out, 'Who are you for?'[128] To which the Whig horse replied that they were the Earl of Albemarle's troopers and the Scots officer let them pass in the dark.

In the gloom Captain Berkeley of the 1st Foot Guards could see horsemen coming from his left on the other side of the Bussex. The officer called out to the horsemen,[129] 'Who are you for?' One of the troopers replied, 'The King!' Berkeley answered, 'Which King?' to which the horsemen responded, 'King Monmouth!' and then galloped off down the rhyne. Berkeley yelled, 'Front rank kneel, third rank close over, cock your muskets, present, give fire!' However, the shots only caught the last few enemy horseman. Now alarmed, the left wing opened fire on the horse, and volleys rippled down the line, as the 2nd Battalion of the 1st Foot Guards fired at the horsemen, followed by

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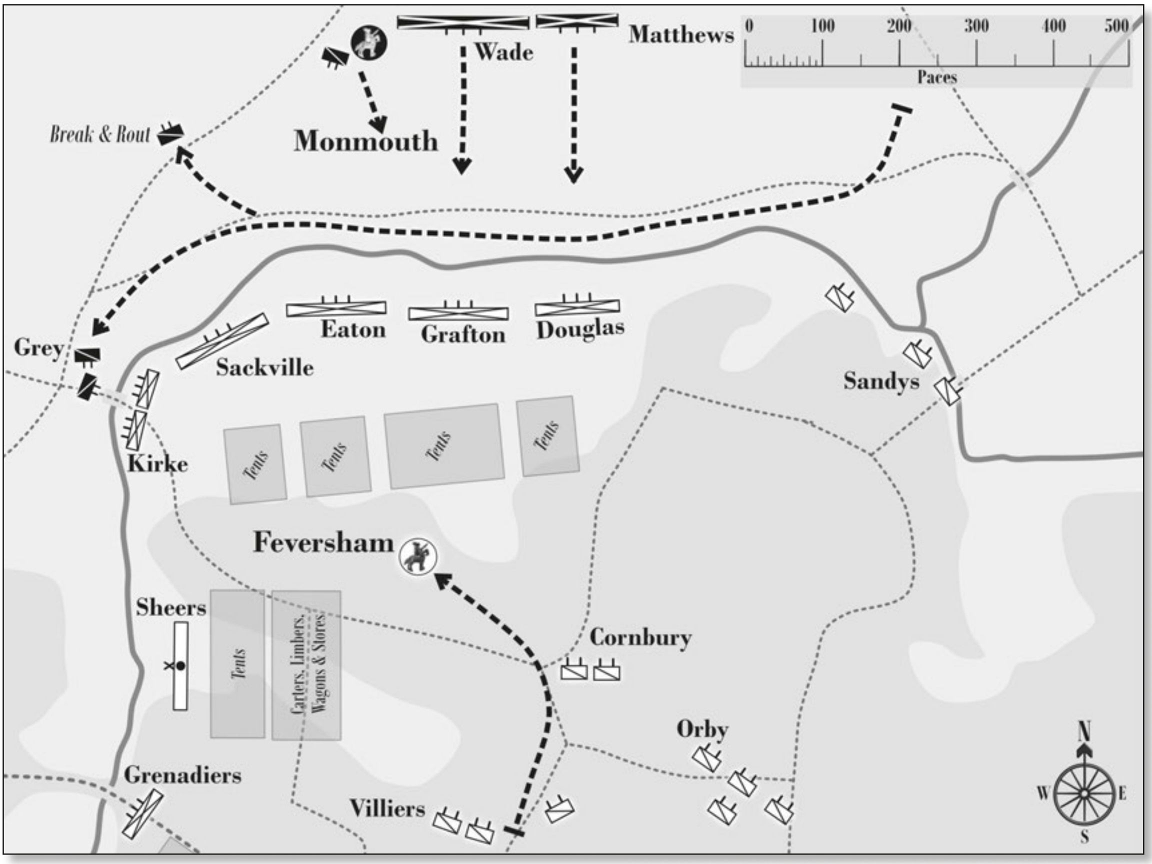
[126] This my assumption based on the returns and the remodelling at Bridgwater. Monmouth's Regiment consistently had around 800 to 900 men.

[127] See Chapter 6.

[128] This would have been Captain Murray commanding the right shot wing of Douglas's Regiment.

[129] BL, Harley. 6845, f.292.


Wade
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Tents
Feversham
Sheers
Tents
Carters, Limbers, Wagons & Stores
Cornbury
Orby
Grenadiers
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Lord Grey takes the Whig horse to the Lower Plungeon – 02:00 on 6 July 1685. (Author's artwork)

the Coldstream Guards who also opened up on the riders. Taking fright at the volley fire, the rear troop of horse bolted and headed off towards Chedzoy.[130]

As volley fire ripped down the enemy line behind him, Grey took what remained of his Whig horse around the Bussex Rhyne. On reaching the Lower Plungeon, he discovered a small stand of pike and shot blocking the crossing. He ordered his men to draw their pistols and took the Whig horse forwards.[131] They discharged their pistols and wheeled away. The enemy musketeers fired their volleys and some of the Whig horses and riders went down or fled. Grey was determined to break the enemy foot and took his men back round to fire carbines into the stand of pikes. Once more they wheeled around to reload pistols, and a second volley crashed out from the enemy muskets. As Grey's troopers recovered from this impact a second threat appeared out of the murky grey day: mounted horsemen. At first Grey

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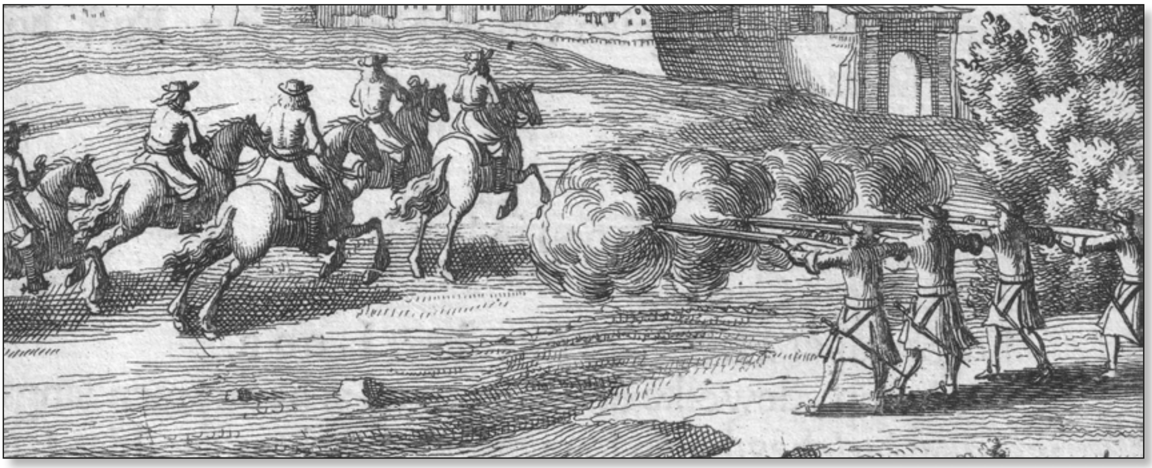
[130] Muddiman, *Assizes*, p.168. 'our horses would not stand the noise of drums and guns'.

[131] This unit was probably Trelawny's small battalion of foot, as they received four casualties in the battle. It is not clear which Whig unit or units attacked the Lower Plungeon or if this ever happened. However, evidence, including pistol bullets uncovered around the site of the Lower Plungeon, has been found of an engagement in this area of the field and Paschall describes this action in one of his accounts. See BL, Add MS 30277, f.30.



Musketeers firing at horse *c*.1685. (Author's collection)

must have assumed they were more Whig troopers, but it was too late. The enemy horse drew their swords and charged the Whig cavalry.

It was under an hour since Feversham had retired to bed, but now the drums were beating, and the men were being aroused from the billets. The General dressed for war,[132] while nearby the other senior officers, including Churchill, also put on coats and swords. Then they rushed out to find their mounts. Elsewhere in the village, the dragoons dragged on boots, and troopers of the Oxford Blues strapped on armour. With the village in uproar, it would take at least 30 minutes for the horse to be ready and drawn up. Therefore, Feversham left orders for Major Villiers and Major Orby to bring up the horse as soon as possible. They were to form behind the foot encampment. Then the Earl of Pembroke set off to Middlezoy to bring up his militia.

Feversham arrived on the field shortly after Churchill had left to inspect the foot,[133] and from his vantage point overlooking the lodgement, the General was relieved to see the army drawn up and in good order. On the left facing the Lower Plungeon were Kirke's and Trelawny's battalions. Then came the Coldstreams, the two 1st Foot Guard battalions and finally the smaller Royal Scots Battalion. Along the line of the Bussex, the Government army had a total frontage of approximately 653 paces. Feversham now sent orders for the artillery to be brought up, and for the grenadier battalion to join him on the ridge.

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[132] Oldmixon, *History of England*, p.703, 'The Alarm reach'd Weston, where Feversham was safe a-bed, and made not so much haste into the field, as to forget setting his Cravat string at a little paltry looking glass in one of the cottages' much has been made of Feversham doing this before battle, but a cravat string is a simple and quick thing to tie. Turning up on the battlefield in a state of undress would have been equally scorned, as being in a panic. The interesting point is that Feversham was up not long after the alarm was raised.

[133] BL, Harley 6845, f.292r, 'As this [Berkeley firing on Grey] happened, Lord Feversham, who had been getting the horse in order, and sent for the cannon, came to the foot.' Much has been made by historians about Feversham being absent from the field until Lord Churchill had won the battle, only arriving in time to approve Churchill's battle winning deployment. However, if Feversham arrived in time to watch the Whig horse receive the fire from the Foot Guards, this would set his arrival at between 1:45 and 2:00 a.m. Leaving time to dress, and organise the horse, 15 to 20 minutes would be about right from the alarm being raised.

Bussex Rhyne – 2:05 a.m., 6 July 1685

Monmouth saw the flashes and then heard the crash of the musket volleys to his front. The Duke knew that it was time to press on with the attack. With fire coming from the enemy camp, Grey's horse must be amongst them and the foot needed to assault. Monmouth sent messengers over to both Wade and Matthews, urging them to advance. They were not to stop and fire, but to press home with the attack. However, after crossing the moor, the Red Regiment was now disordered, and had not loaded its muskets; the files had lost their spacing and the ranks had closed together. Wade could not attack the enemy in this state and needed to reform. When about 200 paces from the Bussex, the Colonel yelled out to his battalion, 'Halt! Order your pikes, and muskets. Silence!' As his men looked to their commander, as he shouted, 'Sergeants, look to your ranks and files.' After a couple of minutes, Wade called out, 'Silence! Prepare to march, advance your pikes, and shoulder your muskets, march!' To the sound of the drum, the regiment stepped off with the left foot.[134] Wade took his men to within 30 paces of the Bussex Rhyne and shouted out 'Halt!'

Before he pushed his men forwards into battle, they needed to make ready, and once more redress their ranks and files.[135] Wade called out, 'Musket divisions make ready, sergeants look to your ranks and files.' With this the sergeants checked the spacing of each file was a pace and the ranks two paces. Then the captains on the wings of shot called out 'Lay your hands upon your muskets', and then took the muskets carefully through the whole loading process finishing with the command, 'Rest your muskets.' Finally, Wade's Battalion was ready to advance across the Bussex. To his left, Matthews brought his battalion into line alongside the Red Regiment. The Yellow Regiment now redressed and made ready. Both units were to advance as one body and hold their fire until across the Bussex. Monmouth had dismounted, and half-pike in hand started berating his soldiers, urging them to push forwards[136] while the enemy lay sleeping.[137] Monmouth knew his army must advance into contact before the enemy battle line was complete, and the Duke was demanding that his officers push home with the attack immediately.[138]

Major Oglethorpe had rushed from Bridgwater with the news that Monmouth had marched. However, as he drew closer to Westonzoyland, the sound of musket fire and drumming broke out in the distance. The Major knew he would be arriving too late. As he cut past Fowlers Plot and onto the moor, Captain Upcott's Troop of Lifeguards joined his party and the

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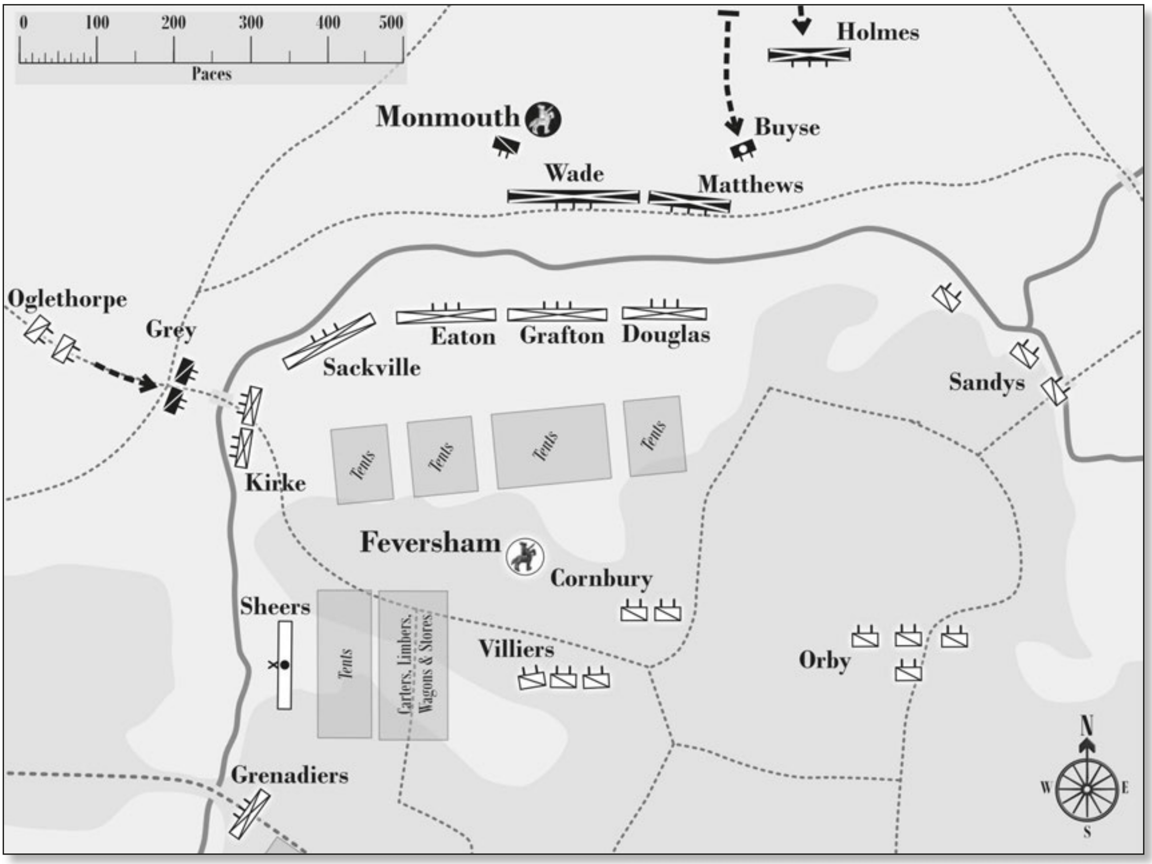
[134] Bull, *Military Discipline*, p.86. 'The soldiers must always begin to march with their left foot first, which is observed to conduce most to keep the ranks even.'

[135] BL, Harley 6845, f.292r, 'did not begin to from their Batt; till they came within about 80 paces of the ditch'.

[136] Luttrell, *State Affairs*, Vol. 1, p.352, 'Monmouth lighted of his horse, and took a half pike, and charged at the head of the foot very briskly several times'.

[137] Morrice, *Entring*, Vol. 3, p.28, '…you see their army lie on the ground or piled up in heaps[.] You have nothing but unarmed men asleep to deal with[.]'

[138] Morrice, *Entring*, Vol. 3, p.28 'You have nothing but unarmed men asleep to deal with[.] My forces would not stir'.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Sackville
Sandys
Tents
Tents
Tents
Tents
Kirke
Feversham
Cornbury
Sheers
Tents
Carters, Limbers, Wagons & Stores
Villiers
Orby
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Monmouth's line advances and Oglethorpe returns – 02:10 on 6 July 1685. (Author's artwork)

Government horse galloped across the moor towards the Lower Plungeon. Oglethorpe could just make out enemy riders attacking the ford and charged without stopping to reform his exhausted troopers.

There were possibly 100 Whig cavalry, but very few of the troopers had noticed the approach of Oglethorpe and turned to face the new threat. However, they remained stationary as the Oxford Blues and Lifeguards hit home, swords in hand. The enemy simply disintegrated under the impact and in the ensuing chaos, men drew pistols and fired at their broken foes. The Government officers now struggled to pull their men back from the chase, as the shattered Whigs streamed away across the moor. Once he had gained control of his men, Oglethorpe crossed the Bussex and followed the track into the village. Unfortunately, in the nearby artillery camp, the civilian waggon masters and carters awoke to the sound of battle raging near their tents, and fearing the worst and seeing mounted men crossing the Bussex, most fled towards Middlezoy taking their valuable horses with them.[139]

Pembroke arrived at the quarters of Colonel Wyndham in Middlezoy and ordered the drummers to start beating the alarm.[140] Slowly the sound of drums echoed around the village, and the half-awake soldiers stumbled into the streets. With the men billeted in different houses, barns, and sheds, it took time for the militia to find their sergeants and locate their drawing-up space. Then the officers checked for shirkers, and the ranks were dressed. About 45 minutes later the Wiltshire Militia were ready. Pembroke took his two regiments of foot and four troops of horse.[141] They would be march through the village and onto the right flank of the Government line, near the Upper Plungeon.

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[139] BL, Add MS 31956, f.8, 'the Horses and Drivers not easily found'.

[140] Wheeler, *Iter bellicosum*, p.162.

To the right of Wade, there was a final flurry of pistol shots before a brief period of silence spread over the battlefield. Officers on both sides of the Bussex held their breath. Into the silence Monmouth cried out, 'Battalions will advance!' Then the peace was shattered as one of the Yellow musket wings opened fire with a two-rank volley.[142] Thinking the orders had changed, Wade called out 'Musket wings are to advance, giving fire by two rank volleys!'[143] Within moments his right wing of shot had discharged their weapons, followed by the left wing. They had opened fire on the grey ranks of the enemy, approximately 150 paces away. As the first full volleys began to ring out across the battlefield, the gunpowder smoke mixed with the mist to create a haze around the firing musketeers. Angered by the firing, Monmouth urged Wade to take his regiment forwards into the gloom. Wade yelled out 'Silence, rear half-files, to the right hand double your front, march!' Now with his pike shoulder to shoulder, the only way to cross an obstruction, he ordered his pike division to 'Advance your pikes, advance!' With the drummers beating out the march the soldiers stepped off towards the black ribbon that marked out the Bussex, only 20 paces away.

Bussex Rhyne – 2:15 a.m., 6 July 1685

In front of the Bussex, and to the left of Matthews, Captain Buyse manhandled his three pieces within pistol shot of the enemy battalions. His gun captains could see the enemy ranks some 40 paces away to their right,[144] and Buyse ordered the guns be made ready and the gunners started the procedure. The experienced officers now laid and levelled the pieces to point at the enemy battalion. Then each man cleared the touch hole with a pricker. Then the gunner's mate took the scowrer and some fleece to clean out the barrel. Next the gunner took a scoop of powder and carefully slid this to the end of the

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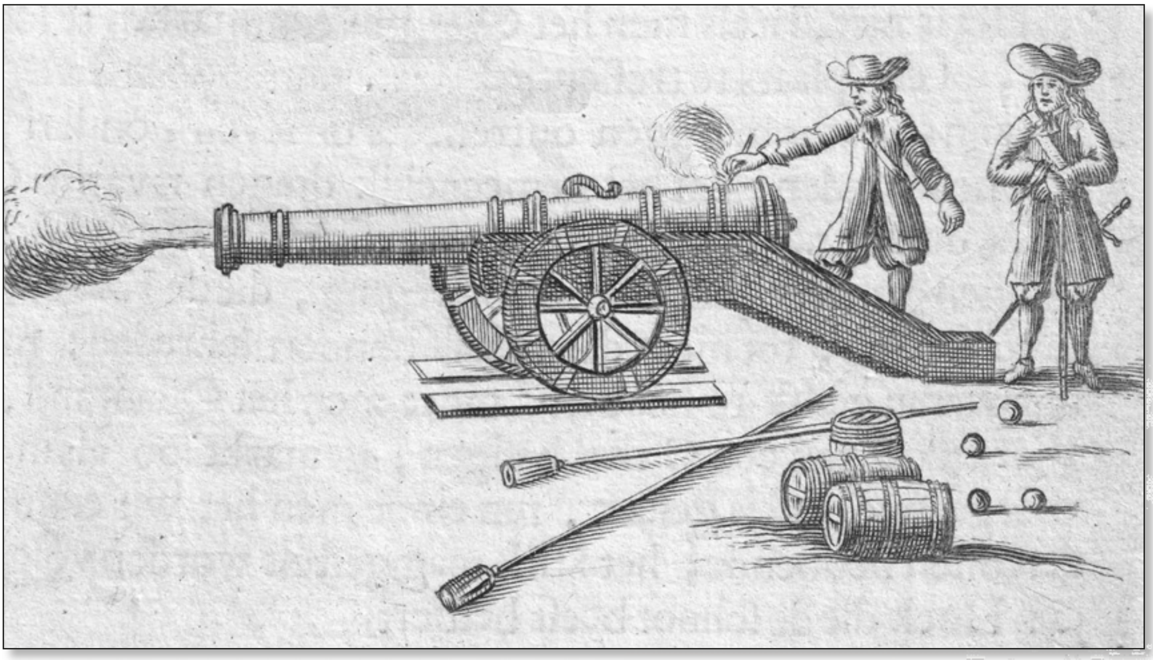
[141] BL Add MS 18979 f.300r, 'The Earl of Pembrook who was quartered with about 2 regiments of foot and four troops of horse of the militia of Wilts by reason they had no tents at Middlezoy about a mile from Weston'.

[142] Oldmixon, *History of England*, p.70, 'Monmouth's Men began the Engagement with a Volley of Shot and Shouts'.

[143] I have assumed that the Whig foot would have started firing in two-rank volleys which would have been the normal practice of the time. This required some fire control but ensured that the front rank was always loaded, and therefore 60 percent of a unit's firepower was always available. Once two ranks had fired and recovered their order, they wheeled to the rear to make ready, whilst the rest of the musket ranks stepped forwards. In the darkness, Monmouth's officers would have looked to keep close control over their men's loading and rate of fire.

[144] BL, Add MS 38012, f.31, 'and brought his cannon (they say) with in Pistol shott of ye kings [forces]'.



Artillerymen firing a saker, with loading equipment on the ground *c*.1685. (Author's collection)

barrel, were he twisted the scoop to deposit the powder, then withdrew the scoop out the barrel, only to twist it and send it back down to shift any loose powder. With the master gunner covering the touch-hole, to stop powder escaping, the mate placed straw into the barrel, the scoop was reversed, and the wad rammed home. After this the ball was placed into the barrel, followed by more wad, and then this was also rammed home. With the barrel loaded, the gun captain primed the touch-hole with fine powder from his flask and this was covered with a leather patch. Finally he took up his linstock, blew on the slow match to get a good orange ember, and was ready to fire. When Buyse called out 'Give fire!' the mate removed the leather patch, and the gunner touched the linstock to the touch-hole. With a flash and bang the gun discharged, moving backwards as it did so. After watching the shot land, water was poured down the barrel, and a fleece and scowrer rammed down to remove any burning embers. Then a dry fleece was rammed home to dry out the chamber.

The crew quickly rolled the gun back into position, the gunner adjusted the trajectory and lie of the gun. Then the scoop, with more or less powder, was sent down the barrel, and so the procedure continued. After each shot the aim became better and the iron balls cut deeper red lines into the enemy battalions. After the first two shots, Holmes arrived to the left of Buyse's guns, and started to make ready. Holmes' five companies numbered 600 men, and this extended the battle line by about 131 paces,[145] while Brandt's 10 scythe divisions[146] would add another 100 paces, making the whole Whig frontage approximately 630 paces.

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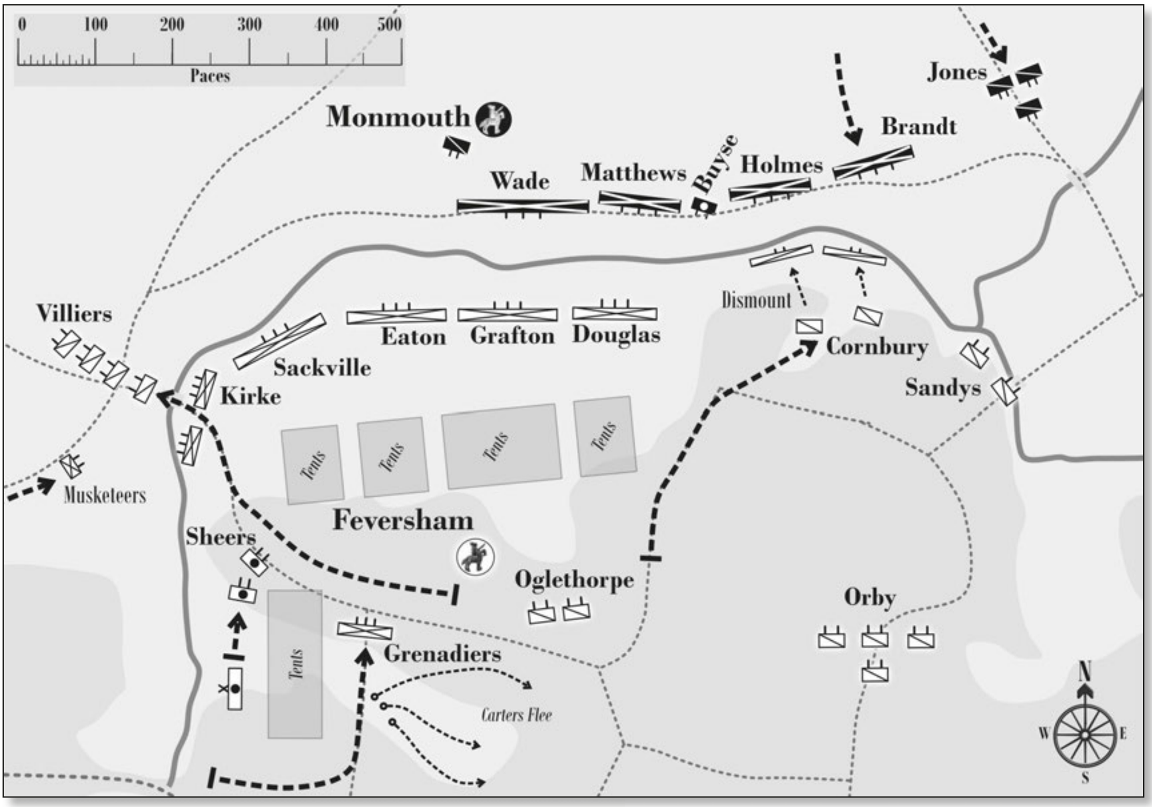
[145] See Chapter 6.

[146] National Library of Jamaica, MS 105, f.87–8; Supplementary Material, p.13, 'Count Horn commanded the Sithmen particular, and the Left Wing'.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Wade
Villiers
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Dismount
Cornbury
Sandys
Sackville
Kirke
Musketeers
Tents
Feversham
Sheers
Oglethorpe
Orby
Grenadiers
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The battle develops into a general engagement – 02:20 on 6 July 1685. (Author's artwork)

From his vantage point overlooking the unfolding battle, Feversham could see that Monmouth's line was centred on the Royal Scots, but he was unsure if there was more Whig horse out in the darkness. He would wait before risking his foot battalions. The Government horse had now formed up behind the rise, and he ordered Cornbury's Troop of Dragoons to cover the right flank of the Royal Scots. They were to extend the line to face the third enemy battalion. Feversham then commanded Major Villiers with his troop of Lifeguard, together with the two troops of horse grenadiers, and Captain Adderley's Troop of Oxford Blues, to cross the Lower Plungeon and press the enemy's right wing.[147] The General sent an urgent message to Captain Sheers: he must bring up his artillery.

At the front of the left wing of Douglas's Battalion, Captain Mackenzie saw the yellow flashes of the first volley, then heard the rumble as the musket balls flew harmlessly overhead.[148] To the left of the Scots, a second enemy battalion had started to fire but the range was long, possibly 200 paces.[149] For the moment, Mackenzie refrained from ordering his wing of shot to return fire. His men were nervously waiting for the order, but their years of training, and the sergeants, made sure the soldiers stayed ready in their five-man files. To his right the Whig artillery opened fire on the Scots, finally doing damage to the stationary companies. As each iron ball passed through the ranks, it cut one or two men down. To the left of the enemy guns, their line was extended by another battalion.

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[147] Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.17.

[148] Muddiman, *Assizes*, p.168.

[149] In the nineteenth century, tests were performed on smoothbore muskets and the effective range was between 75 and 100 yards, with between a 40 and 60 percent hit rate. As the weapon used in 1685 was a forerunner of the Brown Bess, but with an inferior powder and ball quality, these estimates would be on the high side. A quote attributed to Colonel Hanger '[Brown Bess] will strike figure of a man at 80 yards – it may even be at 100, but a soldier must be very unfortunate

Douglas ordered his wings of shot to return fire by single rank volleys. The captains on both wings of shot reacted with relief. The one rank volley maintained an almost continuous fire and allowed each musket rank to load and be ready without rushing. This gave every soldier something to do other than wait for an iron ball to carve a bloody path through their file. With the front rank kneeling on the order 'Give fire!' the second rank discharged their muskets. At this moment, the third, fourth and fifth ranks were all at the 'poise' and ready to step forwards.

As soon as the second rank fired, they wheeled down the lane between the divisions and march to the rear of the block. Then the front rank stood. As the second rank cleared the firing line, the third or the 'ready' rank stepped forwards. The front rank of file leaders now rested their muskets and were ready to fire if attacked. The third or 'charged' rank stepped forwards into the ready rank position, and the fifth or 'primed' rank stepped forwards to become the charging rank. At the back of the division an NCO or officer would place the musketeers in the right file.

Now the loading would begin. On the command 'make ready', the rearmost or 'priming' rank would by order, 'Return your match, clean your pan with your thumb, handle your primer, prime, shut your pan with a full hand, blow off your loose corns, poise your musket.' The musketeer's priming flask was at the bottom of his collar or bandoleer and was used to fill the pan. Ideally this contained finer 'priming' powder, which flowed into the pan quickly, and ignited faster. If the coarser-grained charging powder was used, misfires increased, the pan fouled up, and the primer nozzle blocked. All these impacted on the rate of fire and effectiveness of the musket block.

The charging rank would by order, 'Cast about to charge, handle your charger, open it with your teeth, charge with powder, draw forth your scowrer, shorten it to an inch against your right breast, charge with bullet, ram down powder and ball, withdraw your scowrer, shorten it to a handful, return your scowrer, poise your musket.' Alongside the priming flask, the collar had 12 chargers or flasks,[150] each containing enough coarse-grained powder for one discharge of the musket. As the flasks at the rear were the hardest to reach, these were used first, leaving the easy-to-grab chargers for the climax of a

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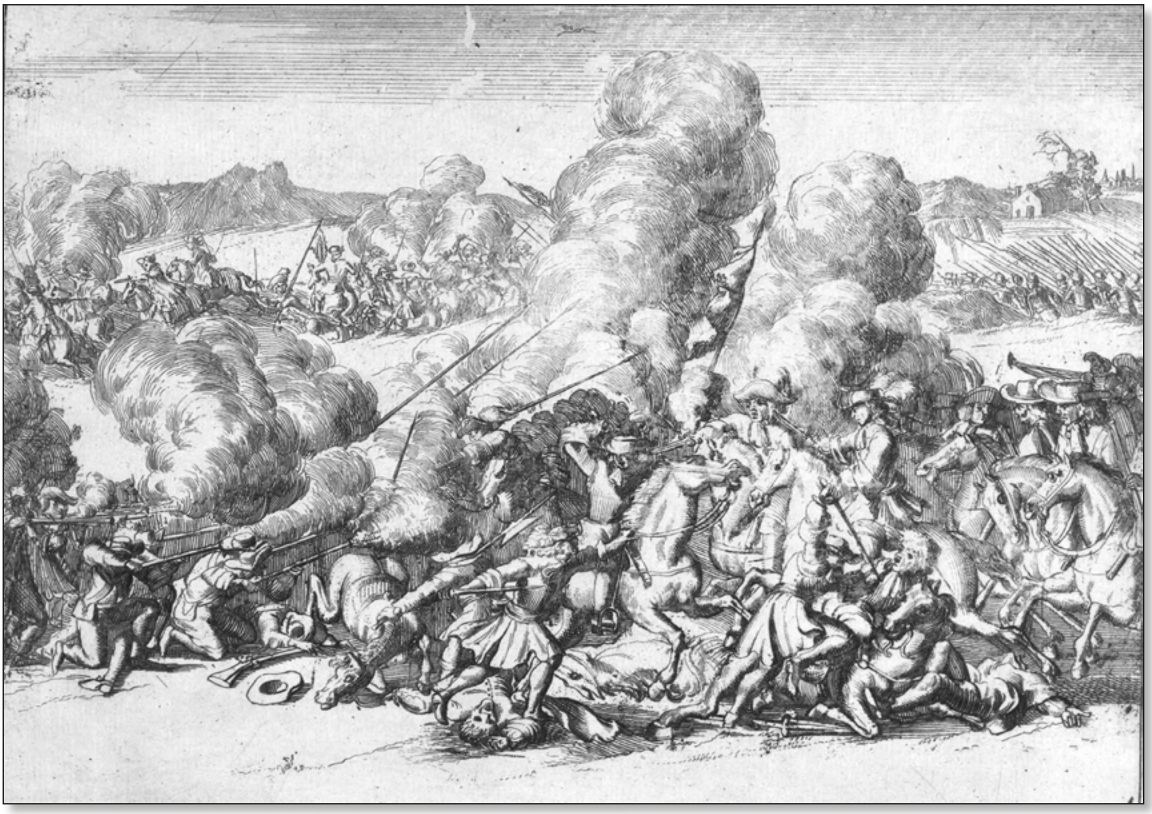
indeed who shall be wounded by a common musket at 150 yards provided his antagonist aims at him; and as to firing at a man at 200 yards with a common musket you may as well fire at the moon … that no man was ever killed at 200 yards by a common musket by the person that aimed at him.' Major General B.P. Hughes, *Firepower* (Staplehurst: Spellmount, 1997), pp.26–27.

[150] The Whigs had brought over collars for the musketeers from Holland and these, like the flasks of the Scots,were made of wood with a moulded lead cap. Those used by the militia or taken from the armouries probably had wooden caps of an older design.



Dutch print portraying the Battle of Bridgwater, 1685. (Public domain image)

battle. The lead musket balls were in a pouch next to the primer, and in the heat of battle were easy to drop. Therefore, each musketeer carried more than a dozen balls. The lieutenant was watching the topless empty flasks to gauge when they would need to refill collars with powder. After six shots, a lieutenant or sergeant was sent off to find powder, ball, and match.

Whilst the ready rank stood at the poise guarding their pans, the firing rank would by order, 'Rest your muskets, handle your match, blow your match, cock and try your match, blow your match.' This match was thin hemp cord that burnt slowly down with a red ember. After firing the ember was blown away by the small explosion in the pan. Also, as the match burnt, the ember became covered in ash. The process of blowing the match removed the ash and turned the dull glow once more into a bright orange ember. The match was cocked or placed into the teeth of the firing mechanism or serpentine. However, if the ember was not hot enough, or still had ash on the edges, the musket could either misfire or have a delayed discharge. The file leaders all had firelock muskets, and this avoided the use of match. Instead a spark was created by flint striking steel, and this ignited the powder in the pan. However, the musketeers would still need to check, adjust, and clean the flint before fully cocking the weapon.[151] Only once the captain saw that the whole musket block was at the 'poise' did he shout, 'Present and open your pan.' With this the front ranks would kneel, and then the officer would shout 'Give fire!' The whole process took about 30 to 45 seconds between steps, resulting in a volley every minute.

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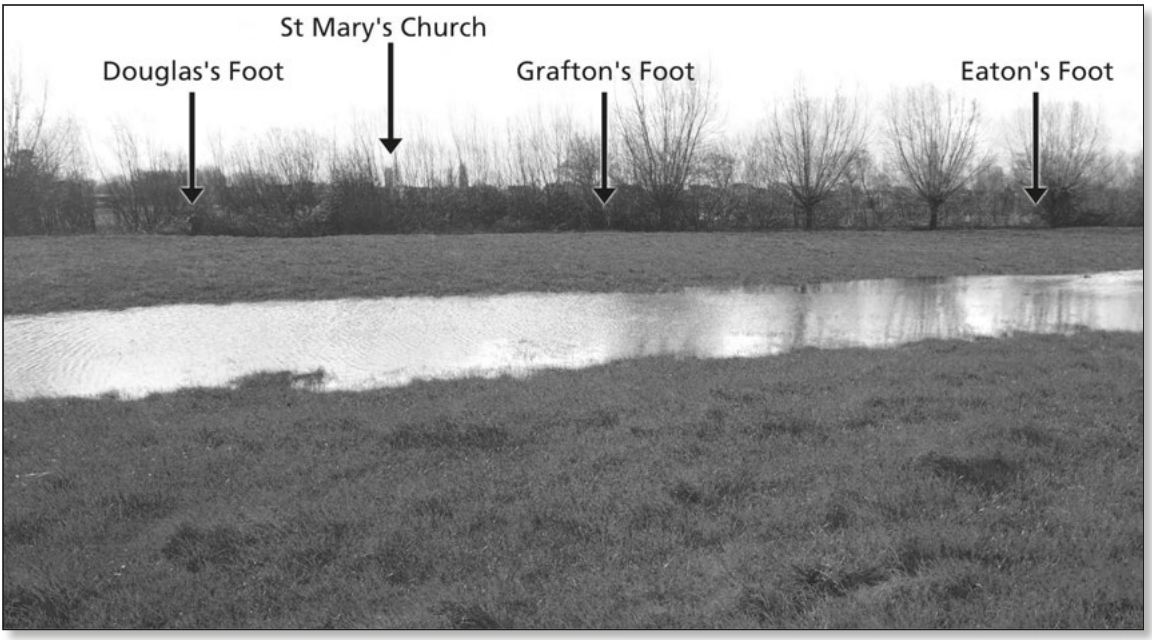
[151] Often the flintlock is described as faster and easier to load and fire, which is true if the musketeers are firing as individuals. But when firing as a block it is the charging of the weapon that takes the same time and restricts the rate of fire possible by a block.

Next to Douglas's men, Captain Berkeley of the 1st Foot Guards could make out the enemy pike advancing towards the Bussex, possibly just 100 paces away. His wing of shot was loaded and standing at the shoulder. Without waiting for orders from Grafton, he yelled out 'Silence! lay your right hand on your muskets, poise your muskets, rest your muskets.' All down the line his 180 soldiers brought their firelocks to the rest. Next, he called out, 'Rear half-files, to the right hand double your front, march!' Berkeley's men were now in close order, with just a foot and a half between each rank. His men could see the enemy had closed to within the deadliest range of the snaphire muskets each held. Then the captain shouted, 'Front rank kneel, rear two ranks, cock your firelocks, cock your muskets.' With this the rear rank stepped right half a pace, and the barrels of 144 muskets pointed at the enemy pike block, which had reached the edge of the rhyne. At this range, only 70 paces and firing into a closeordered block of pike, his wing of shot could hope to inflict 55 casualties on the enemy. He yelled out 'Give fire!'

Wade's pike division of 240 soldiers was in a close-order block, four ranks deep by 60 files, giving a frontage of approximately 30 paces. On the wings, his shot had just fired their second volley, but were some 10 paces behind the pike block. As his pike reached the edge of the rhyne, the flash and crash of a musket volley was followed by the devastating impact of musket balls. Some passed overhead or into the ground, but most hit home, killing or maiming the Whig pikemen. The Red Regiment recoiled, and as the men in the rear ranks stepped back, those in the front stumbled over the screaming wounded or dead. Wade had pulled his men back 20 paces before the second, less deadly volley impacted amongst his men. Behind them 20 or 30 men lay dead or wounded on the edge of the black waterline.

Monmouth had remounted and watched as Wade pulled his shaken pike block back. It was imperative that the whole Whig line attacked the enemy. Once more the Duke had to press his officers to attack. With Holmes drawn up on the far left, Monmouth rode over to Colonel Matthews, where the Whig musketeers had settled into the comfortable routine of two-rank volley fire. While the front rank knelt, the next two ranks closed, and fired, then wheeled to the rear to load, while the next two ranks stepped forward. The Duke watched as the captain held his fire until the rearmost ranks had loaded and stood at the poise.

To attack, this continuous discharge of lead would need to stop, and the regimental officers needed to wait for the musket wings to be ready. Only whole Whig line would need to fall silent before Monmouth could order the line forwards. If one battalion advanced on its own, its flanks would be exposed to enemy attack. The whole Whig line needed to attack as one, or they would be butchered in the mud over the Bussex. Wade, Matthews, and Holmes would need to hold their fire back, double their files to the close order, and advance as one line. Buyse's artillery would stop firing once the



The view across the Bussex Rhyne from Wade's pike block. After two weeks' rain the water would have been higher, making the watercourse even wider. (Author's photograph, March 2020)

foot crossed their line of sight. The army would then be exposed to two or three enemy volleys as they crossed the water and reached the far side.

As an experienced officer, Monmouth knew that if they marched in battalia there was a tendency for the men to close together and that the lane between divisions would disappear. The result would be the battalions becominge a shallow crescent, reducing each unit's ability to fight. To stop this, the Duke would have to halt after crossing the Bussex to redress his files, so the wings of shot could fire their final volley before combat. At this point the Whigs would be vulnerable to a swift counter-attack by the well-formed enemy battalions that they faced. Monmouth weighed up the risks. If the enemy was still drawing up then the attack could succeed; if Grey's horse were causing chaos in the lodgement then victory was his; but if the enemy was drawn up and ready to receive his men, the attack would fail. However, if he did nothing the battle was all but lost. Monmouth once more ordered his men to attack.

Facing the Bussex over on the left wing of the Government line, the artillery train was in disorder. As the civilian carters had fled with their heavy horses, the heavier guns were stranded, and Captain Sheers sent a man into Westonzoyland to gather up horses and harnesses. The Bishop of Winchester[152] had been with the staff officers in the village when the battle started and saw the messenger arrive from Captain Sheers. They needed horses to move the larger 6-pounders and the Bishop, who had been an artilleryman in the Civil Wars, eagerly offered his team of coach horses. With these horses,[153] some of the heavier artillery pieces could finally be pulled towards the battlefield. However, Captain Sheers could hear the rolling volleys coming from the combat now raging 500 paces away, and without waiting for horses he ordered six of the lighter pieces to be manhandled the towards the sound of the battle.[154]

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[152] Peter Mews, Bishop of Winchester 1619–1706.
[153] Oldmixon, *History of England*, p.704.

Upper Plungeon – 2:30 a.m., 6 July 1685

Feversham watched as Captain Sheers brought up three light guns and placed them on the right flank of the Royal Scots. Meanwhile, three more pieces were being manhandled down the lane that separated the 1st and 2nd battalions of the 1st Foot Guards.[155] As the light guns opened fire, Feversham sent a message to Major Orby: he was to take the remaining horse over the Upper Plungeon and deploy on the enemy's right flank. At this moment, Major Oglethorpe arrived at the General's side with his own and Captain Upcott's troops of Lifeguards and 50 volunteers. Feversham gave Oglethorpe the same orders: advance to the right, cross the Upper Plungeon and press the enemy's flank.[156]

Captain Jones had finally rallied his squadron of Whig horse, and now took it forwards across the moor on the left flank of Monmouth's army. To his right he could see hear the crash of musket volleys, and the Whig foot deployed in line. As he trotted along the Bussex he located the undefended Upper Plungeon and took his men across into the ground below Sutton Mill. Here the old Ironside captain[157] formed the horsemen into three ragged troops, and advanced down the eastern bank of the rhyne. This took him towards the village of Westonzoyland to his front 200 paces away, where he could see enemy horse. It was clear that the enemy were not expecting the Whigs, and Jones ordered his leading troops to draw swords.

This time the Whigs had the advantage of numbers and surprise on their side. As they cantered towards the Government horse, the enemy drew pistols and started to close the gap, but Jones's men were on them. The old Ironside's leading troop smashed into the enemy and cut a path through the Government ranks and out the other side. Then as the leading ranks wheeled and struck the enemy from behind, Jones took the third troop into the melee, and as they hit, the enemy broke. Jones was experienced enough to know that his men could not chase the broken foe and ordered his troops to reform. Meanwhile, the rattle of musket fire could be heard close by: should he attack the enemy possibly to his right or press on? With his men ready, the choice was taken away as enemy horse appeared from the village.[158] Jones knew it was critical that his Whig horse held this position. He ordered his men to advance.

Colonel Holmes had drawn his men up to the left of Captain Buyse's Dutch gunners, who had found their range and were firing diagonally into the ranks of the enemy battalion that faced them over the rhyne. The range

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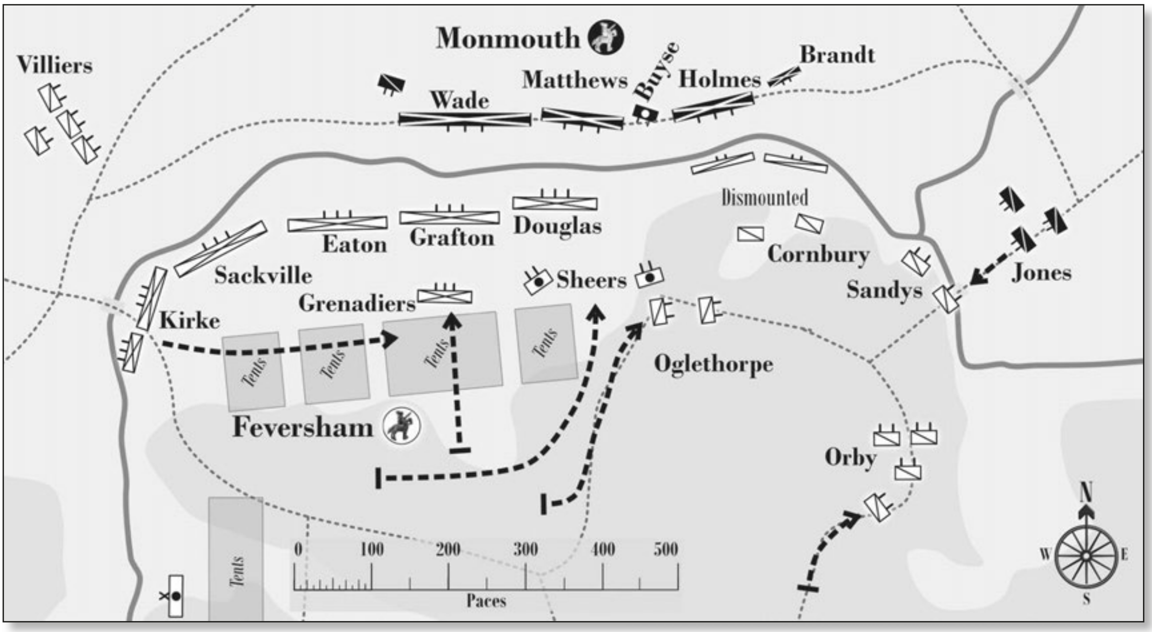
[154] Add MS 31956 f.8, 'the Horses and Drivers not easily found … six of our nearest Gunns were with the greatest diligence imaginable advanced'.

[155] BL, Harley 6845, f.293.

[156] Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.18.

[157] MacDonald Wigfield, *Rebels*, p.96.

[158] BL Add MS 4162 f.129.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The Whig horse attack the Upper Plungeon – about 02:30 on 6 July 1685. (Author's artwork)

was too far for the tins of pistol balls, so each had an iron ball down the breech as well. Holmes watched as the shot took down two or three enemy soldiers. Holmes had seen Jones taking his men down the far back of the rhyne, and ordered his men to advance. To his astonishment, so far no enemy had opened fire. Perhaps the Duke was right, the enemy were still asleep. After 10 more paces, with the Bussex only 30 more away, the colonel called out 'Halt! Sergeants redress your ranks and files.' For this last push across the Bussex, his men needed to be ready for combat.

Lieutenant Colonel Lord Cornbury took his dragoons forward and to the right of the Royal Scots. When he was about 100 paces from their musket wing, he found Captain Churchill with his troop of dragoons and ordered Churchill to join him. After deploying into line facing the Bussex, Cornbury shouted 'Link your horses, handle your pistols, draw your pistols, place your pistols in your girdles, dismount your horses.' Leaving six men holding the horses, his three ranks of dragoons advanced to the rhyne. About 10 paces short of the Bussex, Cornbury yelled, 'Halt! Files, open forwards to open order, from the left, march! Files, open forwards to double distance, from the left, march!' This took his files from the normal spacing of three feet to being 12 feet apart. This extended his 18-file frontage to almost 72 paces. To his right Churchill deployed his troopers in the same manner, and together they covered 477 feet, or the width of the enemy battalion they faced.[159]

While Cornbury's corporals took up their places behind the line, he shouted, 'Dragoons have a care, lay your right hand on your musket, poise your musket, rest your musket, guard your musket, front rank only, cock your musket, present, give fire!Recover your musket, retire and make ready.'

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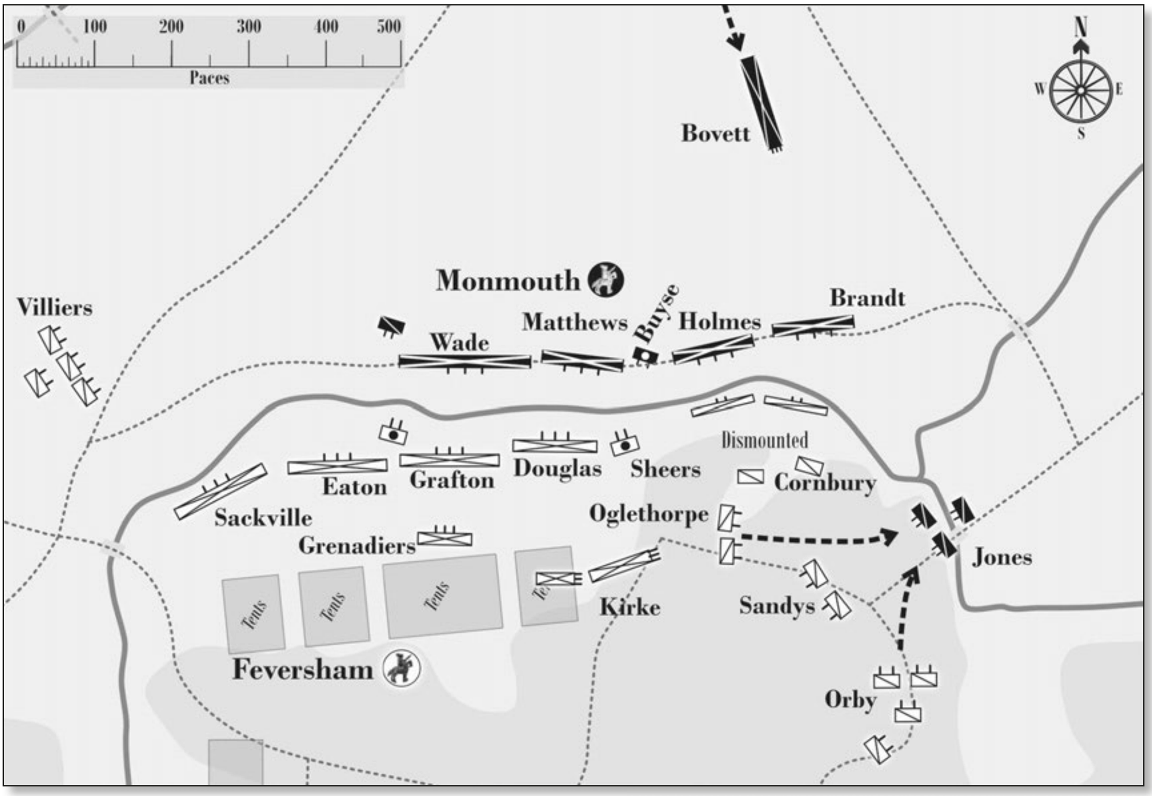
[159] Each 60-man troop formed three ranks, with six horse holders. This created 18 files, each 12 feet apart, to give each dragoon troop a frontage of 12 x 18 = 216 feet, plus the 45 feet between troops to create a total frontage of (216 + 45 + 216) = 477 feet.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Orby

The Government horse counter-attacks at the Upper Plungeon – around 02:35 on 6 July, 1685. (Author's artwork)

Once the rear rank was ready, the orders were repeated. They were about 50 paces from the enemy, who now returned fire. As the firefight developed, Lieutenant Ward could see the enemy officer in front of his pike. Between discharges Ward called out that they were friends, and the officer ordered his men to stop firing and advanced on horseback towards the dragoons. Ward now shouted out 'Who are you for?' and cocked his pistols. The officer replied, 'Monmouth!', and Ward and his sergeant fired, killing the horse and leaving the officer unconscious in the ditch. The dragoons continued firing.[160]

Behind Cornbury's Dragoons, Captain Sandys had been watching the ford over the Halsom Rhyne when his two troops of Oxford Blues had been attacked and beaten back by Whig cavalry. The Captain was busy reforming and was rallying his men for a counter-attack when Major Orby arrived with the fresh troops of Captain Littleton, Captain Wyndham, Lieutenant Wind and Lieutenant Selby. To their right Major Oglethorpe had two troops of Lifeguards and volunteers, heading towards the Whigs at the Halsom Rhyne. Sandys watched as two troops of Whig horse advanced to meet the threat of Oglethorpe and a vicious melee broke out. The Whig horse fought bravely and held their ground. However, now it was time for the *coup de grâce*, as Orby lead his fresh troopers into the exposed flank of the enemy's. The Whig reserve troop tried to intercept the attack, but the sheer weight of the Government troops brushed them aside. For a moment the enemy riders desperately held

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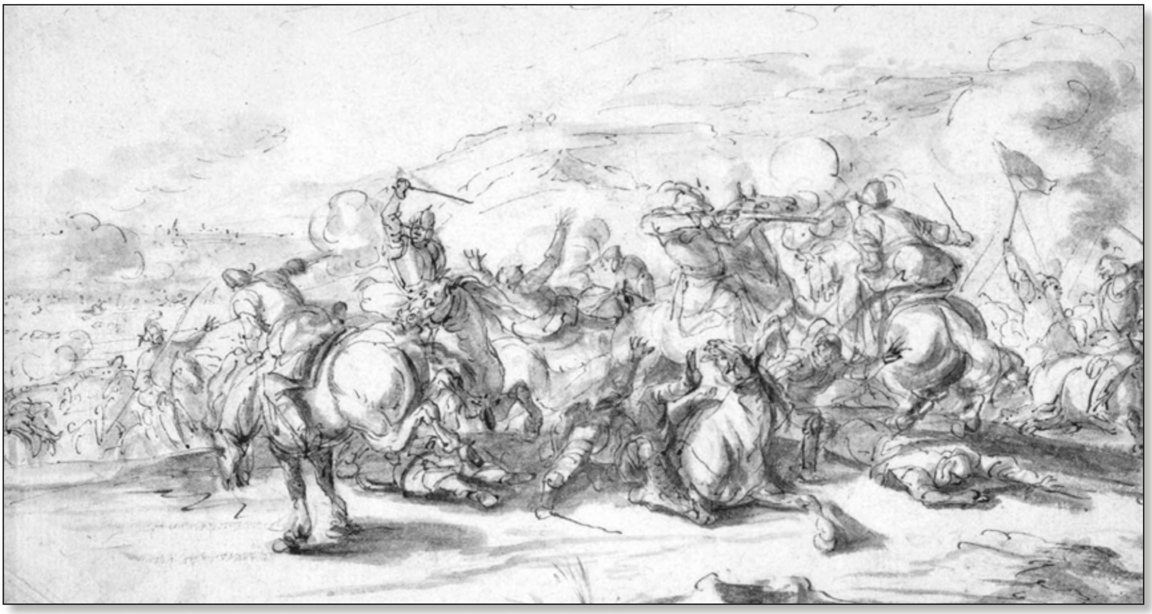
[160] BL, Harley 6845, ff.294–294r.



Clash of horse. (Public domain image)

their ground before they were swamped by sheer numbers. The Whig Horse had no option but to break off, and they routed away from the battlefield towards Sutton Mill.[161] Sandys followed Oglethorpe, as he took his horse up towards the Upper Plungeon. Behind him came Major Orby leading the over 400 Government horse to the right flank of Monmouth's army.

Matthews had ordered his musket wings to hold fire, and was preparing to advance when the enemy artillery opened fire to his front, adding to the rolling volleys coming from his right. Then musket fire erupted to his left, and Holmes' Battalion stopped advancing. The Colonel's next concern was that his musketeers were down to their last half dozen shots. For the moment the Yellow Regiment had to hold its ground and get more powder before launching an assault, especially as the enemy artillery rounds were now smashing into their ranks. Without mercy, each iron ball killed or wounded three or four men. Matthews ordered his musket wings to fire by single rank volleys until resupplied.

Although Wade's right flank was covered by Captain Slape with his scythe company, enemy horse had appeared on this flank. If he pushed his regiment forwards, the Government horse would sweep behind the regiment and charge its rear. The battalion would be destroyed in moments. Wade urgently needed cavalry support, and more ammunition. Monmouth had also seen the danger over on the right and sent his Lifeguard across to support Wade. It was becoming clear that with the enemy artillery in position, all hope of a rapid victory was disappearing. Monmouth's only chance was that his horse had created enough disorder, and his left flank could push forwards unopposed.

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[161] BL, Add MS 30277, f.30, Paschall describes Monmouth having placed a troop of horse under Sutton Mill, another reference indicated that Jones was routed by Oglethorpe towards Sutton. Therefore, based on the various maps, that the Upper Plungeon was the other side of the overlooked Halsom Rhyne, where a ford crossed with a track going to Sutton, and the Longmoor Stones (see SA, DD\AH\47/11).

Feversham could now see that the Whig line had extended to the right and was comprised of three foot battalions, and possibly three guns. To launch his foot over the Bussex could be disastrous, therefore he elected to wait to see if more enemy horse appeared before counter-attacking. The General would delay any assault until daylight, or until his cavalry wings defeated the enemy horse. However, he would strengthen his right flank, and sent an aide to Lieutenant Colonel Sackville. He was to redeploy his unengaged Coldstream Guards to the right of the Royal Scots and take over the line held by Cornbury's dragoons. To do this they would march down the Lower byway behind the 1st Foot Guards and Royal Scots. Feversham then ordered the Lieutenant Colonel George Churchill to bring the grenadiers[162] forward and draw them up to the rear of the foot. They were to be ready to advance down the lanes between the Royal Scots and the Foot Guard battalions, with the second battery starting to fire into the ranks of the enemy battalions. Then to his left Feversham noticed Lord Churchill had started to march around the Upper Byway with Trelawny's and Kirke's regiments. With this, Feversham countermanded his order to Sackville.[163]

The Bussex Rhyne – 2:45 a.m., 6 July 1685

Colonel Brandt was on the far left wing of the Whig army, as Colonel Bovett and Colonel Foulkes' battalions approached in column. These two regiments had been delayed by the rout of Hucker's Horse early in the battle, and it had taken a considerable length of time to reform the shaken soldiers. Then they had marched directly from the Longmoor Stones and had not yet formed battalia. The two regiments arrived just in time to wheel from column into a line, facing the enemy horse that had just emerged from the Upper Plungeon. However, they were now in a line of companies, which reduced the impact of their musket fire, and the smaller pike blocks offered little protection from the enemy horse, but this was all they could do in such short order. Colonel Brandt also ordered his scythe divisions to wheel and face this new threat. The officer cried out, 'Rear half-files, to the right hand double your front, march!' This brought his men into close order and the mixed scythe and musket blocks presented an impenetrable mass to the enemy horse.[164]

As the cavalry closed, they drew swords and the men from Lyme braced themselves for the impact. The enemy troopers tried to cut down the Whig foot, but the scythe blades sliced viciously at the legs of the horses, disabling

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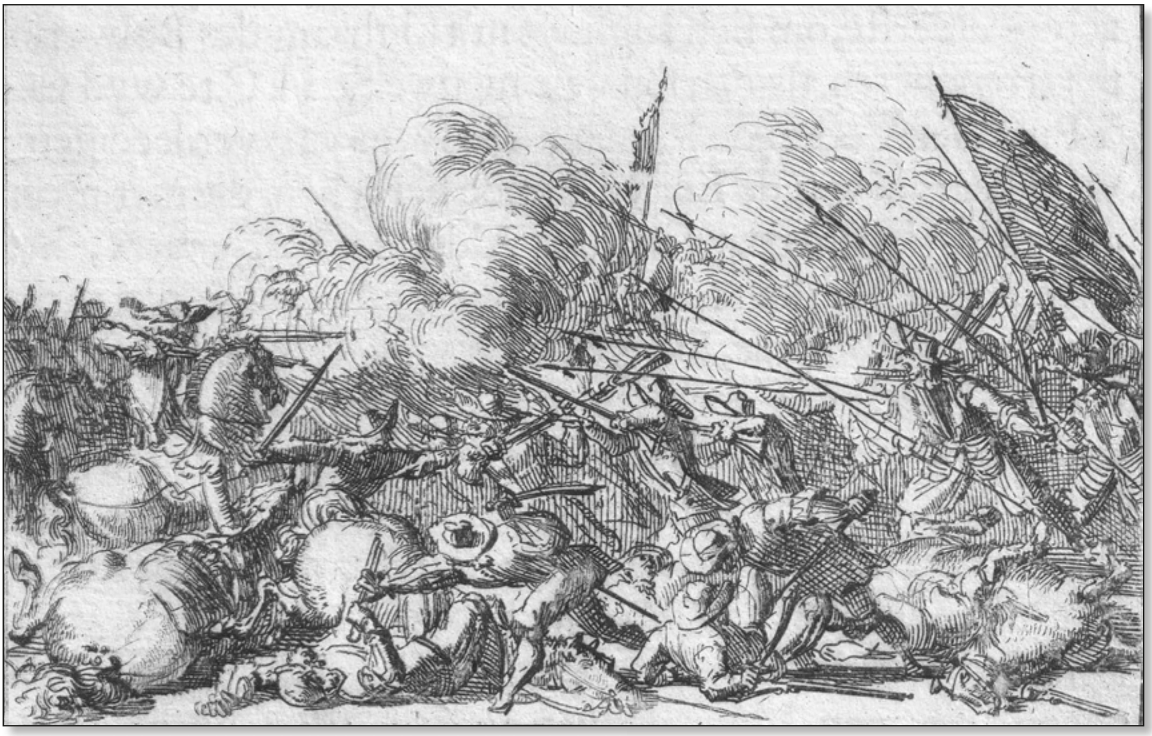
[162] This is my assumption based on there being a brigaded grenadier company.

[163] Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.18, 'My Lord Feversham returning to our foot ordered Colonell Sacvill to draw his men to the right of the Scotch forces, intending to bring Collonell Kirke's and Trelany's men in their roome. But seeing my Lord Churchill marching with Collonell Kirk's and Trelany's men towards him, he made Collonell Sackvill hault'.

[164] National Library of Jamaica, MS 105, 90. 'Count Horn [Brandt] and his Sithears stoutly maintained their ground against Oglethorps hors … until Mounmouth's Main Batallia drew up'.



Bitter fighting between foot and horse *c*.1685. (Author's collection)

them, and dismounting the riders. Then the musketeers smashed their butts down on the prone troopers.[165] The enemy horse recoiled and drew pistols. The loaded file leaders who formed the front rank, presented their muskets, and fired at the horse from close range. This forced the enemy horse to back off, and to reform out of musket range.[166] However, this assault had allowed six more troops of enemy horse to cross the Upper Plungeon and spread out down the Whig line. They started to canter forwards and fire their pistols or carbines at the Whig foot, then wheeled away out of range to reload. Like a pack of wolves, the troops of enemy horse were looking to isolate a Whig infantry division and break the line.

The battle had been raging for nearly an hour and a half, and Monmouth had moved to the centre of the line. The Duke could hear panicking musket officers calling out for powder and ball. None had appeared, as the ammunition waggons had not yet come up; they would need to wait. As Monmouth weighed up his options, Lord Grey joined him bringing more bad news. Grey informed the Duke that all the Whig horse had fled, leaving only the foot and Monmouth's Lifeguard on the field.[167] On the right flank, Monmouth could see through the growing dawn light three or four troops of enemy horse waiting to pounce. It was time for decisive action, and

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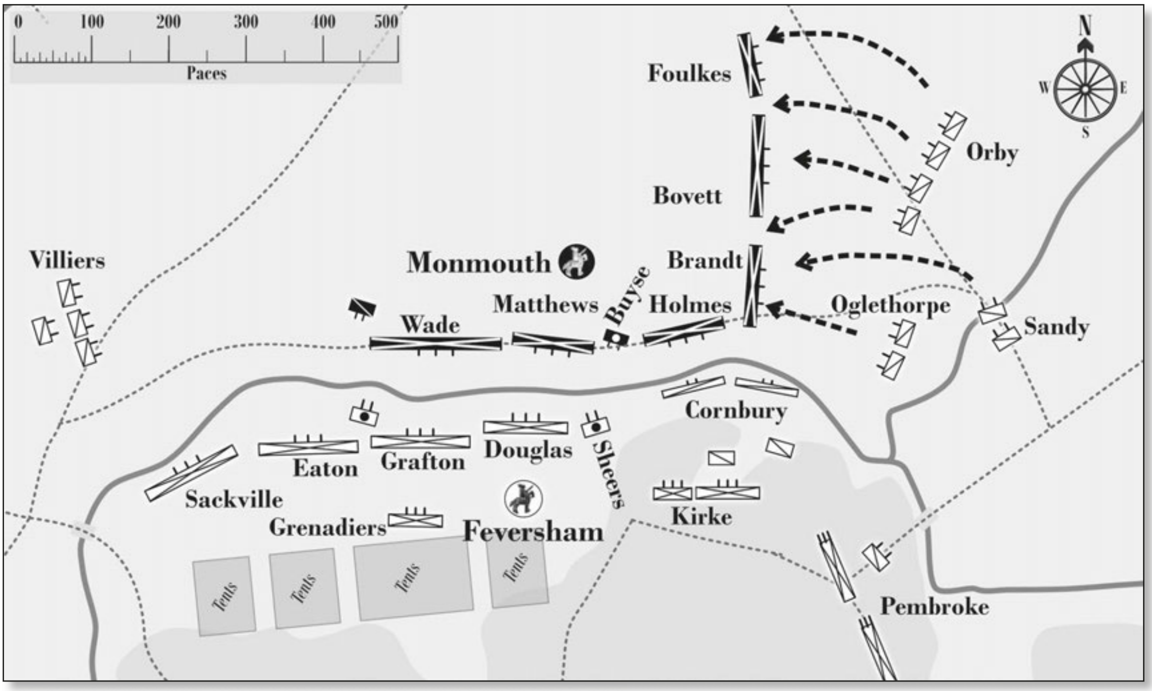
[165] BL, Harley 6845, f.294, 'They mingled amongst them, and had several of his men wounded and knocked off of the horses, amongst which number was Captain Sarsfield who was knocked downe by the butt end of musket and left for dead'.

[166] This was Oglethorpe's troop of Lifeguards.

[167] Morrice, *Entring*, Vol. 3, p.28, 'Then the Lord Grey[,] who commanded the horse came to me and told me the horse would not stay but were gone away'.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The Government horse attack the Whigs' left wing – around 02:45 on 6 July 1685. (Author's artwork)

Monmouth called Colonel Brandt across to agree the next move, but he came with tragic news. Holmes was missing, and a large concentration of the enemy horse where attempting to outflank the army on the left wing. They had beaten off one assault, but more would come.

Only Matthews in the centre of the line was holding his ground. Wade's Battalion had already started to pull back to counter the enemy horse. Over on the far left, Bovett with the Blue and Green regiments could hold his ground, but Foulkes' left wing was exposed to the enemy horse. With the enemy foot in a strong position, supported by artillery, an attack on the camp was no longer conceivable, or even an option. It was clear to the three senior officers that they only had one choice: they had to try to pull the army back to Bridgwater, where they could regroup and seek terms. The night attack had failed, the campaign was lost. The obvious line of retreat was to pull back to the Langmoor Rhyne some 600 paces behind them. To do this the army's right wing would need to pull back under attack from the enemy horse. Therefore, to support Wade, Monmouth sent his Lifeguards to cover the open right flank. Disheartened, the Duke sent orders to the regimental commanders: they would make a fighting withdrawal to Bridgwater.[168]

Feversham could see that both the Royal Scots and the 1st Foot Guards were taking heavy punishment from the enemy artillery, who were firing obliquely into their ranks. Oglethorpe's and Orby's troops of horse were pressing and probing the enemies left flank. Villiers was covering their right wing and Lord Churchill was just marching into place behind Cornbury, with

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[168] It is not clear if Monmouth ordered the retreat or it was the result of event on the left wing. However, this would explain how Wade and Matthews marched away.

Kirke's and Trelawny's. However, before pushing his foot forwards across the Bussex he needed either daylight or a break in the enemy line. He sent orders to Villiers and Orby: they were not to press or close with the enemy until the Whigs wavered.

Bussex Rhyne – 3:15 a.m., 6 July 1685

Matthews was the first to react to the Duke's orders and started to withdraw his musket wings. He ordered them to fire division volleys, from the inside to outermost division, and then pull back 20 paces. The officer waited for his division to be ready, before ordering the front rank to kneel and to double their files. This brought the muskets to the close order, before ordering his men to 'Present and give fire!' Upon firing, the shot division countermarched out of the line, and back the 20 paces to make ready. His officers knew the theory, and this would test their control.[169] Once the last musket division had fired, the pike block also countermarched back to the safety of the line.[170] The Colonel waited for the line to reform facing the enemy before repeating the process. It took Matthews five minutes to take his battalion out of musket range and now he shouted, 'Advance your pikes, battalion will countermarch to the right, march!' This manoeuvre could quickly turn into chaos, but luckily for now the enemy did not press Matthews as he marched towards the Langmoor Rhyne.

To his right Wade saw Matthews withdraw in good order, but his wing was under pressure from enemy horse. He had to hold his nerve and make a slow retreat, then he saw the Green Regiment waver, and realised that his only option was to pull out quickly but be ready to charge to the rear. Wade sent a warning to Slape on the right flank that the battalion would be retreating, and he was to cover the open flank. Then he informed all his officers of the plan to retire. Then he ordered his musket captains to make ready, but to stop firing. Once Wade saw the musket wings were ready, he cried out 'Silence! Battalion advance your pikes, face to the right about, march! March on.'[171] He would attempt to pull back obliquely towards a ford across the Langmoor Rhyne. In this way his regiment could wheel into line facing the horse and support Slape. With the Lifeguards covering the scythemen this would give his men the best possible chance of reaching the safety of Bridgwater. However, there were 500 paces to cross before the regiment reached the cornfields that sat behind the Langmoor Rhyne.

On the far left of the Whig line, Foulkes had received the order to withdraw and now looked for a way out. His regiment was only facing a single troop of enemy horse but the nearest high ground he could see was Mount Batch Close, possibly 800 paces away. The White Regiment only had four companies, and Foulkes' only option was to double the files of each

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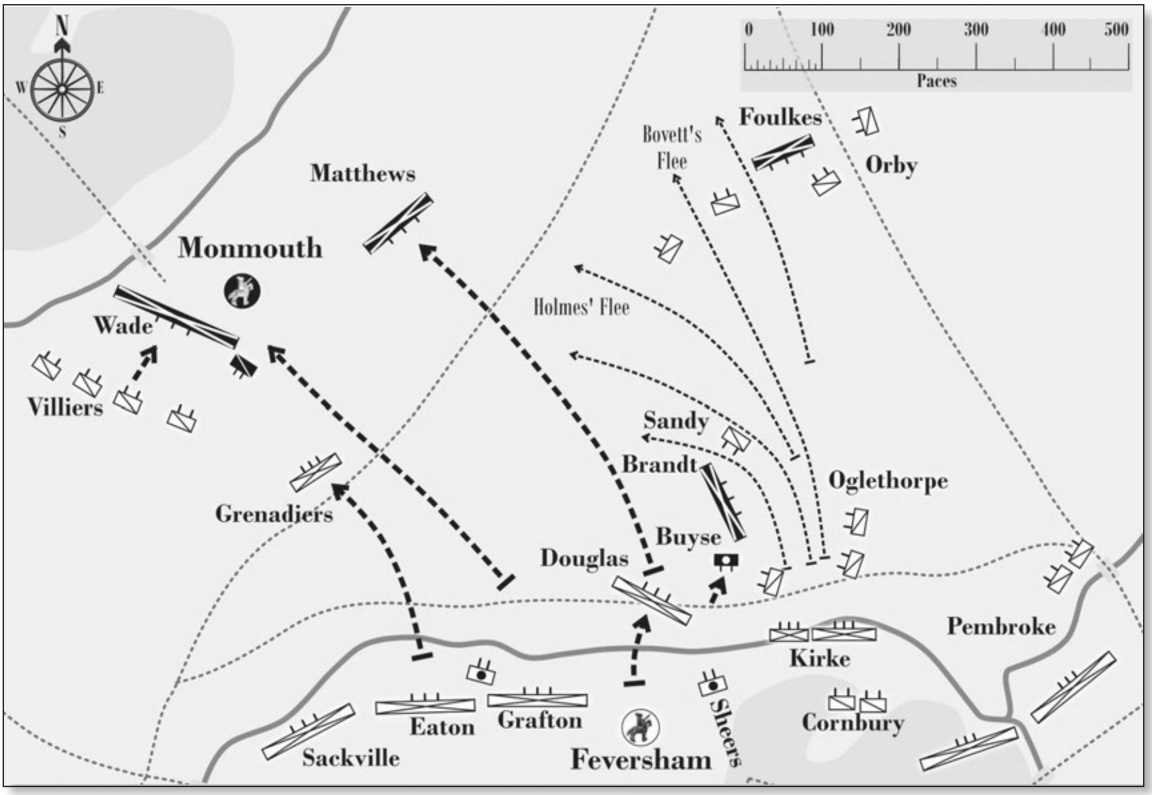
[169] See Bull, *Military Discipline*, p.35, 'the Swedes Way' which describes a similar process with subdivisions.

[170] This is my assumption based on his ammunition supply and position in the line.

[171] BL, Harley 6845, f.287.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Oglethorpe
Grenadiers
Buyse
Douglas
Pembroke
Kirke
Eaton
Grafton
Sheers
Cornbury
Sackville
Feversham

The Whigs withdraw to the Langmoor Rhyne – around 03:45 on 6 July 1685. (Author's artwork)

pike division to the close order, and then place the musket divisions in front and behind each pike block. This was a complex procedure in the face of a hunting pack of horse. Only then could they try and retire firing the 'street way.'[172] However, as he started to withdraw, the enemy horse pressed harder and his men still had more than 700 paces to go.[173]

Bovett's Regiment was in a line of companies and faced two or three enemy troops of horse, and unlike Foulkes had nowhere to go. As the White Regiment withdrew, the left flank of Bovett's Taunton Blues became prey to the Government troopers waiting for such an opportunity. However, it was the old Colonel's right flank that was his real danger. Here the Lyme company was holding some of the enemy horse at bay, but the Green Regiment was under fire from the dragoons and being pressed by cavalry. With Matthews withdrawing to their right, and the enemy foot crossing the Bussex, the Green Regiment was doomed. With Colonel Holmes missing, no one could keep them together and the colours fell. The victors of Norton St Philip broke and ran, it was every man for himself. The Government horse pounced, and within moments the men from Taunton had also cast aside pikes, dropped muskets, and discarded their colours. The Government horse were amongst them, cutting and slashing, mercilessly chasing down the fugitives. For the men of the Lyme company, and the Blue and Green regiments there was little chance of escape.

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[172] Bull, *Military Discipline*, p.32.

[173] It is not clear how Foulkes withdraw, and this is my assumption, but the reader can choose an alternative. However, as Foulkes withdrew other more tempting targets became available to the Government horse.

Feversham was watching the enemy line for any sign of weakness. At first he saw the enemy battalion closest to him, withdraw the musket wings by divisions, and then pull the pike block back. As the sun came up, he saw that the enemy pike block on the far left of the Whig line trembled. The men had green colours and it was clear they were ready to break;[174] it was time to strike, as the dawn haze was turning into sunlight. Churchill's men were still forming on the far left of his front,[175] but Feversham ordered the grenadiers, Douglas, and Churchill to march across the Bussex.

While the militia horse joined in the chase to Langmoor, Captain Littleton with his troop of Oxford Blues took advantage of the space now created by the flight of the Green Regiment. The Captain could see the Whig artillerymen desperately trying to pull their cannon off the field. It was too late, Littleton's troopers closed in for the kill, cutting down the Dutch and German crews as they fled. Captain Hackett's company of Royal Scots had just crossed the Bussex,[176] and they quickly took over the seized guns from Littleton. The troop of horse then took the opportunity to canter off in search of more Whigs to slaughter. Nearby, Hackett's men found a green standard with the words 'Fear Nothing but God' emblazoned across it, the one carried ashore by Monmouth on 11 June.

As Lord Churchill advanced across the Bussex with Kirke's and Trelawny's regiments they came across a rebel officer pulling himself out from the ditch. The wounded and dazed Colonel Holmes was seized and marched back to camp. Churchill's column of soldiers marched through the detritus of battle, recovering discarded Whig colours, whilst all around them the newly arrived militia horse were cutting down fugitives, and the militia foot mercilessly killed the wounded. In the distance, there was still some firing and Churchill headed towards the sound of the ongoing battle. On the way, he was joined by Lord Cornbury and the two troops of dragoons. As he got closer, it was clear that the two Whig foot regiments that had stood for nearly an hour in the centre of the field were fighting for survival, and trying to reach the cornfields that surrounded Chedzoy.[177]

Wade's Regiment had started to become disordered as it marched away from the enemy. The men were still 30 paces from the Langmoor Rhyne, when the enemy horse closed. Wade yelled out 'Halt! To your right hand about face, march! Charge your pikes, front rank present your muskets.' With this sign of aggression, the horse turned away. This pause gave Slape's company the opportunity to run to the cover of the pikes. The scythe company had

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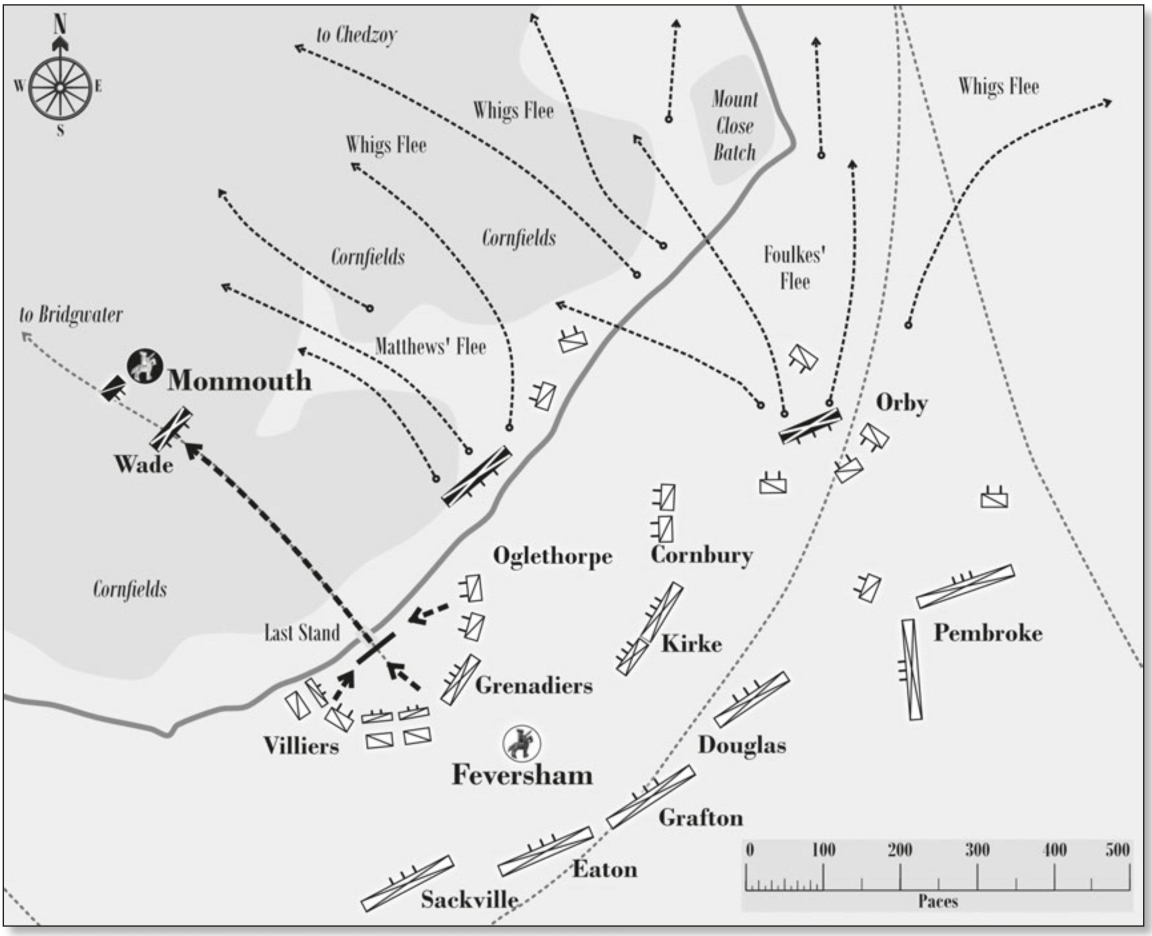
[174] BL, Harley 6845, f.294r, 'Seeing no appearance of any more of the reb: horse, and then the pikes of one of their Batt: begin to shak and at last open, ordered the foot to passe over the Ditch, to charge them'.

[175] BL, Harl 6845, f294r, ' just as they got thither, the day beginning to break, Ld Fever: who was with the horse on the rig seeing no apearence of any more of the Reb: horse, and then the pikes of one of their Batt: begin to shak and at last open, ordered the foot to passe over the Ditch, to charge them'.

[176] Tincey, *Sedgemoor 1685*, pp.164–164.

[177] Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.18.

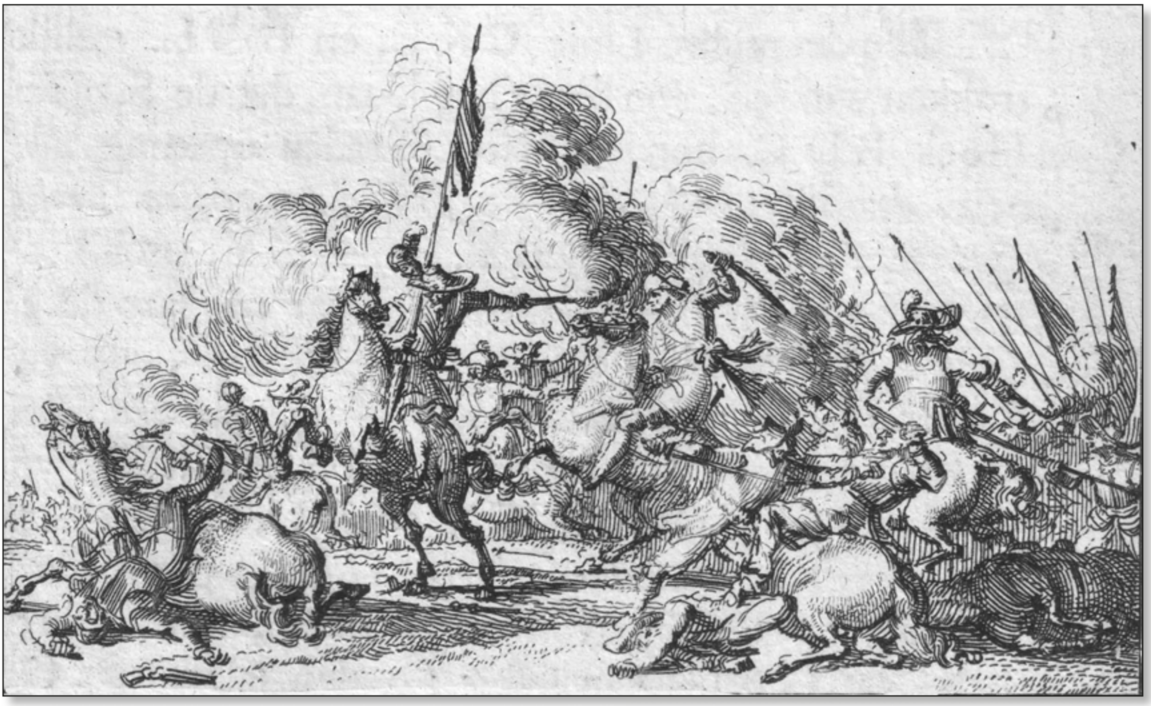

N
W
E
S
to Chedzoy
Whigs Flee
Whigs Flee
Mount Close Batch
Whigs Flee
Cornfields
Cornfields
Foulkes' Flee
to Bridgwater
Matthews' Flee
Monmouth
Orby
Wade
Oglethorpe
Cornbury
Cornfields
Kirke
Pembroke
Last Stand
Grenadiers
Villiers
Feversham
Douglas
Grafton
Eaton
Sackville
0
100
200
300
400
500
Paces

The Red Regiment holds back the Government army at the Langmoor Rhyne – about 04:00 on 6 July 1685. (Author's artwork)

been hard pressed, but the close order mass had held together for survival, supported by Monmouth's Lifeguard. These men, armed with their quad-barrelled pistols and double-barrelled carbines, had covered the withdrawal very effectively, and now crossed the muddy rhyne to reach Monmouth, Grey, and Brandt who were on a small mound behind the ford. At the Duke's back was the track to Bridgwater.

Chedzoy Cornfields – 4:00 a.m., 6 July 1685

In the early morning light Wade's Red Regiment faced the enemy once more and stood at the ford over the Langmoor Rhyne. There were two other Whig regiments that had made it this far. The Yellow Regiment had crossed the rhyne in disorder about 300 paces away and raced into the cornfields. The White Regiment had broken close enough to Mount Batch Close and the boggy ground around the rhyne to escape most of their pursuers. However, Wade was looking at a troop of horse, one of dragoons and two horse grenadier troops. The enemy horse grenadiers had dismounted to be



Close-quarters fighting *c*.1685. (Author's collection)

joined by the five companies of grenadiers.[178] In the distance Wade could see another column of men heading his way. All his men could do was close tight and step backwards. Some of his musketeers had crossed the rhyne, and with the help of Lieutenant Hewling and Captain Goodenough[179] were formed up on either wing of the ford, but most fled into the corn as soon as they crossed. Slowly his regiment was extracting itself, and Wade's plan was to make a fighting retreat up the lane,[180] but with half his regiment still on the battlefield his men needed to hold their nerve.

The grenadier companies came on, and fired volley after volley into the stand of pikes. The Red Regiment musketeers fired back from the rise over the rhyne, but the horse and dragoons started firing pistols into the mass of men, funnelling them back towards a lane on the other side of the ditch. As the Whigs stepped back, they reached the swampy ground around the ford, the rearward march stopped, and the regiment crumbled into disorder. The press at the rhyne checked the Government horse and dragoons: they were unwilling and unable to break into the mass of pikes, scythes, and musket butts, and pulled back and continued firing mercilessly into the tightly packed Whig foot. Each bullet made its bloody mark on the desperate Whigs, who were slowly escaping. Watching the press, Wade frantically tried to reform groups of musket and pike, but after splashing back towards Bridgwater too many cast off their collars of flasks or threw away their pikes, and fled. Some of the Lifeguard fired at the enemy horse from the high ground around the Duke. Then the first grenades exploded in the mud, ripping men apart, and shattering bones. The desperate soldiers of Monmouth's Regiment of Foot ran for their lives, and many did not make it.

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[178] Possibly Captain Booth's, and Captain Hawley's of the 1st Foot Guards, Captain Bridgeman's of the Coldstream Guards, Captain Matthews' from Kirke's Regiment, and Captain Johnson's from Trelawny's Regiment.

[179] They both returned to Bridgwater with Wade.

[180] Morrice, *Entring*, Vol. 3, p.28.

Wade and Monmouth had managed to rally about 250 men, and these formed a rough block of muskets, pike, and scythes. They now retreated up the lane towards Bridgwater.[181] About 200 paces from the ford, there was a low ridgeline with thick cornfields on both sides. Wade ordered his men to stand in this strong location, just out of musket range. With the campaign all but over, it was only now that the Duke was persuaded to leave the army. With him were Lord Grey, Colonel Brandt, his servant Williams and a small body of his Lifeguards. Discarding his royal regalia, Monmouth left the army whilst Wade and the rearguard held the lane.[182] Monmouth set off north to the Polden Hills with his Lifeguards, Grey, Brandt, and other officers.

With the enemy running away through the cornfields, Feversham ordered the Guards and the Royal Scots reform and return to the camp. As they marched over the battlefield, they picked up the trampled colours, and gathered up prisoners. Feversham had not followed the Guards, and now spurred forwards towards the grenadiers and the sound of firing. When he arrived, a group of Whig foot could be seen several hundred paces away blocking the lane to Bridgwater. Feversham ordered the grenadiers to march across the Langmoor Rhyne and watch the enemy. However, as the enemy retired, the General took Lord Churchill with Kirke's, Trelawny's, the dragoons, and Adderley's Troop of Horse to Bridgwater.[183] They were to follow up behind the Whigs, but not to press them to avoid an ambush, leaving the Whigs to withdraw unhindered.[184]

Since four o'clock[185] broken and wounded Whigs had been stumbling into Bridgwater. Here many gathered baggage and fled, others died of their wounds. As Wade and his rag-bag company of Whig soldiers slowly withdrew up the lane towards Bridgwater, all around them small groups of Government horse chased fleeing men through the cornfields. Fugitives hid in the ditches, looked desperately for shelter, or lay dead in the corn. Chedzoy was full of escapees banging on doors and begging for mercy. More tried to hide in the graveyard or within the gardens, but most of the wise villagers kept their doors firmly bolted. Then the butchery started as the militia horse and Oxford Blues cut and sliced through the street. In the lane, Wade regularly stopped and turned to face off any Government horse that came too close. The obvious threat of death encouraged the enemy troopers to find easier game. Monmouth paused at Knowle Hill and looked back towards the battlefield. Although the sun was now rising in the east, the Duke could still hear the odd volley, or the occasional pistol shot. The Duke and his party turned north; he was heading to Poole.[186]

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[181] Morrice, *Entring*, Vol. 3, p.28, 'then the foot marched away in such good order as the lane would admit'.

[182] The traditional view portrayed by the supporters of King James II, and most modern historians, is that Monmouth deserted the army before it had broken. However, in his own account, never referenced before (see Morrice, *Entring*, Vol. 3, p.28), the Duke states 'the two armies fought a long lane went towards Bridgwater'. This is reflected in Wade's account of his men marching back into Bridgwater. As this lane is the Chedzoy side of the moor, Monmouth's departure was only after the crossing of the Langmoor at the very end of the battle, it is likely that he stayed until the bitter end before heading away.

[183] Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, pp.18–19, 'my Lord Feversham and my Lord Churchill marcht into Bridgwater, with some horse and dragoons and 500 foot'.

[184] Morrice, *Entring*, Vol. 3, p.28.

[185] Oldmixon, *History of England*, p.704, 'About 4 a-clock Monday morning the run-aways began to come into Bridgwater and I saw many of them so wounded, that I wonder'd how they could reach so far; one Fellow, particularly, had scearce lain himself down on a Bulk, when he dy'd away of his wounds'.

Bridgwater – 5:00 a.m., 6 July 1685

It was just after five o'clock in the morning when Wade crossed the bridge over the River Parrett. With him there were only 150 men left from the 800 that marched out from the town six hours earlier. However, the streets of Bridgwater were filled with Whig horsemen,[187] mixed with broken soldiers, and weeping women. Wade quickly found a horse, gathered a small group of 20 officers, and left the town. With him on the road were Ferguson, Lieutenant William Hewling, Captain Thompson, and Captain Richard Goodenough. They headed west towards Minehead. An hour or so later, they ran into the two troops of horse sent by Monmouth to seize the guns at Dunster. It was here that the two Hewling brothers met and spent a few hours together before going their separate ways. The great escape had started.

With the battle all but won, Feversham dispatched Major Oglethorpe to Whitehall with the joyous news. However, fearing that the Whigs had rallied in Bridgwater, Feversham sent a trumpeter into the town,[188] but the horseman found no one willing to treat with him. Even the magistrates had gone into hiding, dreading a massacre. Feversham ordered Churchill to march into the near empty streets. Initially, all he found were badly wounded men who were unable to run, and Kirke's soldiers quickly strung these up in the streets. With these men still kicking on the ends of ropes, Kirke's men started searching the houses, inns and churches. They dragged out any man who looked like a 'rebel' or could not prove they lived in the town. Those who resisted received the same rough justice, they were hanged in the streets. Churchill dispatched his horse and dragoons to track down the broken enemy; later that morning the Whig baggage and even Monmouth's carriage was seized on the road to Axbridge.

When Feversham arrived back on the battlefield the murder had stopped, and prisoners were now being rounded up, or sat in shattered and dazed

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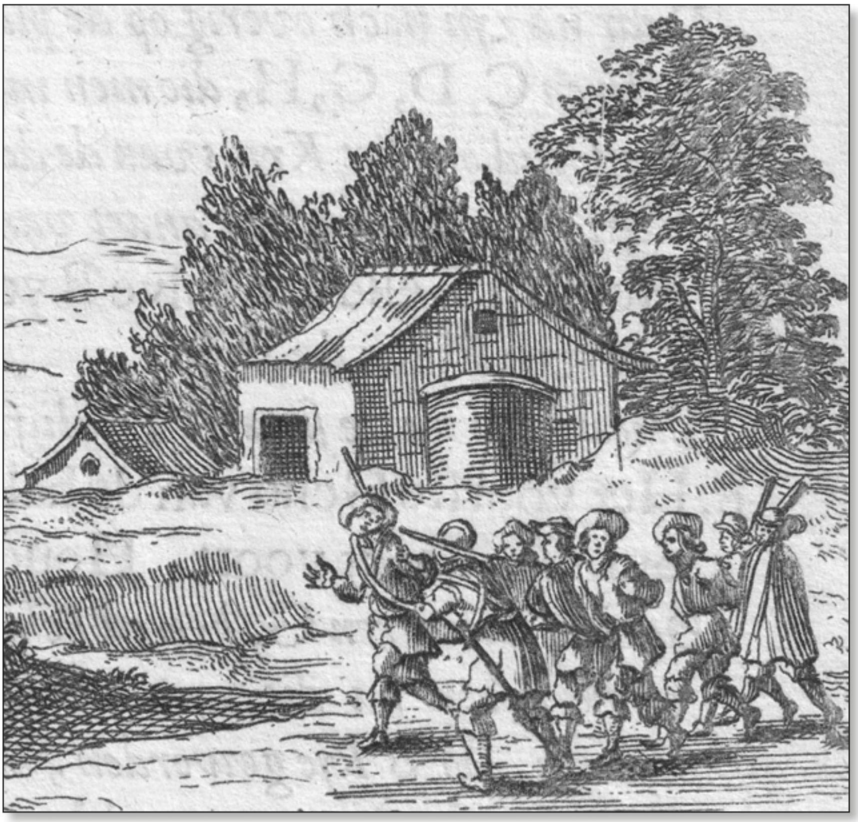
[186] Too many historians have declared that the noble thing would have been for Monmouth to die on the battlefield. It is not clear how he should have achieved this, especially once his army was across the Langmoor Rhyne. To do this he would have charged through Wade's rank, ride down the lane and into the enemy ranks – sword and pistol in hand. However, only by Monmouth's survival could the Whig cause rally and rise again in the future.

[187] The troops of Captain Alexander, Captain Hucker and Captain Tucker. See BL, Harley 6845, f.295.

[188] BL, Harley 6845, f.295r.



Rounding up prisoners *c*.1685. (Author's collection)

clusters being guarded by parties of militia. Many had been stripped nearly naked. The officers had been beaten and tied together. As the sun came up over the bloodstained battlefield, Feversham dispatched his trusty Major Oglethorpe to London, with news of the victory. In this first dispatch, he cited the capture of 22 colours and three guns; the slaughter of over 400 rebels on the field, including Ferguson,[189] and 2,000 more in the rout; the capture of 150 more, including Colonel Holmes, Major Parrot, and diverse others; for the loss of 2–300 killed and as many wounded.[190] During the hot summer day that followed, 239 battered and wounded prisoners were shepherded into the church at Westonzoyland.[191] Outside, two men were hanged on a tree, one was a Dutch gunner and the other a yellow-coated[192] Whig accused of deserting from the Government army. That night three prisoners died in the church, and Feversham ordered the mortally wounded Captain Adlam to be hung in chains on the moor between Westonzoyland and Bridgwater.[193] Over the next few days 1,558 dead Whig soldiers were gathered up and thrown into two pits on the battlefield.[194] Of the Whigs, Holmes' and Bovett's suffered the most casualties having the furthest to run,[195] next came Foulkes' Battalion.[196]

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[189] Anon., *The Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Portland* (London: Historic Manuscripts Commission, 1893), p.157, 'About 400 of the rebels were killed upon the place, the rest being pursued into ditches and enclosures a great slaughter was made of them in all about 2000. It is said Ferguson is amoung the slain. One Humes, an officer of best repute among them, and one Williams, one of the late Duke of Monmouth's servants, are taken with 200 guineas, all the money he had left; the coat which he usually wore is likewise taken and about a hundred and fifty prisoners.'

[190] BL, Add MS 38012, f.31r, 'on our side is said to be lost 2 or 300 without an officer'.

[191] Wheeler, *Iter bellicosum*, p.163, 'Fifty-five, most of them tied together; thirty-two tied in a like manner; two wounded in their legs, crawling upon the hands and knees; thirty-seven, many of them tied and manacled together; one alone being naked, only his drawers on; one single and one more; one more running, being forced along by two Horsemen with blows, and riding close after him; fourteen most of them tied together; forty-seven most of them being tied together as the former, such of them as had a good coat or anything worth the pilling, were fairly striped of it; eight tied together arm to

On the night of the battle, as the Government army collected weapons and the militia guarded the rebels, the wounded Lord Dunblane wrote to his Lady from the Duke of Grafton's tent. The initial report of casualties from the camp was 300[197] and this figure was published in the *London Gazette*. However, after leaving Colonel Kirke in Bridgwater with his own and Trelawny's regiments and two troops of dragoons, Feversham and the Guards marched to Wells and on to Warminster. From here Feversham detailed the casualties as being around 50 soldiers killed on the field and 30 more fatalities from the Royal Scots, including officers. As to wounded, he lists the total as 291 including two captains, six lieutenants and six ensigns.[198] Over the coming days a good number of these died of their wounds, and after the battle Captain Hackett wrote that nine officers of the Royal Scots were wounded, with three of these being mortal, and one ensign had been killed. Twenty-nine soldiers had been killed and 67 were wounded, many mortally.[199]

From Whitehall, on 7 July, 1685 James wrote the following letter to his son-in-law William, Prince of Orange.

> I am sure it will please you very well to hear that it has pleased God, to give my troops good success against the rebels here in England, as well as in Scotland. The Duke of Monmouth was got with all his troops to Bridgwater, and had summoned all the country to come in to him to fortify it; upon which Lord Feversham

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arm; twelve tied and manacled; seventeen tied and manacled as the former; one more; seven more; one more; one more; one more, he was very remarkable and to be admired, for being shot throw the shoulder and wounded in the belly, he lay on his back in the sun stripped naked.'

[192] *Harleian Miscellany*, Vol. 6, p.295, possibly from Portman's Dorset militia regiment.

[193] Oldmixon, *History of England*, p.704, 'Captain Adlam … so mortally wounded, that he could not have survived it, but Feversham would not trust that, so he ordered him to be hang'd up in chains on the moor between Weston and Bridgwater'.

[194] Wheeler, *Iter bellicosum*, p.164, 'The country men that gathered up the Dead slayne in this Battel gave an Account of the Minister and Church Wardens of Weston of the Number of One Thousand Three hundred Eighty and Fower; Besides many more they did beleeve lay dead unfound in the Corne. Where Adam Wheeler saw of dead Men lying in One Heape One Hundred Seventy and Fower; which those that were diging a Pit to lay them in gave the Number of.'

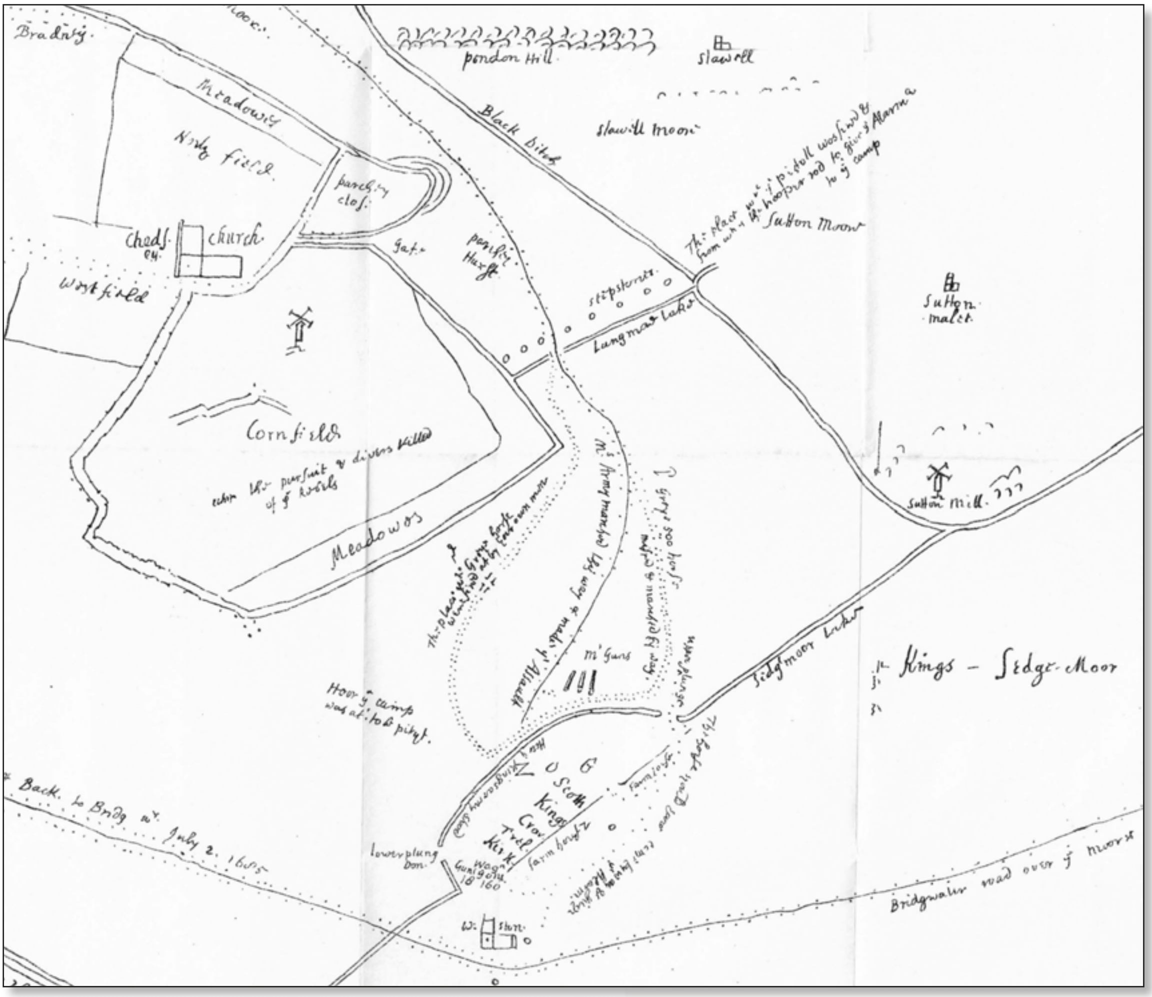
[195] BL, Harley 6845, f.295r, 'Buffetts Batt: suffered the most'.

[196] Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.19 'the two battalions commanded by CollonellFookes and Collonell Holmes to be cut in peeces'.

[197] BL, Add MS 38012, f.31r, 'on our side is said to be lost 2 or 300 without an officer'.

[198] Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.21, ' I think that we only lost about 50 men who died on place, and around 200 wounded, there was only one ensign killed, 2 captains, 6 lieutenants and 6 ensigns wounded, and some volunteers such as my lord Dunblane was one, but only slightly enough that he can still ride … Dumbarton Battalion lost more than the rest, having 30 dead and 77 wounded, as much officers as soldiers.' Translated from French.

[199] Tincey, *Sedgemoor 1685*, pp.164–164.


Bradney
Moor
Meadows
North field
parsonage clos.
Chedsey church
West field
Gate
pendon Hill
Slawell
Black Ditch
Slawill moor
This place where ye pistoll was fired & from whence the trooper rod to give ye Alarm to ye camp
Sutton Moor
stepstones
Langmoor Lake
Sutton malet
Sutton mill
Cornfields
where the pursuit & divers killed of ye Rebels
Meadows
This place where Greys horse
Mr Army marched up this way & made ye Attack
Greys 900 horse
Mr Guns
How ye camp was at to be pitched
Sedgmoor Lake
Kings – Sedge-Moor
Scotts
Kings
Crav
Treb
Kirk
farm house
Farm house
lower plung Dom.
Wagons
Gun 18
160
Weston
Back to Bridg water July 2. 1685
Bridgwater road over ye moore

One of the Reverend Paschall's maps showing the battlefield *c*.1686. (Author's collection)

marched on Sunday last from Somerton to a village called Weston, which is within some two or three miles of Bridgwater, near which he camped, with what he had of my old troops, which consisted of about two thousand foot, in six battalions, and some seven hundred horse and dragoons, and eighteen small field pieces: the Earl of Pembroke with some horse and foot, of the militia, were quartered in a village behind him, having not tents, to camp with. On Sunday night the Duke of Monmouth came out of Bridgwater over the bridge, with all his troops, himself at the head of the foot, and Lord Grey commanded his horse, and came on with that great order and silence, that our parties which were out to see if he marched, did not hear them, and drew in battle upon the plain, and advanced straight on to our camp, hoping to surprise them, and about two in the morning engaged our foot with great vigour, and were as well received; they had but three pieces of cannon with them, which they brought up, within pistol shot of our foot.

Our horse in the mean time drew up on the right hand of our foot, the left being so covered that they could not be taken by the flank, and charged the rebel horse, which consisted of fifteen troops, and beat them, at the first charge, but did not pursue them far, but fell back into the rear of the rebels foot, which made great resistance, but at last were all cut to pieces, their cannon and two and twenty colours taken. How many we slaine of them was not then known, nor how many prisoners; just now I have heard again from Lord Feversham, of last night ten o'clock, in which he gives me an account that he was master of Bridgwater, that what horse of the rebels which escaped, had taken their way towards Bristol, that he had sent two parties of horse one to Keynsham and the other to Bradford, to see to intercept them; that as to the Duke of Monmouth, he believed he got off only with forty horse.

I have reason to believe now that the countries will rise upon them, so that he will have difficulty enough to get away. Lord Feversham has some men in Bridgwater, and is marched to Wells, where he is to be this night: 'tis so late that I can say no more, but to assure you shall always find as kind to you as you can desire.

5

King’s Revenge, July–December 1685

> ‘As a true Englishman, thought it my Duty to venture my Life in Defence of the Protestant Religion against Popery and Arbitrary Power: For this same purpose I came from my house to the Duke of Monmouth’s Army, and I was in all the action the foot was engaged in, which I do not repent: For had I a thousand lives, they should all have been engaged in the same cause.’
>
> From the last words of Captain Ansley, Taunton, 21 September 1685[1]

London – July and August 1685

The following morning, 7 July, Oglethorpe arrived in London with a full report of the battle and was duly knighted by King James II. With the campaign over, both Feversham and Lord Churchill rushed to London. Behind them the Foot Guards, Royal Scots and artillery started their long march back from Warminster via Amesbury and Basingstoke. Closer to London, General Mackay and the three Scots battalions reached Bagshot on 7 July, only to be ordered to halt, and then on 10 July they headed back to Hounslow Heath.[2] The three English battalions disembarked from Holland at Gravesend on 7 July, only to find the campaign was over. The companies from Kirke’s and Trelawny’s Regiments remained in the West, under the military governorship of Colonel Percy Kirke.

On 7 July Whitehall issued orders to Mackay and other military units to stop and arrest all travellers.[3] Bristol and London quickly became the escape route for a great many of the Whig fugitives. In these cities they found sympathisers,

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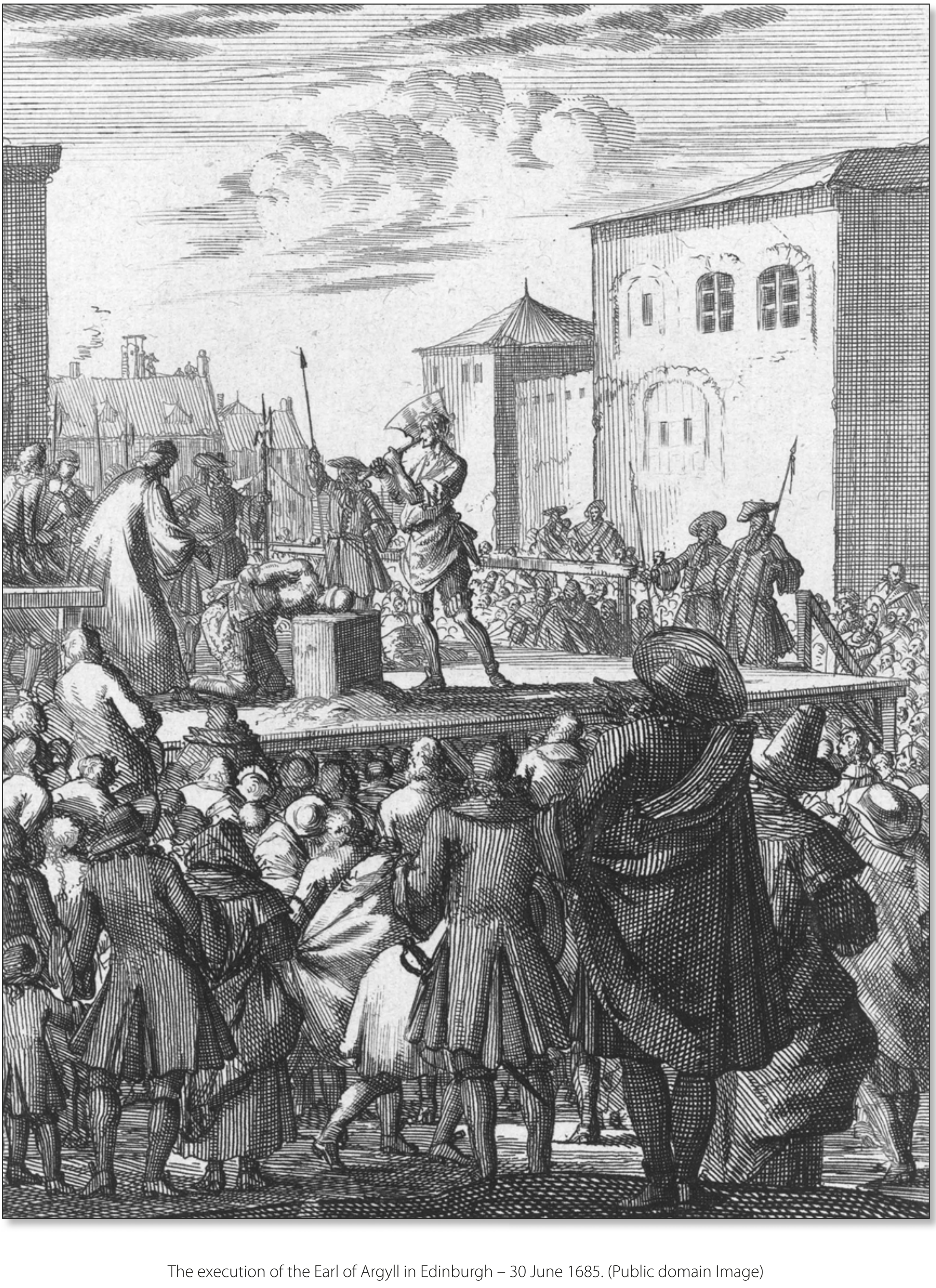
[1] John Tutchin, *The Western Martyrology; or, Bloody Assizes* (London: James Blackwood, 1873), p.247.

[2] NA, WO 5/1, f.142.

[3] BL, Add MS 38012, f.298.



The execution of the Earl of Argyll in Edinburgh – 30 June 1685. (Public domain Image) like Mrs Gaunt,[4] who hid them and then found them passage on merchant ships sailing to Holland. One of the first to reach the Hague was Colonel Foulkes on 19 July, and his appearance was noted by the French agents.[5] Over the next few months, Foulkes was joined by a large number of Whigs including Colonel Matthews, Dr Ferguson, and Polwarth from Scotland. Other Whigs travelled north, or made their way into Wales or Devon.

In Hampshire, Lord Lumley was near Ringwood with soldiers from the Sussex Militia. Lumley commanded three troops of horse from Colonel Stapley's Regiment,[6] these were Major Bridger's, Captain Monk's, and Captain Peckham's. Alongside these troopers were four companies of foot from Colonel Alford's Regiment under Lieutenant Colonel Cooper, Captain Bickley, Captain Best and Captain Carre. The Sussex Militia had patrols out stopping all travellers, and at about five o'clock on 7 July, two troopers were riding near Holt-Lodge in Dorset when they surprised two suspicious persons on foot. When Lord Lumley arrived, he recognised Lord Grey as one of them. The other was a guide who was taking him to Poole. Lord Lumley now sent word to Sir William Portman, whose yellow-coated militia were watching the roads to the south.

Lumley's men started enquiring at each house and cottage in the neighbourhood, and a poor woman by the name of Amy Farrent told the troopers that she had seen two men go into a nearby overgrown field of rye, peas and oats. The area was now strictly guarded, and foot soldiers sent in to beat the ground. As they closed the search area, two men ran from the cover and the guards opened fire, forcing the fugitives to go to ground. The following morning the hunt resumed, and at five o'clock one of the men was captured and confessed,[7] in a strong Dutch accent, to have been with Monmouth. Encouraged by the £5,000 on the Duke's head, that they agreed to share, the militia started a close examination of the bushes and ditches. At about seven o'clock Henry Parkin discovered the Duke hiding under fern and bracken. Parkin called over two troopers from the Sussex Militia and they seized Monmouth and dragged him onto the road, where others started shouting 'Shoot him! Shoot him!' Then Sir William Portman, who was nearby, came up and took the prisoner.

On 9 July the captured officers were searched and Monmouth was found to have his George, 40 gold guineas and four books: the Duke's notebook,[8] a list of the Government's land and sea forces, a manuscript on fortifications, and a book on the military art. The Duke was held for two days at Ringwood and was then moved to the Whitehall via Winchester, Farnham, Guildford, and Vauxhall. It was on this journey that Monmouth gave his account of the battle.[9] On 14 July he had an interview with his uncle before being sent to the Tower of London.

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[4] During the 1650s Mrs Gaunt and her husband may have been agents who helped Royalists escape from the Commonwealth, and may well have assisted Lucy Walter when she was in London in 1656.

[5] D'Avaux, *Négociations*, Volume 5, p.91.

[6] *Harleian Miscellany*, Vol. 6, p.295.

[7] NL Koninklijke Bibliotheek KW Pflt 12343. This man is often described as being a 'Brandenburgh'. As a result, many historians have assumed that this was Captain Buyse. However, a Dutch newspaper published a few days later named this individual as Colonel Brandt, Count of Horne.

[8] BL, Egerton MS 1527, 'Monmouth's Pocket Book'.

As for the other fugitives, Sir John Kidd[10] was taken near his old home at Longleat on 8 July and sent to London. Over the coming weeks he was joined by a good number of other Whig officers, including Richard Goodenough, Christopher Battiscombe, Richard Nelthorpe, Robert Parrot, Samson Lark, Robert Bruce, Anton Buyse, John Madder, John Jones, Joshua Askew, the Hewling brothers, Richard Holmes, and James Burton. Over the coming weeks all these men were interrogated, and their accounts written down to be used as evidence.[11] Some men went on to save their lives by becoming King's witness against other Whigs. However, the majority found themselves back in Taunton Castle awaiting the Assize courts.

Many of the Whigs reached safehouses, but with a price on their heads noone could be trusted. Near Winchester, the elderly widow Alicia Lisle took in the dissenting preacher Dr Hicks and his friend. Dr Hicks had a license by King Charles II to perform these services, and Alicia had offered him shelter in the past and did so again in July 1685. However, the old lady became suspicious of Hicks' companion and sent word to Captain Penruddock the local magistrate, who happened to be on the road to her house after a tip-off. Captain Penruddock had sensed an opportunity to take revenge on Lady Lisle, as her husband had presided over the death of his father in 1655. After raiding Alicia's house, Dr Hicks, Captain Nelthorpe, and Lady Lisle were put in Salisbury jail.

In west Somerset Nathaniel Wade and his band of 20 fugitives had managed to put to sea in a fishing vessel from Ilfracombe harbour. Unfortunately they were chased ashore by a Royal Navy frigate that was cruising along the coast, and the band now elected to break apart to give themselves the best chance of escape. Wade and two other fugitives slept rough on the moor. By 26 July, Wade had become ill with fatigue and the cold, and they desperately needed shelter. The group broke into an empty farmhouse, near Brendon on Exmoor.[12]

Unfortunately, some locals had spotted suspicious activity at the property, and by nine o'clock that evening the villagers surrounded the house, pistols in hand. As one of the men went in the front door, Wade ran out the back, but a shot rang out and Wade went down. He had a bullet lodged in his side, two inches from his spine. The following day the surgeon cut out the ball. To do this he had to make an incision six inches deep and an inch wide. After the operation Wade was faint and sick from the pain and loss of blood. Surprisingly, after a few days, the local magistrate deemed Wade well enough to be transported to Barnstaple prison. It was from here that Wade started the dictation of his famous confession and narrative.[13]

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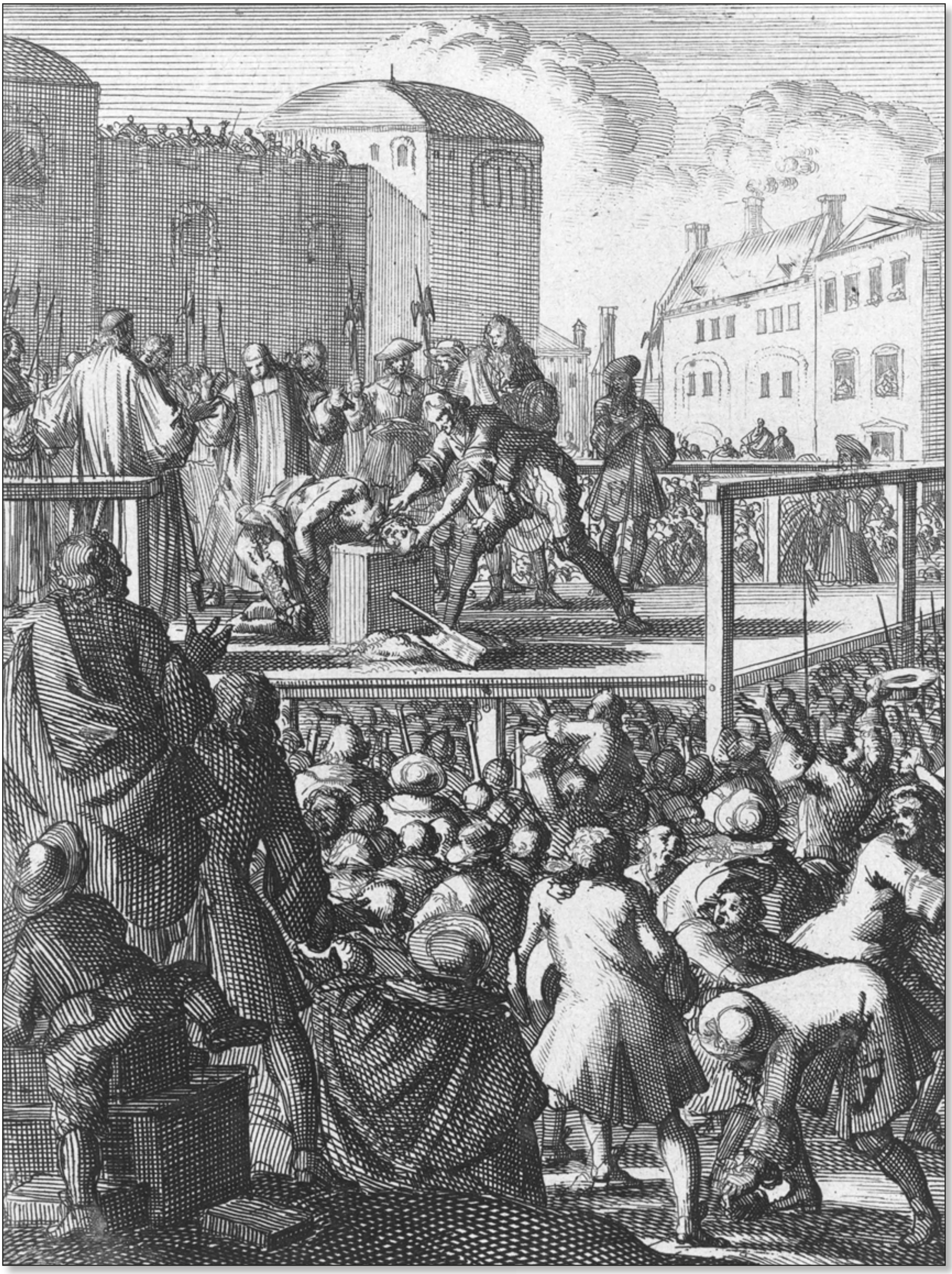
[9] See Morrice, *Entring*, Vol. 3, pp.27–29.

[10] The only man knighted by King Monmouth.

[11] BL, Lansdowne 1152.

[12] BL, Lansdowne 1152, f.233, 'to extract the bullet (having strong convulsions on him) was in distance, between six and seven inches, he was very faint, having lost a great quantity of blood, the orifice was made (the bullet lying needed the cutters) was halfe an inch higher upon the other', 27 July 1685.

[13] BL, Harley 6845, ff.260–282.



The Execution of the Duke of Monmouth, Tower Hill, 15 July 1685. (Public Domain Image)

On 15 July, at around 10 o'clock in the morning, the Duke of Monmouth was taken from the Tower by the Governor in his own coach. They travelled to a scaffold erected especially for his execution. As a show of strength, the route and platform were guarded by thick ranks of redcoats. Just 15 days earlier on 30 June, the Earl of Argyll was beheaded for high treason in Edinburgh, and now the same fate awaited Monmouth. The Duke's supporters turned out en masse. They filled the streets, and anyone who heckled 'King Monmouth' found themselves quickly put down by the mob. Monmouth left the coach with grace and dignity, and as he walked towards the scaffold, he saluted the soldiers with a smile, then mounted the steps with a firm tread. The crowd fell into a sombre stillness and silence, only broken by the noise of weeping. For all his failings Monmouth was still beloved by his people.

Even though the Duke had paid the executioner, the nervous Mr Ketch still bodged his task. After the first strike of the axe, Monmouth arose a little and looked scornfully at Ketch. Then the axe struck three more times, but the Duke's head was still attached to its body. The crowd became angry and started baying for the death of Ketch. The executioner had thrown down the axe, but the people surged forwards, forcing the Guards to close ranks. Out of fear, Ketch picked up the axe once more. While the Duke's blood flowed across the planks, he struck three more times. Still the head of the Protestant cause was attached to its now dead body. Finally, Ketch took up his knife and cut the fibres that remained to remove the head. After neckerchiefs had been dripped in King Monmouth's blood, his body and severed head were laid together in a coffin covered with black velvet. That evening Monmouth was buried under the communion table of St Peter's Chapel in the Tower. For James this was just the start: he still had to have his revenge on the Whigs, the killers of his father. More blood was to follow.

On 16 July, with the campaign over, Whitehall issued orders to the Royal Scots. They were to reduce the strength of each company from 100 to 60 privates. Furthermore, they should discharge all Englishmen recruited since 13 June.[14] A few days later, general orders were issued to all colonels of regiments and captains of independent companies to reduce their establishment strengths. All foot companies were to reduce from 100 to 60 privates, and troops of horse from 60 to 50 troopers. The Guards were to be reduced from 100 to 80 soldiers. At the same time all new foot regiments were to reduce the number of companies to 10.[15]

On 25 July Whitehall issued further orders to reduce the establishment. The Government had decided to make further reductions but keep the large number of regiments in place. This possibly indicates that the policy adopted on 13 June had worked. This was to increase the establishment strength of each company in times of war, whilst leaving other companies in garrison to recruit. The Oxford Blues were reduced to 50 privates, while all other troops of horse went down to 40 troopers, besides officers. The two regiments of Foot Guards went down to 60 private soldiers, two sergeants, three corporals, and two drummers. The Royal Scots were reduced to 50 privates, three sergeants, three corporals and two drummers. All other foot companies of foot went down to 50 privates, two sergeants, three corporals and two drummers, besides commissioned officers. However, the grenadier companies and the King's company of the Foot Guards were to keep three sergeants.[16]

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[14] NA, WO 5/1, f.167.

[15] NA, WO 5/1, f.172.

The three English regiments from Holland returned on 24 July,[17] but Mackay's Scots Brigade was still encamped on Hounslow Heath. Deserting Scotsmen became such an issue that on 25 July orders were issued to stop their re-enlistment in other regiments, and if captured the deserters would be hanged.[18] On 27 July, Mackay finally received orders to embark at Gravesend.[19] James and the French ambassador now started to explore the possibility of moving these troops from Dutch to French service. This was something that Orange and the States General resisted until 1688.

As early as 8 July, the judges were selected for the Western Assize. This was nothing new, as the Assize courts travelled the country regularly on circuits. However, this autumn's tour of the west had political motivation. From Whitehall, James had made it clear he wanted revenge served on the Whig rebels and dissenters. Therefore, Lord Chief Justice Lord Jeffreys was to be the leading judge alongside Sir William Montague, Sir Cresswell Levinz, Sir Francis Withens, and Sir Robert Wright. Jeffreys was a well-known hater of Whigs, dissenters, and nonconformists. This was not a good sign for justice, especially as there was a very large number of prisoners to be tried. Jeffreys was more a prosecutor than an impartial judge: in 1683 he had quickly found the Whig leader, Lord Russell, guilty of high treason based on the hearsay evidence of one paid witness.

On 27 August, the first trials took place in Salisbury. The last issue tested that day, was of the 70-year-old Lady Alicia Lisle. The case against the deaf grandmother was simple, she had harboured Dr Hicks, who was allegedly a rebel. Although Hicks had not yet been tried or found guilty of being a rebel, this was not an issue for the court. Jeffreys acting as both judge and prosecutor found her guilty and Alicia was sentenced to be burnt at the stake. Captain Penruddock had his revenge on the old lady. However, after pressure at court, the King changed the sentence to beheading on the grounds she was a Lady. In Winchester on 3 September, an old woman became the first victim of the Assize and the King's revenge had begun.

On 5 September the Assize court moved to Dorchester. Here it found 335 men and two women awaiting justice in the jail. This was to be the first test for Judge Jeffreys, he needed to deal with so many cases, in just three days. The first one to face the bench was William Bragg. He pleaded 'not guilty' as he had not been in the late Rebellion, and his only crime was to have his horses taken by the late Duke's men. In sentencing him to death, Jeffreys simply said, 'he is a lawyer, hang him.' It became clear that by pleading 'not guilty', the verdict was a speedy painful death, while a 'guilty' plea was to fall on the mercy of James. In so doing the prisoner became the property of the

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[16] NA, WO 5/1, ff.184–185.

[17] NA, WO 5/1, f.176.

[18] NA, WO 5/1, f.185.

[19] NA, WO 5/1, f.188.

Crown, to be sold into service on the sugar plantations or, if your name was wrong, to be hanged, drawn and quartered.

In his zeal Lord Jeffreys found 29 guilty, and sentenced these to die the following morning. However, there was a small reprieve for some. Jack Ketch and his assistant, Pascha Rose, complained that they could only do 13 full executions in a day. For each there was considerable effort and time involved. If it was just hanging, they could do all 29 men, but to draw and quarter them, there just was not enough time. Ketch needed to hang them to within an inch of death, then bring them down, gut them whilst keeping them alive, behead the body, and cut the trunk into four quarters, then boil and tar each portion. The executioners needed over two hours per body. To get over this problem, the Lord Chief Justice ordered the executions to take place across the towns of Dorset. They were to be dispatched by the dozen and gallows were ordered for Lyme, Bridport, Melcombe, Weymouth, Sherborne, Poole, and Wareham. Over the next three days the Judge sentenced 361 people. Thirteen were hanged, drawn, and quartered in Dorchester on 7 September; 12 were executed in Lyme on 12 September; nine were executed in Bridport on 12 September; 12 were executed in Sherborne 11 were executed in Poole on 21 September; and five were executed in Wareham on 22 September.

After this 94 were sold to Sir William Booth for transportation to Barbados; 60 were sold to Jerome Nipho for transportation by the Queen of England; 46 were sold to Sir Christopher Musgrave for transportation to Jamaica; one was be whipped through the streets of Dorchester; one was to be whipped in every market town of Dorset; one was to be imprisoned for seven years and whipped every year through all the market towns of Dorset; 27 were discharged on production of the General Pardon and 28 were offered up for the King's pardon; 14 were discharged and 15 were left in custody awaiting further evidence.

From Dorchester the Assize moved to Exeter. Here they expected to find 500, but most had been moved to other towns, and the Lord Chief Justice only found 39 in the jail. Only 28 stood accused of waging war on the King. Of these three pleaded 'not guilty' and were sentenced to die on the same day. One other, Robert Drower, was returned to jail for want of evidence. After this all men pleaded 'guilty' to waging war. The following sentences were issued: one was executed in Exeter on 14 September; four were executed in Honiton on 7 October; two were executed in Ottery St Mary on 14 October; three were executed in Colyton, one on 14 September, and two on 6 October; two were executed in Axminster, one on 14 September, and the other on 14 October; seven to be transported by the Mr Nipho for the Queen; two men were to be whipped and fined; six were to be offered up for the King's mercy.

From Exeter, Jeffreys and his prosecution team moved to Taunton to find over 500 men in the prison. With each man being transported worth between £10 to £15, James interceded and ordered the guilty lists be sent to Whitehall. He would personally select those who lived or died. On 18 September, the first cases to be heard were four men who pleaded 'not guilty'. One of these was Mr Hamlyn, who was defended by the Mayor of Taunton as an innocent man. To this the Judge responded that the Mayor therefore had this man's blood on his hands. Hamlyn was sentenced to hang on the following Monday with the other timewasters, Abraham Annesley, William Cooper, and William Gatchill. After this rough justice, the rest of those brought to the bar pleaded guilty, but no more sentences were issued. Jeffreys issued the following verdicts at Taunton: four were executed in Taunton on 21 September; awaiting sentencing by James were 430; the General Pardon was produced by 20, who were freed; another 24 awaited the King's Pardon; and 45 were not tried, but moved to Wells.

Wells was the final venue for the Assize court, and they arrived there on 22 September, without Jeffreys, who had travelled to Bristol to see a friend. The Assize court found 543 awaiting sentencing, of these only one man, William Mangell, pleaded not guilty and he was sent off to be hanged. Another 514 were found guilty for waging war on the King and their names sent to James; nine were found guilty for aiding and assisting the late Duke of Monmouth; six were guilty of speaking seditious words; and 10 called on the King's General Pardon.

In Whitehall James made his selection from the Assize lists: 850 prisoners would be given to his friends, and 310 would be executed. This included those who had already died. On 25 September, the *Happy Return* sailed from Weymouth with 93 prisoners aboard, destined for plantation owners in Barbados. This was under the direction of Sir William Booth. These had been tried at Dorchester, but now there would be a delay while the rest were allocated to James's loyal supporters, and shipping arranged. The next to sail, on 10 October, with 97 men, was the *Indeavour* from Bristol to St Kitts and Nevis for Sir William Stapleton. On 25 October, the *John Friggat* left from Bristol to Barbados for Sir William Booth with 90 in the hold. The next day 172 were transported on the *Port Royal Merchant* from Weymouth to Jamaica for Sir Philip Howard. On 31 October 84 left on the *Constant Richard* to Jamaica for White and Heywood. The *Betty* sailed from Weymouth to Barbados with 80 men for Mr Jerome Nipho, on behalf of the Queen. On 9 December, 83 men were transported on the *Jamaica Merchant* from Weymouth to Barbados, again for the Queen. The final ship to leave was the *Exchange*, with possibly 44 on board.[20] She sailed from Bridgwater for Virginia. In all 856 men were transported to the colonies, worth over £8,500.[21]

On 19 October, the Lord Chief Justice's focus moved to the Old Bailey in London to preside over the cases of Mr Ring, Mr Fernley, Mr Cornish, and Mrs Gaunt. Each case was linked to the other, but tried in front of four different juries, all of whom sat through all four sessions. The defendants all pleaded not guilty. The leading witnesses were two captured Whigs, Captain Richard Goodenough, and Lieutenant Burton.[22] Both had turned King's evidence and been pardoned. On these men's evidence all four were found guilty of helping or harbouring rebels.

The last, Mrs Gaunt was an Anabaptist, who had spent a great part of her life in acts of charity, visiting the jails, and looking after the poor. Mrs Gaunt and her husband were in London in 1655 and may have helped fugitives flee the Protectorate after the failed Penruddock Rising. It is very likely that

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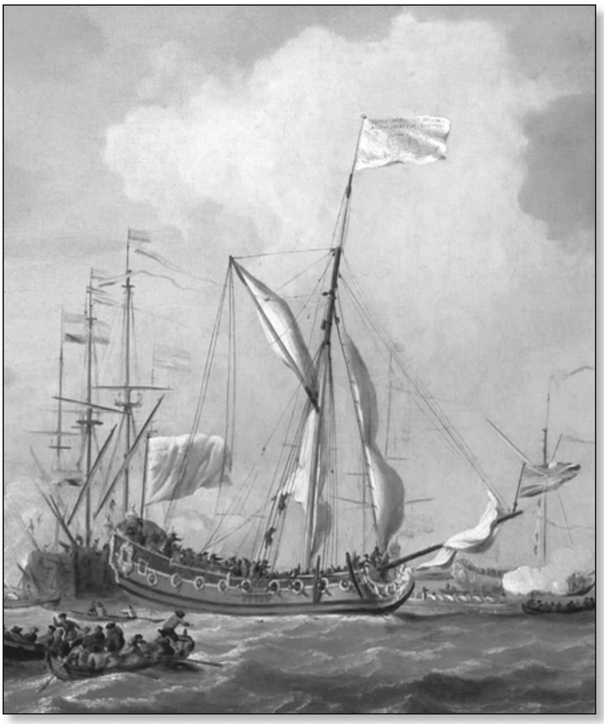
[20] I have found the names of five men who were transported on *Exchange*, but another 39 were also sent to Virginia, possibly on board the same ship.

[21] This is based on my own research, published online at Warwalks.com.

[22] Burton was a lieutenant in Captain Jones's troop.



The yacht ***Mary***, arriving with Princess Mary at Gravesend in a fresh breeze – 12 February 1689. Her motto is 'for the Protestant Religion and the Liberty of England'. (from a public domain image)

Elizabeth Gaunt assisted Lucy Walter when she visited London in 1656.[23] Regardless of her past service to the Crown, Lieutenant Burton stated that Mrs Gaunt had harboured him in her house after the Rye House Plot, and that she had then helped him leave the Kingdom. The only witness to the event was Burton. Mrs Gaunt's maid had only witnessed Burton entering and leaving the house, nothing more. Jeffreys charged the jury to bring her in guilty, even though there was only one witness, and she did not have the opportunity to defend herself or call her own witnesses. Duly Mrs Gaunt was found guilty, and on 23 October she was tied to a stake and burnt alive at Tyburn.[24] Mrs Elizabeth Gaunt joined over 315 men and women who were hanged, drawn, and quartered in over 50 different locations from September to December 1685. Even more were hanged or transported from Scotland.[25]

By October the west of England was described as a shamble, or butcher's yard. The executions had become so normal that by November they no longer made the news. The last took place on 9 December 1685. The following year James visited the battlefield with Nathaniel Wade, and it was after this that he wrote his account of the campaign and battle of Sedgemoor.[26] In April 1686, the Reverend Paschall returned to his parish in Chedzoy after a stint in prison. It was now he started writing his different accounts and letters.[27] Importantly, he drew many maps and over time these became simpler and lost their details. In the same year, Edmund Dummer drew up his detailed maps of the battle and journal for Samuel Pepys.[28]

On 25 October 1685, 25 men escaped as they were being marched to Sherborne prison. They went into hiding and joined over 3,000 Whigs, including Captain Slape and many others who had evaded James's revenge. Colonel Foulkes and Colonel Matthews returned to England under a flag with the motto 'For the Protestant Religion and the Liberty of England.' They landed at Torbay with the Prince of Orange in November 1688. Both commanded battalions full of Monmouth's men who had returned to overthrow the tyrant King James II. Both men led their soldiers against James's Anglo-French in Ireland and found themselves in the brigade of General Percy Kirke. Finally, the Whigs had their revenge as they helped William III defeat James II. The *Fight for Liberty* was over.

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[23] This is based on my research to be published in a future work.

[24] *Gazette* #2080.

[25] See the excellent work done by Mr Jardine on his website.

[26] BL, Harley 6845, ff.289–296.

[27] BL, Add MS 30277; BL, Add MS 4162; and Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, pp.27–29.

[28] BL, Add MS 31956, and PL 2490.

6

The Nature of War in 1685

> 'Though there can be no certain rules given for any order of battle, which depend chiefly upon the circumstances of the place, and other accidents that may happen; yet I shall set down some which may serve for an example, to shew the nature of the thing.'
>
> *An Abridgement of the English Military Discipline*[1]

In Britain, even before the death of Charles II, his brother James was in effective control of the armies of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. In theory, each had a different military establishment, but in practice they shared resources, officers and even soldiers. The separation was for taxation and political reasons. Although the Irish establishment supported the regime in Whitehall, other than the warship the *Yacht Arran*, and the landing of 1,000 soldiers in Chester, these forces played no part in the campaign of 1685. The burden fell on the Scottish and English establishments, plus the two brigades in Dutch pay. In 1686, James II wrote an account of the campaign, but only sections detailing the landings and the battle of Sedgemoor remain. Through research, it is clear he based his work on reports from eyewitness accounts and it is therefore a good source of information. However, when it comes to the Government army his information is flawed and does not reflect the War Office records. Unfortunately, most later publications base unit strength and structure upon James II's document, which has resulted in misalignment between the common view of the Government forces and the historical evidence.

The Scottish Establishment

In April 1685, the senior officer in Scotland was the ageing Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Dalyell,[2] who had taken over command in November 1679. Under his stewardship, and the governance of the Duke of York, the Scottish army had grown and become increasingly ‘Catholic’ in makeup. This included the addition of Highland Watch units garrisoning the radical or Whig regions, especially in Argyllshire, these fell under the command of the Marquis of Atholl in Inveraray. At the same time, the militia was progressively being used as a police force, putting down dissenters and arresting ringleaders. In 1685 the militia was once more called out, and men from Ayrshire, Renfrewshire, and Perthshire all played a part in the campaign. Alongside these irregulars, the standing army contained the following regiments:

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[1] Bull, *Military Discipline*, p.117.

[2] Sometimes spelled Dalziel.

Colonel Livingstone’s Troop of Lifeguards (1 troop)
Colonel Claverhouse’s King’s Regiment of Horse (6 troops)
General Dalyell’s King’s Regiment of Dragoons (6 troops)
Colonel Douglas’s Regiment of Foot Guards (10 companies and 1 grenadier company)
Earl of Mar’s Regiment of Foot (10 companies & 1 grenadier company)
General Dalyell’s Train of Artillery

During the long winter months, it had become the practice for detachments from the dragoons and Mar’s Foot to form garrisons across the Highlands. In the winter of 1684, several companies from Mar’s Regiment were in, or near, Argyllshire and took part in the campaign. Once the size of the intended Whig invasion became apparent, the Catholic Earl of Dumbarton was sent north to take over command of all Government forces that faced the Earl of Argyll. There were two main Government armies active in the campaign against Argyll, and these were Atholl’s and Dumbarton’s.

Atholl’s Army

On 1 June, the Marquis of Atholl arrived at Inveraray with a force of militia and regulars from Perthshire. This reinforced the two companies of the Highland Watch under Patrick Stewart of Ballechan and these were joined by two Highland Watch companies under John Campbell Earl of Breadalbane, from Kilchurn. After Atholl’s arrival, the Highland lairds of Mar’s, Maclean’s, Appin and McEanes, Glengarrie and Kappoch, and even Argyll’s cousin Lochnell, arrived with his clansmen. By 10 June the Government forces at Inveraray numbered over 4,000.[3]

Earl of Mar’s Regiment of Foot

This regiment was commissioned in 1678 and had 10 line and one grenadier company. Although new firelocks were shipped to Scotland in May 1685, it is unlikely the soldiers at Inveraray received these weapons before the engagements in June. On 20 May, a new company was raised from members of the Highland Watch under the command of Walter Maxwell. The company structure was:

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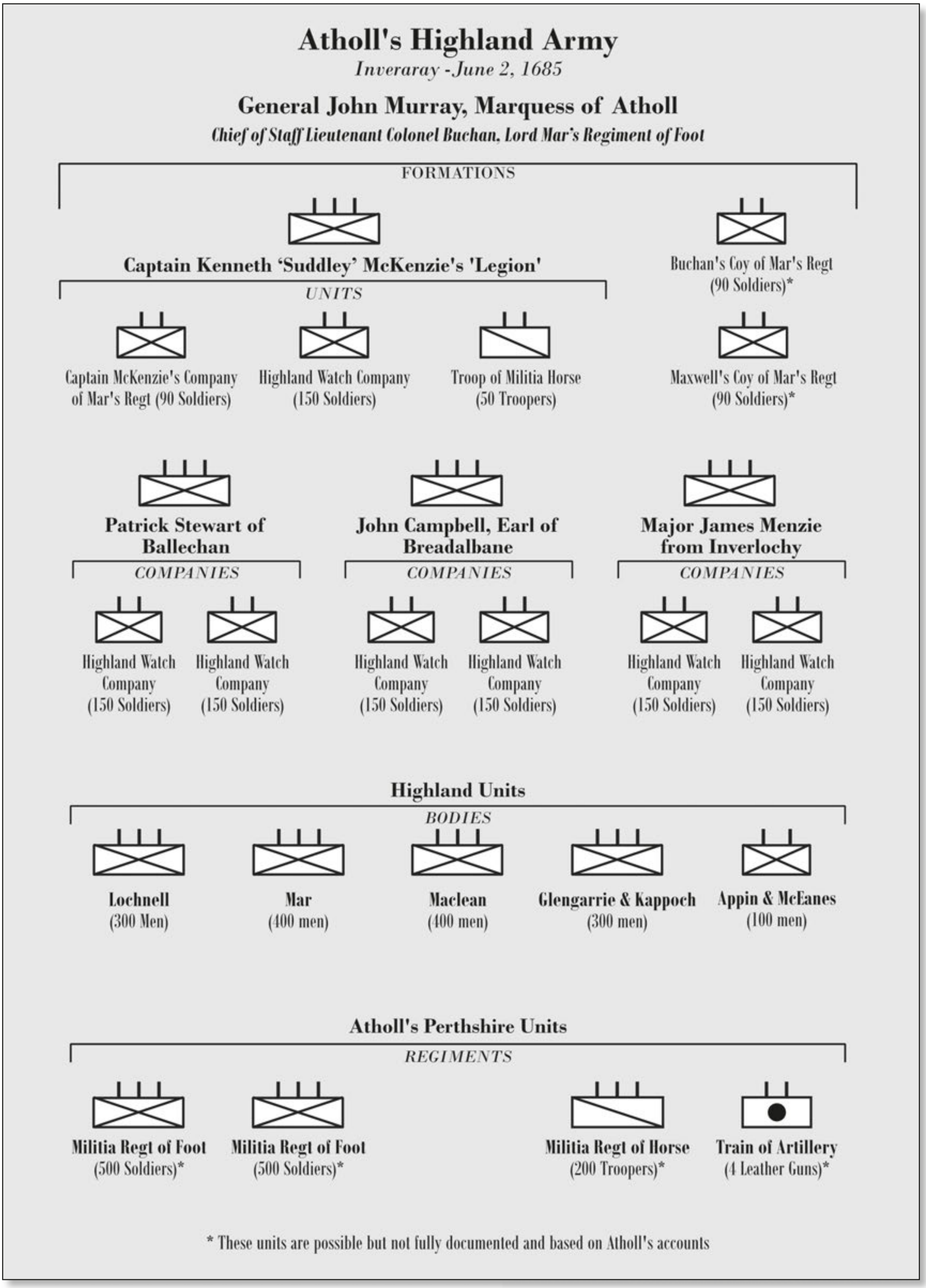
[3] BA, 29I.(4a) f.10.



Atholl's Highland Army

Inveraray -June 2, 1685

General John Murray, Marquess of Atholl

Chief of Staff Lieutenant Colonel Buchan, Lord Mar's Regiment of Foot

FORMATIONS
Captain Kenneth 'Suddley' McKenzie's 'Legion'
UNITS
Captain McKenzie's Company of Mar's Regt (90 Soldiers)
Highland Watch Company (150 Soldiers)
Troop of Militia Horse (50 Troopers)
Buchan's Coy of Mar's Regt (90 Soldiers)*
Maxwell's Coy of Mar's Regt (90 Soldiers)*
Patrick Stewart of Ballechan
COMPANIES
Highland Watch Company (150 Soldiers)
Highland Watch Company (150 Soldiers)
John Campbell, Earl of Breadalbane
COMPANIES
Highland Watch Company (150 Soldiers)
Highland Watch Company (150 Soldiers)
Major James Menzie from Inverlochy
COMPANIES
Highland Watch Company (150 Soldiers)
Highland Watch Company (150 Soldiers)
Highland Units
BODIES
Lochnell (300 Men)
Mar (400 men)
Maclean (400 men)
Glengarrie & Kappoch (300 men)
Appin & McEanes (100 men)
Atholl's Perthshire Units
REGIMENTS
Militia Regt of Foot (500 Soldiers)*
Militia Regt of Foot (500 Soldiers)*
Militia Regt of Horse (200 Troopers)*
Train of Artillery (4 Leather Guns)*

* These units are possible but not fully documented and based on Atholl's accounts

1 Captain
1 Lieutenant
1 Ensign
2 Sergeants
3 Corporals
2 Drummers
90 Privates armed with matchlocks and bandoliers

Garioch's grenadier company was raised in July 1682 and contained:[4]

1 Captain
2 Lieutenants
3 Sergeants
3 Corporals
2 Drummers
60 Privates with grenadier caps, armed with firelocks with slings and bandoliers

Company Seniority:

Company Captain	**Lieutenant**	**Ensign**
Charles, Earl of Mar, Colonel	John Bell, Captain Lt.	John Bell (Jnr)
Lt. Col. Thomas Buchan*	James Stirling	Alex. Leith
John Balfour, Major	Alex. Straton	Alex. Straton (Jnr)
Thomas Douglas	William Burnett	Michael Veitch
John Dalyell	William Trotter	Robert Dalyell
John Bruce	John Scott	Henry Bruce
Alex. Cairnes	John Livingston	Andrew Wood
Kenneth McKenzie*	William Sharp	Chris. McDougall
Colin McKenzie	John Dalyell	Walter Sharp
Hugh Montgomery	Duncan Menzies	John Straton
William Garioch, Grenadiers	William White, 1st Lt. Robert Nisbet, 2nd Lt.	
Walter Maxwell*	Robert Charters	John Elliott

* Possibly at Inveraray
McKenzie's men possibly fought at Glendaruel and Ardkinglas.

Highland Watch

These units were semi-regular units raised from the Highland 'Catholic' clans and garrisoned across north-west Scotland. There were two Highland Watch companies before the 1685 campaign under John Campbell, Earl of Breadalbane and Colonel James Menzie. Breadalbane raised two companies and garrisoned these in new barracks at Kilchurn Castle. Atholl was commissioned to raise 500 Highland Watch to put down Argyllshire, indicating that the recruitment into these units came from the local populations. Therefore, the units may have been more like well-organised and paid Highland bands. Each Highland Watch company contained:[5]

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[4] Ross, *Old Scottish Regimental Colours*, p.17.

1 Captain
1 Lieutenant
1 Ensign
1 Piper
3 Sergeants
4 Corporals
150 Privates armed with matchlocks

The following Highland Watch units may have been in the campaign:

James Campbell of Breadalbane (2 companies)
Patrick Stewart of Ballechan (2 companies)
James Menzie from Inverlochy (2 companies)

Militia Horse

These units were raised from the different counties and played an active role in the campaign. They appear to have been organised in the following way:

1 Captain
1 Lieutenant
1 Cornet
1 Quartermaster
1 Trumpeter
3 Corporals
50 Privates, with pistols and carbines

Renfrewshire Militia Troop at Greenock

Captain	Lieutenant	Cornet	Quartermaster
Lord Cochrane	John Houston	-	Thomas Crawfordsburn

One troop of Perthshire militia horse under Lord William Murray fought at Glendaruel and Ardkinglas, while two troops of Renfrewshire horse fought at Muirdyke.

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[5] Ross, *Old Scottish Regimental Colours*, pp.26–27.

Highland Bands

The structure and organisation of each Highland unit is unknown, but it can be assumed these varied between clans. Each was commanded by the laird. The accounts indicate these units stayed together as a body. All the Highland units were involved in the campaign, but did not take an active part in the fighting besides the friendly fire incident at Kilbride.

Lord Gordon's Reinforcements

During the campaign, the militia from the eastern Highlands and Lowlands came under Lord Gordon. This force contained a mixture of Highland bands and militia units. When it arrived east of Inveraray in mid June it numbered around 2,000 men.

Dumbarton's Army

On 17 June, Dumbarton marched out from Glasgow to block Argyll's movement east. His army contained elements from all the regular units plus at least Findlater's militia horse. After the aborted engagement at Killearn the bulk of the horse were dispatched to hunt down the Whig fugitives. Based on reports of Ochiltree's breakout to the south, Major Ross and Captain Cleland's troops headed south.

Claverhouse's King's Regiment of Horse

The King's Regiment of Horse had been raised in 1678 and was paid as six individual troops. Of these, Claverhouse's Troop broke up the Whigs at Sanquhar, and one troop under Major Ross was engaged at Muirdyke. The structure of each troop was:

1 Captain
1 Lieutenant
1 Cornet
1 Quartermaster
2 Trumpeter (plus a kettledrummer in the Colonel's troop)
3 Corporals
50 Privates, armed with pistols and carbines

Troop Seniority:

Captain	Lieutant	Cornet	Quartermaster
John Graham of Claverhouse, Colonel	Andrew Bruce, Captain Lt.	David Graham	James Kinnaird
James Earl of Drumlangrig, Lt. Colonel	Francis Creighton	James Nasmith	John Cockburn
William Lord Ross, Major*	Sir Mark Carse	Sir Adam Blair	John Cleland

Captain	**Lieutant**	**Cornet**	**Quartermaster**
Earl of Balcarres	David Bruce	James Fletcher	John Lindsay
Earl of Airly	William Graham	Sir William Keith	James Urquhart
Lord William Douglas	James Stuart	William Douglas	Arch. Douglas

* Fought at Muirdyke

Royal Regiment of Dragoons

This regiment was put on the establishment in 1678 and was initially formed of two troops. By 1685 this had increased to a total of six troops, of these only Captain Cleland's is known to have taken an active part in the campaign. Each company was organised in the following way:[6]

1 Captain
1 Lieutenant
1 Ensign
2 Sergeants
2 Corporals
2 Drummers
50 Privates armed with firelock long carbines

Troop Seniority:

Captain	**Lieutenant**	**Cornet**
Lt. General Dalyell, Colonel	Thomas Winraham, Captain Lt.	John Baily
Lord Charles Murray, Lt. Colonel	Alex. Bruce	James Innes
John Wedderburne, Major	James Murray	James Dundas
John Strachan	John Livingston	Henry Drummond
William Cleland*	John Creighton	John Whiteford
George Winaham	Lewis Lauder	David Garioch

* Fought at Muirdyke

Douglas' Foot Guards

This regiment was expanded in 1684 to contain 10 Guard companies and one grenadier company. The regiment was expanded in June 1685 with the additional of Captain Carny's company. The structure of the guard companies was:

1 Captain
1 Lieutenant

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[6] Ross, *Old Scottish Regimental Colours*, p.21.

1 Ensign
2 Sergeants
3 Corporals
2 Drummers
90 Privates armed with matchlocks and bandoliers

Hamilton's Grenadier company was raised in July 1682 and contained:

1 Captain
2 Lieutenants
3 Sergeants
3 Corporals
2 Drummers
60 Privates with grenadier caps, firelocks with slings and bandoliers

Company Seniority:

Company Captain	**Lieutenant**	**Ensign**
James Douglas, Colonel	Robert Murray, Captain Lt.	John Lothian
John Winraham, Lt. Colonel	William Crieghton	George Wirnaham
James Murray, Major	Patrick Ogilvie	Patrick Auchmoutie
James Maitland	Robert Keith	William Mayne
William Innes	Sir David Moncreif	Samuel Winraham
Alex. Livingston	Robert Dobie	Archibald Douglas
George Macgill	Henry Straton	Alex. Hamilton
Patrick Lyon	William Hay	Alex. Livingston
John Hay	James Maitland	Archibald Stuart
Charles Straton	James Dalmahoy	James Creighton
Thomas Hamilton, grenadiers	Robert Somerville, 1st Lt. William Davidson, 2nd Lt.	
Charles Carny	Robert Colinson	David Sutherland

After the campaign in Scotland had ended, Dumbarton put together a column of Scots forces to march south to support James.[7] These were:

Lt. Colonel Winraham with five companies of Douglas's Foot Guards,
Lt. Colonel Buchan with five companies of Mar's Regiment of Foot
Lt. Colonel Charles Murray with two troops of dragoons
Colonel Claverhouse with four troops of King's Horse

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[7] Ross, *Old Scottish Regimental Colours*, p.21.

The English Establishment

Since the Duke of Monmouth's removal as Captain General in 1679, the army had reverted to seniority. Therefore, in May 1685, the most senior officer in the English establishment was the colonel of the 3rd Troop of Lifeguards, the Earl of Feversham. The establishment was made up from the county militias and the following regular regiments:

Duke of Albemarle's 1st Troop of Lifeguards
Duke of Northumberland's 2nd Troop of Lifeguard
Earl of Feversham's 3rd Troop of Lifeguards
Earl of Oxford's Royal Regiment of Horse
Lord Churchill's Royal Regiment of Dragoons
Duke of Grafton's 1st Regiment of Foot Guards
Coldstream Regiment of Foot Guards
Lord Douglas's Royal Regiment of Foot
Colonel Kirke's (Queen Dowager's) Regiment of Foot
Colonel Littleton's (Prince of Denmark's) Regiment of Foot
Earl of Musgraves' Holland Regiment of Foot
Colonel Trelawny's (Queen Consort's) Regiment of Foot

In addition to these regiments there were independent companies in all the major garrison towns.

Churchill's Brigade

On 13 June Colonel Kirke, two troops of dragoons and four troops from the Royal Regiment of Horse (or Oxford Blues) were ordered to rendezvous at Salisbury under the command of Lord Churchill, the second most senior officer in the army. This left Feversham in London to coordinate the campaign. On 15 June, companies from Trelawny's Regiment and a train of artillery under Captain Sheers was also ordered to join Churchill at Salisbury. Lord Churchill passed through Salisbury on 15 June with Parsons' and Littleton's troops. By 19 June, the remaining brigade had gathered at Salisbury under Colonel Kirke and set off towards Dorchester as per Churchill's orders.

Earl of Oxford's Royal Regiment of Horse

In May 1685, the Earl of Oxford's Horse had eight troops and was the only horse regiment on the establishment. These were garrisoned in and around the home counties, having been concentrated in the area for the coronation on 23 April. The only troop that did not take part in the campaign was Captain Slingsby's. The structure of each troop was:

1 Captain
1 Lieutenant
1 Cornet
1 Quartermaster

2 Trumpeter (plus a kettledrummer in the King's troop)
3 Corporals
50 Privates, with pistols and carbines

On 13 June, the size of each troop was increased to 60 privates, but only Compton's and Cornewell's could have recruited up to the new establishment strength as Sandys', Wyndham's, Littleton's, and Adderley's were already on campaign with Churchill.

Troop Seniority:[8]

Captain	Lieutenant	Cornet	Quartermaster
Sir John Parsons, King's Troop*	William Wind	Richard Wise	Sampson Goodall
Sir Francis Compton, Major**	David Lloyd***	Henry Norris	Antony Duncombe
Sir Charles Wyndham*	Edward Harris	Wolfrank Cornewell	Robert Burgh
Edwin Sandys*	Edmund Turner	Samuel Oldfield	Hugh Vernon
Sir Thomas Slingsby	John Le Hunt	Edward Andrews	John Took
Henry Cornewell**	Rowland Selby	Edward Scott	George Carew
Walter Littleton*	Philip Monoux	William Carey	Walter Chetwind
Charles Adderley**	Davenport Lucy	Richard Leigh	Thomas Coningsby

* In Churchill's Brigade. Parsons' commission is as a captain of the King's Troop rather than as lieutenant colonel and captain.
** With Feversham
*** David Lloyd was also the regimental adjutant and was at the encounter at Ashill on 19 June. After this he was promoted to Captain, and according to the records,[9] given command of a new troop and Henry Norris was made his lieutenant. As reference is made to Lloyd at Norton St Philip on 27 June, and Littleton's with his troop were at Sedgemoor, it is possible that Lloyd did indeed command a ninth troop of the Oxford Blues. However, as Sir John Parsons does not appear to be with his troop during the campaign and Sir Francis Compton was promoted to lieutenant colonel on 1 July, it is probable that he took command of Parsons' Troop, and Lloyd became captain of his troop.

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[8] NA, SP44/69, f.141 and f.174.
[9] NA, SP44/164, f.205.

Lord Churchill's Royal Regiment of Dragoons

During early June, seven new troops of dragoons were added to the existing six that formed the regiment. When Lord Churchill was ordered to Salisbury, he left his own troop of dragoons in London as these, together with his brother's new troop, marched with Feversham. Only Lord Cornbury's and Captain Coy's were ordered to Salisbury on 13 June. At the same time, the establishment size of the existing and new troops was increased to 60 troops. Therefore, it is likely that Lord Churchill's, and Captain George Churchill troops were at the new strength. The establishment structure for each troop on 13 June was:

1 Captain
1 Lieutenant
1 Cornet
1 Quartermaster
2 Sergeants with halberds
3 Corporals with long carbines
2 Drummers (with small drums)
2 Hoboys
60 Privates, with pistols, cartridge boxes, bayonets, and long carbines[10]

Troop Seniority:[11]

Captain	Lieutenant	Cornet	Quartermaster
Lord Churchill, Colonel	Thomas Hussey, Captain Lt. to own Troop	William Hussey became Lt. in T. Hussey's troops	Gilbert Lewen, promoted to Cornet
Lord Cornbury, Lt. Colonel	Charles Ward	Piercy Roch	Daniel Hopkins to Coy
Hugh Sutherland, Major	No Troop		
Alexander Mackenzie	Hugh Wyndham	John Cole, to G. Churchill	John Dennis
Charles Nedby	John Williams, to own troop	George Clifford, to Lt. in John William's	Peter Sutherland to Cornet in T. Hussy's
John Coy	Francis de la Rue	William Staniford, to Leveson	Lance Kirke
Thomas Langston	Francis Langston to Churchill	Thomas Pownall, promotion	Thomas Breveton, promotion

Seven new troops were added in June 1685 and it is apparent that the regiment was undergoing a restructure when the campaign started, as many of the officers from the existing companies had received promotions in the new companies. It also appears that the post of quartermaster had been removed. Strother's Troop had been an independent company and was in Berwick when it was amalgamated into the regiment. As Nedby's men were ordered to Islington, rather than into the west, it is possible this formation was used to bring the other troops up to the establishment strength of 60 troopers. The establishment of the regiment on 15 June was:[12]

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[10] NA, WO 47/15, f.49.

[11] NA, SP 44/164, f.155.

Captain	**Lieutenant**	**Cornet**
Lord Churchill, Colonel**	Francis Langston from Langston's	Gilbert Lewen
Lord Cornbury, Lt. Colonel*	Charles Ward	Piercy Roch
Alexander Mackenzie	Hugh Wyndham	Richard Rossiter
Charles Nedby	-	-
John Coy*	-	Daniel Hopkins
Thomas Langston	Thomas Pownall	Thomas Breveton
William Strother	John Strother	Strother
George Churchill**	John Cole, from Mackenzie	Robert Smart
Francis Russell	Thomas Crawley, was Adjutant	John Mackenzie
Richard Leveson	William Staniford, from Coy's	Richard Folliott
Thomas Hussy	William Hussy	Peter Sunderland, from Nedby
John Williams	George Clifford	Francis de le Rue
Edward Leigh	Henry Hawker, was Quartermaster	John Williams

* In Churchill's Brigade
** In Feversham's Brigade

Colonel Kirke's (Queen Dowager's) Regiment of Foot

This regiment had arrived from Tangiers in November 1683 and was subsequently restructured and posted to garrison Plymouth and the surrounding towns. On 14 April, the foot companies of Percy Kirke, Thomas St Johns, Charles Wingfield and George Wingfield were ordered to march from Plymouth to London.[13] The same day Captain Matthews was ordered to march from Pendennis Castle to London with his grenadier company.[14] On reaching London, the grenadiers were issued bayonets, and then on 12 June, the five companies started marching to Oxford. They had reached Staines in Middlesex, when ordered to Salisbury, and Kirke's Battalion reached the city on 18 June. The regiment does not appear to have been ordered to increase its establishment strength and therefore retained the following structure for the line companies:

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[12] NA, SP44/164, f.193.
[13] NA, WO 5/1, f.16.
[14] NA, WO 5/1, f.19.

1 Captain
1 Lieutenant
1 Ensign
2 Sergeants
3 Corporals armed with matchlocks
1 Drummers
6 Privates armed with firelocks and bandoliers
28 Privates armed with matchlocks and bandoliers
16 Privates armed with long pikes

The structure of Matthews' grenadier company was:

1 Captain
2 Lieutenants
3 Sergeants
3 Corporals
2 Drummers
50 Privates with grenadier caps, firelocks with slings, grenadier pouches, bayonets and bandoliers

Company Seniority:[15]

Captain	**Lieutenant**	**Ensign**
Piercy Kirke, Colonel*	William Berry, Captain Lt.	Samuel Atkins
Philip Kirke, Lt. Colonel	George Westcombe	Symon Duff
Sir James Lesley, Major	Henry Withers**	Roger Eliott
John Giles	William Webster	Andrew Mortimore
Thomas St. John*	Jenkins Thomas	Stafford Fairborne replaced by Salter Cole
Brent Eley	John Wingfield, replaced by Stafford Fairborne	David Roach
Henry Rowe	Charles Gerrard	- Bokenham
George Wingfield*	Antony La Penetiere	Martin Lester
Thomas Barbour	Richard Law	James Bigott
Charles Wingfield*	William Storeton	Thomas Roberts
William Matthews, Grenadiers	Richard Billing, 1st Lt. George Kirke, 2nd Lt.	

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[15] NA, SP44/69, f.139.

* In Churchill's Brigade

** On 14 April, Major Lesley's company was ordered from Pendennis to Plymouth to replace Captain Matthews' grenadiers. Many publications have Lesley's at Sedgemoor, but it is not clear how this was possible, as they had been ordered to Pendennis Castle and not London. Although a Lieutenant Withers is mentioned in the battle,[16] it is possible this officer was in the Wiltshire Militia.

Colonel Trelawny's (Queen Consort's) Regiment of Foot

This regiment returned from Tangiers in November 1683 and was garrisoned in Portsmouth. By May 1685, it had been restructured into 10 line and a grenadier company. On 15 June Trelawny received orders for four companies to escort the train of artillery, one of which was to be the company of Lieutenant Colonel Charles Churchill, Lord Churchill's brother. Lieutenant Colonel Churchill was to command the column.[17] Unfortunately, every historian since James II has written that five companies of the regiment were at Sedgemoor. Yet the War Office marching orders, and James's own letters from the time state that only four companies departed Portsmouth. To confirm this detail, on 29 August 1685 Colonel Trelawny was ordered to bring the remaining seven companies from Portsmouth to Taunton.[18] On 13 June, the regiment received orders to increase its establishment company size, from 50 to 100 soldiers. After this the following new equipment was issued to the expanded companies:[19]

Item	For One Company	For the Regiment
Matchlock Muskets	28	280
Snaphane Muskets	6	60
Long Pikes	16	160
Collars of Bandoliers	34	340
Halberd	1	10
Drum	1	10

Based on an assumption that Colonel Trelawny stripped the existing companies to bolster those that marched to Salisbury,[20] the companies in the campaign contained around 100 soldiers. This made the new structure for the line companies as:

1 Captain
1 Lieutenant
1 Ensign

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[16] NA, WO 5/1, f.17.
[17] NA, WO 5/1, ff.51–52.
[18] NA, WO5/1, f.263.
[19] NA, WO 47/15 f.37 18 June 1685.
[20] NA, WO 47/15 f.37, 'like number of arms wanting before the recruits were added'.

3 Sergeants
3 Corporals armed with matchlocks
2 Drummers
12 Privates armed with firelocks and bandoliers
56 Privates armed with matchlocks and bandoliers
32 Privates armed with long pikes

The establishment size of Captain Johnson's grenadier company had not been increased and contained:

1 Captain
2 Lieutenants
3 Sergeants
3 Corporals
2 Drummers
50 Privates with grenadier caps, firelocks with slings, grenadier pouches, bayonets and bandoliers

Company Seniority:[21]

Captain	**Lieutenant**	**Ensign**
Chares Trelawny, Colonel	William Davis, Captain Lt.	John Bedford
Charles Churchill, Lt. Colonel*	George Bynn	William Wharton
Zach Tiffin, Major	Henry Paget	Henry Tiffin
Henry Trelawny	Charles Carrol	Piercy Kirke
Charles Fox**	John Cole	Stephen Pyper
Edward Griffin	John Hedger	Samuel Arnold
Edward Hastings	Thomas Atkinson	Issac La Bruce
John Strode	Thomas Lucy	John Every
Edward Saville*	Francis Nicholson	Robert Wyvell, replaced by John Dowell 1 July
Hayman Rooke	Edward Purcell	Francis Wyvell
Charles Johnson, grenadiers*	Henry Davis, 1st Lt. William Games, 2nd Lt.	

* Detailed as on the campaign. Saville's company must have lost their ensign at Norton St Philip, as John Dowell was commissioned on 1 July.
** Referenced in other publications but without any supporting evidence. No evidence has been identified for this by time of writing.

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[21] NA, SP44/69, f.140.

Portsmouth Train of Artillery

On 16 June, Captain Henry Sheers was appointed comptroller of a train of artillery to be dispatched from the armoury at Portsmouth. This was to contain:[22]

4 x Cast iron 3-pounders
4 x Brass falcons (3-pounders)

The train was to be staffed by:
Captain Henry Sheers as Comptroller of Artillery
Nicholas Sandford as Commissioner of Artillery
Captain Richard Stonehouse as Gentleman of the Ordnance
James English as Firemaster
Danial Moody as Master Gunner
8 Gunners[23]
8 Matroses
1 Conductor of Waggons
2 Carpenters
1 Smith

Each gun had 50 shot, and the waggons contained 1,000 hand grenades, 20 pounds of musket shot and 20 barrels of powder.

Feversham's Guard's Brigade

After events had turned against the militia on 19 June, Feversham marched west with three troops of Lifeguards, three Foot Guard battalions, two dragoon troops and Cornewell's Troop of Oxford Blues. Before this, on 13 June all these regiments had received orders to increase their establishment strengths from 60 to 100 for the Guards and from 50 to 60 for the horse and dragoons. When the brigade left London, eyewitness accounts estimate the number of soldiers at 1,800 to 2,000.

The Lifeguards

Feversham marched from London with three troops of Lifeguards. Each contained 50 gentlemen and 20 horse grenadiers. During the campaign, the senior officers from each troop led squadrons or detachments in the army, leaving the junior officer to command the Lifeguards in the field. The structure of each troop in the campaign is hard to identify, but the following may be correct:

1 Captain or Senior Officer
1 Lieutenant
1 Cornet
1 Trumpeter

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[22] NA, WO 47/15, ff.26–27.
[23] One of these gunners was Edward Dummer.

2 Corporals
50 Gentlemen Troopers

Each of the three horse grenadier troops numbered 20 men and had the following structure:

1 Lieutenant
1 Sergeant
1 Corporal
1 Drummer
20 Gentlemen grenadiers

The officers on the campaign were:

Troop	Captain	Lieutenant	Lt. of Grenadiers
1st Troop of Lifeguards	Edward Villiers, Colonel Brigadier	Lord Berkeley, Major	John Parker, Captain
2nd Troop of Lifeguards	Charles Orby, Major	William Upcott, Captain	Robert Dixon, Captain
3rd Troop of Lifeguards	Theophilus Oglethorpe, Lt. Col.		John Vaughan, Captain

The intensity of the fighting at Norton St Philip and Sedgemoor can be judged by the replacement equipment issued to the horse grenadiers on 20 August 1685:[24]

1st Troop: 14 Fuzees, 10 pairs of pistols, 13 daggers, 1 gilt partizan, 1 halberd and 1 drum
2nd Troop: 15 Fuzees, 14 pairs of pistols, 12 daggers, 1 gilt partizan, 1 halberd
3rd Troop: 16 Fuzees, 16 pairs of pistols, 12 daggers, 1 gilt partizan, 1 halberd and 1 drum

Duke of Grafton's 1st Regiment of Foot Guards

On 13 June, the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards contained 24 Guard and two grenadier companies. Two battalions were created and joined Feversham's Brigade. Each battalion probably contained six companies and a grenadier company. As part of the restructuring from 60- to 100-man companies, the regiment received the following new equipment:[25]

Item	Per Company	For 24 Companies
Snaphanes Muskets	24	576
Long Pikes	16	384
Halberds	1	24
Drums	1	24

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[24] NA, WO 47/15, f.140.
[25] NA, WO 47/15, f.28.

The resulting establishment structure for guard companies was:

1 Captain
1 Lieutenant
1 Ensign
3 Sergeants
3 Corporals with firelocks
3 Drummers (and 1 Fifer in the King's Company)
40 armed with long pikes
60 armed with firelocks and cartridge boxes

On 13 June restructuring did not impact the two grenadier companies and their strengths, which for the campaign remained at 50 men. As a result, they marched from London with the following structure:

1 Captain
2 Lieutenants
3 Sergeants
3 Corporals
2 Drummers
50 Grenadiers with long carbines, cartridge boxes, pouches, and bayonets

On 23 June, new equipment was issued to the Guards for the new grenadier recruits to bring the companies up to 100 men. The issue was for:[26]

Item	**1st Company – Hawley's**	**2nd Company – Booths**	**Lord Craven's – Bridgman's**
Long Carbines, Strap	50	50	50
Cartridge Boxes	50	50	50
Grenado Pouches	50	50	50
Hammer Hatchetts	50	50	50
Bayonets with Belts	50	50	50

Company Seniority:[27]

Captain	**Lieutenants**	**Ensigns**
Duke of Grafton, Colonel*	Edward Rouse, Captain Lt.	Henry Bennett
John Strode, Lt. Colonel	John Hetley	Peter Crowne
William Eaton, Major*	Sir William Quirninson	Francis Edwards
Sackville Tufton, Kings Cy.	Gilbert Talbot	Henry Seymour

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[26] NA, WO 47/15, f.48.
[27] NA, SP 44/164, f.145.

Captain	Lieutenants	Ensigns
Sir Roger Manley	Robert Baxter	Roger Nott
John Berkeley*	Giles Spicer	Thomas Rowley
Thomas Stradling	Druell Leake	John Berkeley
Ralph Delavall	John George	Antony Gibbson
John Skelton	Henry Collar	Thomas Dring
Edmund Reresby	Stint Duncombe	John Throgmorton
Kynett Hastings	Henry Sandys	Edmund Wyndham
Henry Sackvile*	William Richards	Henry Wigmore
William Selwyn	Samuel Hancock	Oliver St. Johns
Charles Lloyd	Corbet Hen	William Ashton, replaced by Francis Manley
Thomas Throgmorton	Charles Robinson	William Cornwallis
Arthur Corbet	Matthew Palmer	Stephen Ballew
John Seymour	William Cholmley	James Harrison
Ferdinando Hastings*	David Taylor	Henry Hodgson
Francis Wheeler	Richard Woodward	Charles Gorsuch
Lenthal Warcup	Andrew Wheeler	Charles Wolseley
Charles Progers	Duncan Abercrombie	David Eyton
Charles Middleton	William Smith	John Foster
William Parsons	John Bynns	Grenville Kirby
George Hamilton	Gilbert Primrose	John Delavall
Francis Hawley, Grenadiers*	Louis Chevalier de Mesiere, 1st Lt. Richard Dolby, 2nd Lt.	
Sir William Booth***	Thomas Hopson, 1st Lt. William Aston. 2nd Lt. Promoted	

* Documented as being in Feversham's Brigade

** After Norton St Philip, Feversham wrote to James stating that all 'five grenadier companies' were part of a commanded musket unit.[28] As only the 1st Foot Guards, Coldstream Guards, Kirke's, and Trelawny's regiments were in the battle (the Royal Scots were with the artillery train at Marlborough), unless Feversham made a mistake when writing to the King it is likely that the 1st Foot Guards fielded two grenadier companies. The second was created on 28 February 1685[29] when Captain Booth was commissioned to be captain of a grenadier company in the 1st Foot Guards. His two lieutenants were commissioned on 30 April, 1685.

*** NA, SP 44/164, f.173.

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[28] Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts, Vol. 1, p.6, Feversham to James, Bradford on Avon, 28 June 1685, 'les cinq compagnies de grenadier estoint dans le nombre des cinq cents mousquetaires'.

[29] NA, SP 44/164, f.173.

Earl of Craven's Coldstream or 2nd Regiment of Foot Guards

The Coldstream Guards had one grenadier and 12 Guard companies. The establishment strength had been increased from 60 to 100 privates on 13 June. Like the 1st Foot Guards, the Coldstream was issued new equipment to create the following structure:[30]

1 Captain
1 Lieutenant
1 Ensign
3 Sergeants
3 Corporals with firelocks
3 Drummers (and 1 fifer in the King's Company)
40 armed with long pikes
60 armed with firelocks and cartridge boxes

Captain Bridgman's Grenadier company remained at the pre-13 June structure:

1 Captain
2 Lieutenants
3 Sergeants
3 Corporals
2 Drummers
50 Grenadiers with long carbines, cartridge boxes, pouches, and bayonets

Company Seniority:[31]

Captain	**Lieutenant**	**Ensign**
Earl of Craven, Colonel	Henry Cope	George Wythe
Edward Sackville, Lt. Colonel**	Edmund Stuckeley	William Wakefield
John Huitson, Major**	Henry Wharton	Henry Winde
John Miller	John Drake	Adrian Moore
Anthony Markham	Robert Wilkins	Francis Marshall
James Kendall	William Gibbons	William Matthews
William Wakelyn	Edward Braddock	Gaml. Chetwind
William Cholmley	John Clarke	John Sheppard
Charles Cotton	William Hewit	Charles Wakelyn
Richard Pope	William Rigg	Lewis Alexander
Heneage Finch	Edward Joanes	John Wybert

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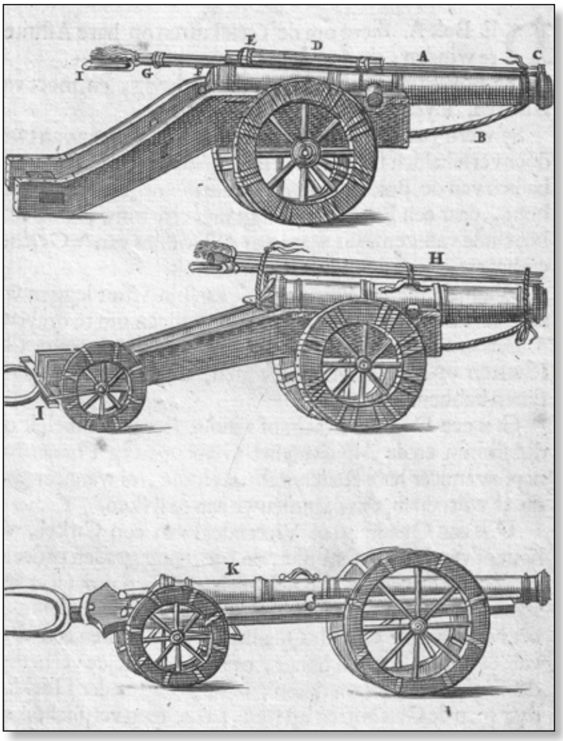
[30] NA, WO 47/15, f.28.
[31] NA, SP 44/164, ff.146–147.

Captain	Lieutenant	Ensign
Jason Bridgeman, Grenadiers*	Edward Shenton, 1st Lt. James Ward, 2nd Lt.	
Richard Dudley	John Hope	Charles Stanley

* Known to be in Feversham's Brigade

** During the campaign, Sir Edward Sackville was promoted to full colonel, and then to brigadier general, while the Earl of Craven was promoted to lieutenant general of all forces on 19 June.



Guns on travelling carriages *c*.1685. (Author's collection)

Tower of London Train of Artillery

On 22 June, a train of artillery accompanied by five companies of the Royal Scots marched from London. Two days later, Major Compton's Troop of the Oxford Blues followed to join the column at Marlborough on 27 June.

Lord Douglas's Royal Regiment of Foot or the Royal Scots

The Royal Scots returned from service in Tangiers in November 1683, and were split up into garrisons in Rochester, Chatham, and Winchester. Unofficially, the regiment was known as the Earl of Dumbarton's, although he had stepped down due to the Test Act on his return to England. As a result, the colonel's company remained without a captain until Dumbarton took up the post in August 1685. The regiment had 21 companies, and by June 1685 nine of these of these were in Southwark. On 16 June, four of these marched from Southwark to Portsmouth, replacing the four companies of Trelawny's heading west. On 21 June, the remaining five companies were ordered to guard the train of artillery.

The company structure of the Royal Scots was different to the other regiments by having an extra sergeant and two lieutenants. This was a legacy from being in Dutch service during the 1670s, but orders had been issued stating that these extra officers should not be replaced when vacancies arose. On 13 June the regiment received orders to increase its company size from 50 to 100 men. Although a Scottish regiment, it had clearly recruited a few Englishmen while in Southwark, as on 16 July Douglas received an order to reduce the establishment strength on 50 by rejecting all English soldiers.

In June 1685, the establishment structure was for each line companies was:

1 Captain
2 Lieutenant
1 Ensign
3 Sergeants
3 Corporals armed with matchlocks
2 Drummers
12 Privates armed with firelocks and bandoliers
56 Privates armed with matchlocks and bandoliers
32 Privates armed with long pikes

Hodges' Grenadier company had the following structure:

1 Captain
2 Lieutenants
3 Sergeants
3 Corporals
2 Drummers
50 Privates with grenadier caps, firelocks with slings, grenadier pouches, bayonets and bandoliers

Company Seniority:[32]

Captain	1st Lieutenant	2nd Lieutenant	Ensigns
Colonel's Company	James Eastland, Captain Lt.	John Livingston	John Johnson
Archibald Lord Douglas, Lt. Colonel*	John Auchmouty	James Law**	Issac Threlkeld
Robert Douglas, Major	David Clark	Patrick Robinson	Robert Arbuthnott
Andrew Monro	Andrew Rutherford	John Bennerman	Alexander Monro
Robert Lawder	William Deans	Rod. McKenzie	Charles Douglas
Sir James Moray	Andrew Scott	John Straughan	Charles Moray
Lord George Hamilton	John Johnson	John Leeds	John Alexander
James Moncrief**	George Graham	Thomas Bruce**	George Douglas
Robert Hodges, Grenadiers	John Moray	John McCullock***	
Charles Barclay	George Stuart	Andrew Barclay	William Melville
Sir Charles Murray	Walter Murrey	Thomas Scott	George Murray
John Ruthven	Fredrick Hamilton	George Hamilton	John Hamilton

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[32] NA, SP44/69, ff.143–144.

Captain	1st Lieutenant	2nd Lieutenant	Ensigns
John Carr	James McCrakin	James Moultray	William Robinson
Thomas Forbes	Robert Livingston	Charles Arnott	Adam Bell
John White	Robert Carr	William White	Francis Maxwell
George Murray	Adam Cunningham	Thomas Davidson	Art. Carstairs
Lord James Murray	William Barclay	David McAdam	James Grant
Alex Cunningham	Alexander Pearson	James Maxwell	William Cunningham
Munro McKenzie*	John Stirling**	William McGill	Sir William Mowat**
Robert Halkett*	Robert Dury**	Alex Gawen	David Arneele
Thomas Ogilvie	John Mowat	William Owen	Colin Campbell

* These are the five companies ordered to Southwark 13 June

** Wounded or killed at Sedgemoor

*** In James II's account of the battle he writes that 'the first [battalion] on the right was composed of Dumbarton's, one company of which were Grenadiers.' Since then, every historian has the Royal Scots Regiment fielding a grenadier company, and most historians have replaced Robert Halkett's company with Hodges' grenadiers. However, as far as can be seen, Captain Hodges had remained in Rochester from 1683 until after the campaign in 1685, while Captain Halkett's had been ordered to Southwark. Furthermore, Captain Halkett was mentioned in a detailed account of the casualties received at Sedgemoor, making his attendance in the battle very probable.[33] Although an Ensign McCullock, not Lieutenant, is listed as a casualty,[34] it is plausible that no grenadiers from the Royal Scots were actually at the battle of Sedgemoor.

Povey's Train of Artillery

The train of artillery for 16 guns was commissioned on 21 June,[35] although plans had been underway since 18 June.[36] On 20 June, Mr Povey is appointed as comptroller of the artillery train as follows:[37]

2 x 12-pounders
4 x Demi-culverin
4 x 6-pounders
4 x Sakers (6-pounders)
2 x Minions (4-pounders)
Mr Povey, Comptroller of the train

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[33] Tincey, *Sedgemoor 1685*, p.164.

[34] This is an area needing more research.

[35] NA, SP 44/164, f.223.

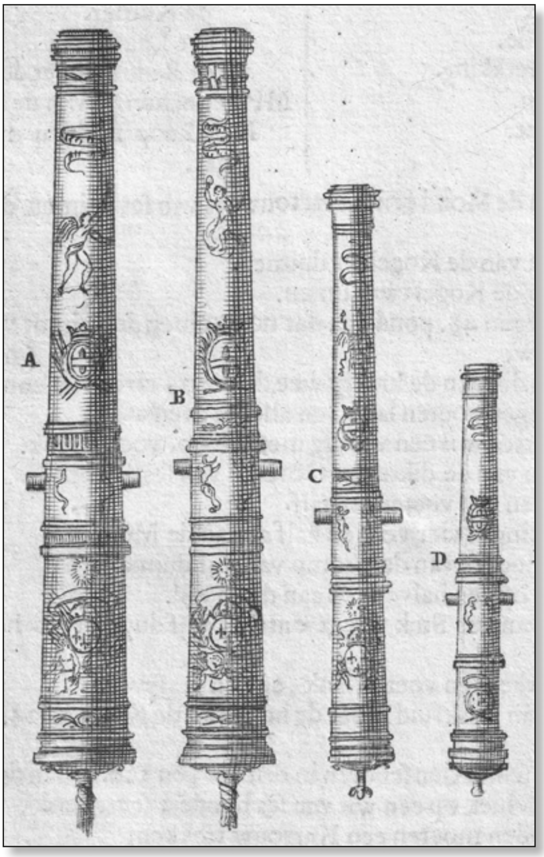
[36] NA, SP44/164, f.222.

[37] NA WO 47/15 ff.43–45.

Clerk of the Comptroller
Paul Linby, Gunner and Conductor of the Train
John Packman, Conductor of the Train
John Slade, Conductor of the Train
John Maddax, Conductor of the Train
5 Labourers
Master Gunner
2 Master Gunner's Mates
32 Gunners
32 Matroses
6 Conductors
Commissioner of the Artillery and Ammunition
Clerk of the Commissioner
Paymaster and Clerk
Master of the Waggons
2 Assistant Waggon Masters
Commissioner of the Draught Horses & Assistant
3 Gentlemen of the Ordnance
Purveyor
Provost Marshall
2 Assistant Provosts
Surgeon and Assistant
Henry Davenport, Conductor of Tents
William Browne, Assistant to Conductor of Tents
Master Smith
2 Smiths
1 Farrier
Master Carpenter
4 Carpenters
Master Wheel Wright
2 Wheelers
Master Collar Maker
1 Collar Maker
Master Cooper
Gunsmith
118 Drivers

One company of Pioneers:
1 Captain
1 Sergeant
1 Corporal
1 Drummer
20 Pioneers

On 30 June, the two artillery trains merged at Westbury and came under the control of Captain Sheers. However, the heavy 12-pounders and demi-culverins were left at Devizes. This is supported by the following additional shot being sent to the army:



Barrel weights, *c*.1685: A – culverin; B – demi-culverin; C – 8-pounder; D – minion. (Author's collection)

240 for 6-pounders
210 for sakers
240 for minions
600 for 3-pounders
450 for falcons

Although James II only mentions 18 light guns, but due to the discovery of ammunition on the battlefield, the heavy guns may have joined the army. The combined train contained:

2 x 12 pounders
4 x Demi-culverins
4 x 6-pounders
4 x Sakers (6-pounders)
2 x Minions (4-pounders)
4 x Cast Iron 3-pounders
4 x Brass Falcons (3-pounders)

The gun crews were:

2 Master Gunners
2 Master Gunners' Mates
40 Gunners
40 Matroses

Brigade in Dutch Service

There were two brigades of British soldiers in the service of the Prince of Orange. Each comprised three regiments and each battalion had an establishment strength of 600 privates in 12 companies, in the following structure:

1 Captain
2 Lieutenant
1 Ensign
2 Sergeants
3 Corporals armed with matchlocks
2 Drummers
34 Privates armed with matchlocks and bandoliers
16 Privates armed with long pikes

After finally landing at Gravesend, the Scots Brigade formed the second line of defence and was marching to Amesbury when the campaign ended. When going into quarters across London on 3 July, the Scots battalions strengths were:[38]

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[38] NA, WO 5/1, f.127.

Battalion	Companies	Officers	Privates
Mackay's	12?	36	568
Balfour's	12	36	606
Wanchope's	12	37	557

Before leaving Holland, the regiments were required to pay their debts, and on 9 June 1685 Wanchope's garrison bill lists the companies as:[39]

Colonel Wanclops
Lt. Colonel Middleton
Major Ramsey
Captain Fredrick Cunningham
Captain Murray
Captain Clerkes Company
Captain Maxwell
Captain William Douglas
Captain John Ramsey
Captain Thomas Hamilton
Captain Gibson
Captain Corbet

The three regiments that formed the English Brigade arrived at Gravesend in early July and took no part in the campaign. These regiments were:[40]

Colonel Henry Bellasyse (brigade commander)
Colonel Thomas Monk
Colonel Alexander Cannon

County Militia

The first units to encounter Monmouth were the part-time soldiers from the militia. These were formed into regiments based on the county hundreds, with each hundred being responsible for the supply of a soldier. The men mustered in the nearest big town where they would be equipped from an armoury. The foot was probably organised into companies of 100 and the horse troops of 50; each foot regiment theoretically had 10 companies, but five is more likely. Although the troops of horse were in regiments, they were more like independent bodies. The structure for each militia foot company was possibly:

1 Captain
2 Lieutenant
1 Ensign

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[39] BL, Add MS 41817, f.144.
[40] NA, SP44/69, f.171.

2 Sergeants
3 Corporals armed with matchlocks
2 Drummers
64 Privates armed with matchlocks and bandoliers
36 Privates armed with long pikes

The horse troops establishment may have been:

1 Captain
1 Lieutenant
1 Cornet
1 Quartermaster
1 Trumpeter
3 Corporals
50 Privates, with pistols and carbines

During the campaign, the following militia regiments were involved in some way:

Colonel Portman's Dorset regiment of militia foot
Colonel Strangeways' Dorset regiment of militia foot (became regular on 18 June)[41]
Colonel Luttrell's (Taunton) Somerset regiment of militia foot
Colonel Phelipps Somerset regiment of militia foot
Colonel Stawell's Somerset regiment of militia foot
Colonel Fitzharding's Somerset regiment of militia foot
Colonel Horner's Somerset regiment of militia foot
Captain William Lacey's Troop of Somerset horse
Colonel Stapley's Troop of Sussex horse
Major Bridge's Troop of Sussex horse
Captain Monk's Troop of Sussex horse
Captain Peckham's Troop of Sussex horse
Alford's Sussex regiment of militia foot (Lieutenant Colonel Cooper, Captain Bickley, Captain Best and Captain Carre)
Colonel Ducket's Wiltshire regiment of militia foot
Major Talbot's Wiltshire regiment of militia foot
Colonel Earle's Wiltshire regiment of militia foot
Colonel Helyar's Troop of Wiltshire horse
Colonel Haynes' troops of Worcestershire horse

New Regiments and Independent Troops of Horse

In June, the Government reaction to Monmouth's invasion was to commission officers in the Lifeguards and other nobles, to pay for troops of independent horse. The following officers were commissioned to raise units:

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[41] NA, SP44/164, f.203.

Colonel Howard
Captain Fielding
Captain Cornwall
Lord Lumley
Lord Brudenell
Captain Andros
Lord Cullen
Captain Baggott
Captain Henry Bertie
Captain Lloyd
Captain Walden
Lord Lexington
Captain Fitzharding
Captain Villiers
Captain Spalding
Captain Talbot
Captain Griffin
Earl of Plymouth
Captain Richard Bertie
Lord Bruce
Earl of Pembrok
Captain Harrington
Captain Fairfax
Captain Mauleverer
Captain Bellingham
Marquis of Worcester
Captain Chafin
Captain Ogle
Captain Fetherstonhalgh
Captain Cholmondeley
Lord Dover
Lord de Grey
Captain Carterett
Captain Lovring
Lord Willoughby
Lord Eland
Captain Michell
Captain Pope
Captain Smith
Earl of Thanet
Captain Wentworth
Earl of Manchester
Captain Taylor
Captain Heveringham
Earl of Yarmouth
Earl of Shrewsbury
Earl of Searsdale
Captain Tufton
Earl of Newburgh
Captain Leach
Captain Byerley
Captain Browne
Captain Clineard
Captain Grosvenor
Earl of Abercorn
Captain Reresby
Captain Leighton
Captain O'Neille

Of these only Captain Talbot's, Captain Henry Bertie's and the Earl of Newburgh's appear to have been active in the campaign. Each troop had:

1 Captain
1 Lieutenant
1 Cornet
1 Quartermaster
2 Trumpeter
3 Corporals
60 Troopers

Independent Troop Officers:

Captain	**Lieutenant**	**Cornet**
Captain Henry Bertie	William Coke	Francis Clerke
Captain Sir John Talbot	Gilbert Talbot	Horatio Walpoole
Captain Earl of Newburgh	Philip Doughty	William Neville

New Regiments of Horse

In late June most of these independent troops were amalgamated into new regiments of horse, although very few of these were active in the campaign. The following new regiments were raised in June:

Queen's Regiment of Horse (10 troops)
Earl of Peterborough's Regiment of Horse (6 troops)
Richard Hamilton's Regiment of Dragoons (7 troops)

In July and August the following new horse regiments were commissioned:

Earl of Plymouth's Regiment of Horse (6 troops)
Lord Dover's Regiment of Horse (6 troops)
Earl of Thanet's Regiment of Horse (6 troops)
Earl of Arran's Regiment of Horse (6 troops)
Earl of Shrewsbury's Regiment of Horse (6 troops)
Princess Anne of Denmark's Regiment of Horse (6 troops)
Queen Dowager's Regiment of Horse (6 troops)
John Berkeley's Regiment of Dragoon's (9 troops)
Queen's Regiment of Dragoons (7 Troops)

New Regiments of Foot

Lord Dartmouth's Royal Regiment of Fusiliers:

In early June, Lord Dartmouth proposed the creation of a specialist regiment to support the artillery and act as pioneers and miners during campaign. This was to be first unit on the English establishment to be equipped only with firelocks, and Dartmouth was commissioned to raise the regiment on 11 June. After 13 June, each company was to have 100 privates. However, the new equipment and long carbines took time to manufacture. By the time it was ready to fight in August, the campaign was over and the establishment strength was reduced to 60 privates. The company structure in June was:

1 Captain
2 Lieutenants
3 Sergeants
3 Corporals
2 Drummers
100 Fusiliers armed with firelock, cartridge box, bayonet, and sword

There was a specialist miner company under Captain Adams in the regiment and this may have been the pioneer company at Sedgemoor. The company establishment was:

1 Captain
1 Sergeant
1 Corporal
1 Drummer
20 Pioneers

Company Seniority:[42]

Captain	1st Lieutenant	2nd Lieutenant
Lord Dartmouth, Colonel	Sir Francis Windebank	William Seymour
Thomas Talmash, Lt. Colonel	Fredrick Mole	Thomas Orby
Robert St. Claire, Major	Theophilus Garlick	Francis Devenish
Thomas Soaper	Edward Vincent	Fleetwood
Thomas Whaley	John Shackleton	Michael Chivers
Martin Beckman	John Pitt	David Williams
Charles Fitzwilliam	Thomas Hart	Seaton
Richard Fowler	William Richardson	John Shales
John Boyce	John Salter	Daniel Sutton
William Freeman	Robert Dancy	Bettsworth
John Pennington	Antony Browne	John Livesay
Henry Vaughan	Rupert Kempthorne	William Frowd
Jason Adams, Miners*		

* Possibly the pioneers at Sedgemoor

Duke of Beaufort's Regiment of Foot:

After Bridport, Colonel Strangeways' proposed the conversion of his militia into a new regiment of foot and this policy was quickly adopted by Whitehall to create many of the new units. One of these was raised from his Gloucestershire militia, which had the following 10 companies:[43]

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[42] NA, SP44/164, f.218.
[43] NA, SP44/164, f.239.

Captain	Lieutenant	Ensign
Duke of Beaufort, Colonel	Humphrey Fitzherbert, Captain Lt.	Christopher Carpenter
Sir John Hanmer, Lt. Colonel	Maurice Cotter	Richard Clifton
Henry Carre, Major	Maurice Wynne	William Catchmayd
William Wolseley	Ezra Walters	Edward Kerneys
Thomas Heane	Playter Soames Lowes	Charles Morgan
James Fountaine	Edward Turberville	Vaughin Philips
Edward James	Lewis Thomas	Henry Games
Henry Civers	Richard Hill	Edward Gibbs
William Winter	William Morgan	Richard Gywn
William Carville	Henry Lewis	Richard Crumpes

On 5 July these soldiers were issued with the following equipment from the Tower:[44]

590 x Matchlocks for musketeers and corporals
120 x Firelocks for file leaders
320 x Long pikes
710 x Bandoliers
30 x Halberds for sergeants
20 x Drums

Other regiments raised at the same time were:

Princess Anne of Denmark's Regiment of Foot (10 companies)
Strangeways' Regiment of Foot (in Dorset and possibly at Norton St Philip)
Cornewall's Regiment of Foot (12 companies and 1 grenadier company)
Earl of Bath's Regiment of Foot (in Exeter, 12 companies)
Duke of Norfolk's Regiment of Foot (10 companies)
Earl of Huntingdon's Regiment of Foot (10 companies)
Hale's Regiment of Foot (10 companies)
Clifton's Regiment of Foot (10 companies)

Royal Navy

The Royal Navy played an important part in the campaign in Scotland and England. The following vessels were involved:[45]

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[44] NA, WO 47/15, f.76.

[45] Primary reference for ship details <https://threedecks.org/>.

Ship	Captain	Guns	Description
Kingfisher	Thomas Hamilton	22 x Culverins 20 x 6-pounders 4 x 4-pounders	Fourth Rate Ship of the Line
Falcon	Charles Talbot	20 x 12-pounders 16 x 6-pounders 4 x Sakers	Fourth Rate Ship of the Line
Mermaid	William Clifford	12 x Demi-culverins 14 x Sakers 4 x Minions	Fifth Rate
Arran	Francis Walter	8 Guns	Yacht
Charlotte	John Clements	8 Guns	Yacht
FanFan	?	4 Guns	Ketch
Saudadoes	Richard Trevanion	4 x Demi-culverins 6 x 6-pounders 4 x Sakers 2 x 3-pounders	Sixth Rate
Garland	Richard Brothwick	16 x Demi-culverins 16 x Sakers 2 x 3-pounders	Fifth Rate
Young Spragg	Charles Skelton	6 x Sakers	Sixth Rate
Centurion	Ralph Wrenn	22 x Demi-culverins 22 x 8-pounders 6 x Sakers	Fourth Rate Ship of the Line

Argyll's Scottish Army

The Earl of Argyll sailed to Scotland with around 300 officers and veteran soldiers. These had come predominantly from the service of the Protestant armies of the United Provinces and Brandenburg. These men were formed into three companies and these became the core of the Whig army in Scotland. Although Argyll had brought arms to Scotland for nearly 10,000 soldiers, at Tarbert he modelled his army of 1,800 into three battalions of foot and a regiment of horse. These contained a mixture of Lowland and Highland companies. Each battalion had four or five companies, each of 100 men. These companies would have had the standard Dutch structure, with a Scottish twist:

1 Captain
2 Lieutenant
1 Ensign
2 Sergeants
3 Corporals armed with matchlocks
2 Drummers
100 Privates armed with firelocks, bandoliers and pistols. Soldiers in the veteran companies may also have had double-barrelled carbines, halberds, bayonets and possibly even grenades.

Colonel Robert Elphinson of Lapness's Foot Regiment had five companies and formed the Eilean Dearg garrison. At least three companies marched with Argyll to Ardkinglas. The known company officers were:

Colonel Lapness
Lieutenant Colonel Donald Campbell of Barbreck
Major John Campbell
Captain James Denham (veterans)

Colonel John Ayloff's Regiment of Foot appears to have had five companies. This unit was with Argyll's column that marched to Ardkinglas. The company officers were:

Colonel Ayloff
Lieutenant Colonel Griffith
Major John Fullerton
Captain Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth (Veterans)

Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck's Regiment of Foot had five companies, three of which went with Rumbold to Ardkinglas. The company officers were:

Colonel Auchinbreck
Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Campbell
Major James Henderson
Captain Duncanson (veterans)

Colonel Rumbold's Regiment of Horse was comprised of three troops each with around 50 troopers but appears to have been more like dragoons than horse. The possible structure of these troops was:

1 Captain
2 Lieutenants
1 Cornet
1 Trumpeter
3 Corporals
50 Privates, with pistols and carbines

The two identified troops are Rumbold's, and Captain Charles Campbell's.

Argyll's Artillery

Argyll transported up to 16 pieces of artillery to Scotland, all of which was captured at Eilean Dearg. Two of the larger guns, called Glyd-Gun and Plus Ultra, were returned to Argyll's son on 25 June, 1700.[46]

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[46] Ross, *Old Scottish Regimental Colours*, p.31.

Monmouth's English Army

On the crossing from Holland, Monmouth issued commissions to around 75 officers. On their arrival at Lyme a well-organised recruitment process was put in place with each 100-soldier company being drilled and equipped. These companies were then formed into four regiments, each of five companies. At the same time, horse troops of 50 privates were formed under their commissioned officers. It is hard to know the exact structure of each regiment, but based on the well-documented details of the Red Regiment, each company initially had:

1 Captain
2 Lieutenant
1 Ensign
2 Sergeants
3 Corporals with muskets
2 Drummers
32 Privates armed with pikes
68 Privates armed with firelocks or matchlocks and bandoliers

Duke of Monmouth's Regiment of Foot with Red Colours

Initially under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Venner, but after Bridport effective command of the regiment fell to Major Nathaniel Wade. Wade wrote a detailed account of the campaign and we know more about this regiment than any other Whig unit. The regiment had six companies at Lyme and known officers were:

Captain	1st Lieutenant	2nd Lieutenant	Ensign
Samuel Venner, Lt. Colonel*	Taylor, Captain Lt.		John Vincent, later Captain in Regiment
Nathaniel Wade, Major	Jacques Dolly	Thomas Tyler	John Cragg
Richard Goodenough, 1st Capt.*	Mitchell	Lillington	Thomas Dare (Jnr)
Joseph Tily (or Tyley), 2nd Capt.	William Hewling	-	-
Thompson, 3rd Capt.**	Brinscombe	Littleton?	Sanford
James Hayes, 4th Capt.	-	-	Babbington

* May have been replaced by Captain Christopher Battiscombe when Samuel Venner was wounded.

** Thompson's company may have been transferred to Bovett's Regiment at Taunton.

Captain Richard Slape's company of mixed scythe and shot was added to the regiment at Taunton. This numbered 100 soldiers, possibly in the following structure:

1 Captain
2 Lieutenant
1 Ensign
2 Sergeants
3 Corporals with muskets
2 Drummers
32 Privates armed with pikes
68 Privates armed with firelocks or matchlocks and bandoliers

Monmouth's Regiment of Foot was the largest Whig battalion and consistently numbered around 800 soldiers. It is therefore possible that the size of each company was increased to 150 or that it had eight companies, with Vincent's and Battiscombe's being formed. However, with the limited pool of officers, increasing the company sizes was the most obvious way to accommodate the new recruits.

Lieutenant Colonel Foulkes' Regiment of Foot with White Colours

This was the second regiment formed at Lyme and appears have had four or five companies. At Sedgemoor, the battalion only had 400 soldiers and was the smallest unit in the army. The only company identified was that of Captain Francis Goodenough and his Ensign Askew, who fought at Bridport. At Taunton, it is possible that an extra scythe company may have been added with same structure as Slape's.

Lieutenant Colonel Holmes' Regiment of Foot with Green Colours

This was the third regiment of foot to be raised at Lyme and saw action at Norton St Philip and Sedgemoor. At Sedgemoor the regiment had 600 soldiers in five or six companies. At Taunton, an extra scythe company may have been added with same structure as Slape's. The known regimental officers are:

Lieutenant Colonel Abraham Holmes
Major Robert Parson
1st Captain Patchell (killed at Norton St Philip)
Captain Holmes (the colonel's son killed at Norton St Philip)
Captain John Marders
Captain Chaddock (took over a troop of horse)
Ensign Blake (Holmes' company)

Lieutenant Colonel Matthews' Regiment of Foot with Yellow Colours

This regiment was the last regiment to be raised at Lyme, and before Colonel Matthews arrived from London, it was under the command of Major Fox. At Sedgemoor, the battalion had 500 soldiers possibly in five companies. At Taunton, an extra scythe company may have been added, with same structure as Slape's. The known officers are:

Lieutenant Colonel Edward Matthews
Major James Fox
Captain Robert Parrot

Lieutenant Colonel Richard Bovett's Taunton Regiment of Foot with Blue Colours

It is possible that this regiment was to be formed upon news of Monmouth's landing and march to Lyme. However, the presence of Luttrell's and then Stawell's Militia stopped all thoughts of an uprising. Therefore, a great number of Taunton men travelled to join Monmouth rather than wait. The regiment was finally raised on 20 June, and this resulted in the army being remodelled as Taunton men were transferred from the other Whig units into Bovett's. Captain Thompson is documented as having command of the scythe company. At Sedgemoor, the battalion numbered 600 men in either five or six companies. The following officers from the regiment are known:

Lieutenant Colonel Richard Bovett
Captain Philip Bovett (son of the colonel)
Captain Robert Bruce (from the Brandenburg army)
Captain Zachary Wyatt
Captain Josias Whettcombe
Captain John Herring
Captain William Thompson (mixed scythe)
Lieutenant William Reeve
Ensign Fleming

Lyme Independent Company

The body appears to have been formed when the army was remodelled at Taunton. It was comprised of scythe-men under the command of Captain Joseph Gaitch. As Monmouth's 'Fear Nothing but God' colour was found near were they fought at Sedgemoor, it is possible they became a Guards company and carried the 'King's Colours'. Colonel Brandt oversaw a brigaded battalion of scythe-men on the left wing at Sedgemoor and this may have included the Lyme company. Wade estimates the unit at 80 men during the battle.

Lord Grey's Horse

After Colonel Fletcher murdered Mr Dare at Lyme, Lord Grey took over command of the Whig Horse. This appears to have been formed intosquadrons of three troops. Based on the accounts, the first troop raised was under Major Manley and contained Captain Turner's and Captain Hewling's troops. The structure of each troop can be taken from Captain John Jones's Troop and possibly had:

1 Captain
1 Lieutenant
1 Cornet
1 Trumpeter
3 Corporals

40 to 50 troopers

The quality of these soldiers varied from well-armed and disciplined soldiers to others being described as 'ragged'. At Sedgemoor, Wade put the strength of the horse at 600. However, one troop and been dispatched to seize Keynsham bridge, while Hewling's and Cary's troops had been sent to capture guns from Dunster Castle. This left four squadrons at the battle. The following cavalry officers are known to have served in the army:

Captain Adlam (at Sedgemoor)
Captain Alexander (at Sedgemoor)
Captain Brand (killed at Keynsham)
Captain Cary (at Dunster)
Captain Dore (from Hampshire, possibly at Sedgemoor)
Captain John Kidd (possibly commanding Monmouth's Lifeguard)
Captain Chaddock (killed at Norton St Philip)
Captain Lieutenant William Savage (Lord Grey's Troop, at Sedgemoor)
Captain Benjamin Hewling (at Dunster)
Captain John Hucker (at Sedgemoor)
Captain John Jones (at Sedgemoor)
Lieutenant Burton (of Jones's Troop)
Cornet Lloyd (of Jones's Troop)
Captain Larke (at Sedgemoor)
Major John Manley (left army for London)
Captain Nelthorpe (at Sedgemoor)
Captain Norton (from Dorset, possibly at Sedgemoor)
Colonel John Spekes (left at Frome with his men)
Captain Thompson (army quartermaster, at Sedgemoor)
Captain John Tillier (at Sedgemoor)
Captain Tracy (at Sedgemoor)
Captain Reginald Tucker (at Sedgemoor)
Captain Turner (at Sedgemoor)

Train of Artillery

The was commanded by Captain Anton Buyse, and contained four field pieces described as falconets or robinets. These light 2 1/2 or 2-pounders would have been easy to move on the battlefield with a two-man crew, gunner and matrose. It is possible Buyse picked up a few small 'village' guns, but these would have been of little use without ball. It is possible that Monmouth choose to bring light pieces due to the resupply challenges with large calibre artillery. Only one of the gunners is known and that is Gunner John Rose; another 'Dutch' gunner was hanged on the battlefield of Sedgemoor.

Staff and Other Officers in Monmouth's Army

Amazingly we know more about Monmouth's staff than that of the Government forces. Alongside Monmouth's personal servants, were the following officers:

Colonel Brandt, Count of Horne (possibly chief-of-staff)

Colonel Stephenson, military advisor
Thomas Dare (paymaster, killed at Lyme)
Colonel Fletcher (Brigadier General of Horse, left at Lyme)
Colonel Samuel Venner (Brigadier General of Foot, wounded at Bridport)
Major James Fox (Adjutant-Major, Yellow Regiment)
Captain Samuel Storey (Commissary General)
Captain Richard Goodenough (paymaster after Dare's death, Red Regiment)
Benjamin Temple (chirurgeon)
William Oliver (surgeon)
Robert Ferguson (chaplain)

Other Officers in the army, but in unknown regiments are:

Captain William Godfrey (possibly Green or White?)
Captain Long
Captain Arthur Matthews (foot)
Captain Thomas Miller
Captain Thomas Smith
Ensign Showers
Cornet John Legg (killed at Ashill)

Other soldiers listed as having military experience, so possibly junior officers, or sergeants are:

Samuel Barnardiston
'young' Barnardiston
John Connett
Richard Connett
James Maxwell
Henry Seller
William Ward

Whig Navy

Although smaller than the Royal Navy, the Whig fleet numbered two frigates, two smaller warships, three smaller flyboats and four prizes including a 24-gun merchantman. In Scotland there were up to 30 smaller barques.

Ship	Captain	Guns	Description
Helderenberg	Cornelius van Brakell	10 x 6-pounders 10 x 3-pounder 6 x 1-pounders	Fifth Rate
'Carrick'	Captain Hayes	Unarmed	Powder ship
'Dogger'	-	Unarmed	Arms and ammunition
Anna	-	24 guns	Fifth Rate

David	-	4 guns when captured	Sixth Rate
Sophie	-	8 guns	
'Merchantman'	-	24 guns	

Route Marches

The campaign demonstrates another aspect of warfare, the route march. The National Archives War Office record books WO 5/1 and WO 5/2, amongst other things, detail the marching orders to for units, and distances between lodgements, for both foot and horse. The following tables outline the marching orders with routes relevant to the campaign of 1685. This gives some perspective on how far foot and horse regiment travelled each day.

Sir William Booth his company of Foot,[47] Portsmouth to London:

Place of Lodging	**Miles**	**Day**	**Date March 1685**
Petersfield	18	Monday	23
Liphook	8	Tuesday	24
Guildford	17	Wednesday	25
Kingston	18	Thursday	26
London	12	Friday	27

Captain Matthews with Kirke's Grenadiers,[48] Plymouth to London. The route took the grenadiers along the main road from the west which overlays with Kirke's theoretical return route to reach Salisbury, and then onto Chard:

Place of Lodging	**Miles**	**Day**	**Date May 1685**
Plimpton	8	Monday	4
Brent	10	Tuesday	5
Ashburton	9	Wednesday	6
Chidley	7	Thursday	7
Exeter	9	Friday	8
	Rest	Saturday	9
	Rest	Sunday	10
Honiton	19	Monday	11
Axminster	9	Tuesday	12
Crewkerne	12	Wednesday	13
	Rest	Thursday	14

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[47] NA, WO5/1, f.13.

[48] NA, WO5/1, f.19.

Sherborne	13	Friday	15
Shaftsbury	14	Saturday	16
	Rest	Sunday	17
Salisbury	16	Monday	18
	Rest	Tuesday	19
Middle Wallop	10	Wednesday	20
Andover	7	Thursday	21
Whitchurch	6	Friday	22
Basingstoke	11	Saturday	23
	Rest	Sunday	24
Hartley Row & Hertford Bridge	10	Monday	25
Bagshot	9	Tuesday	26
Egham & Staines	9	Wednesday	27
Hounslow & Brentford	8	Thursday	28
London	8	Friday	29

Captain Russell's Troop,[49] London to Taunton:

Place of Lodging	**Miles**	**Day**	**Date**
Egham	20	Monday	27July
Hartley Row	18	Tuesday	28 July
Basingstoke	10	Wednesday	29 July
Andover	18	Thursday	30 July
Amesbury	12	Friday	31 July
Warminster	19	Saturday	1 Aug
	Rest	Sunday	2 Aug
Bruton	17	Monday	3 Aug
Weston Regis	10	Tuesday	4 Aug
Bridgwater	17	Wednesday	5 Aug
Taunton	7	Thursday	6 Aug

Lord Cornbury's Troop,[50] Salisbury to Southwark. This table shows the route taken by Lord Cornbury's Dragoons and matches the journey to Salisbury ordered on 13 June:

Place of Lodging	**Miles**	**Day**	**Date, 1685**
Stockbridge	12	Monday	5 Oct
Alton	18	Tuesday	6 Oct

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[49] NA, WO5/1, f.179.

[50] NA, WO5/2, f.61.

Guildford	16	Wednesday	7 Oct
	Rest	Thursday	8 Oct
Southwark	24	Friday	9 Oct

Captain Littleton's Troop,[51] from Portsmouth to Taunton. This shows the direct route that could have been taken by the horse in the early part of the campaign:

Day	**Lodging**	**Miles**
0	Portsmouth	
1	Southampton	15
2	Dunkerton	13
3	Salisbury	8
4	Shaftsbury	18
5	Wincanton	10
6	Ilchester	11
7	Langport	9
8	Taunton	10

Prince George's Regiment,[52] from Kingston to Taunton. This showing the daily distances possible by a foot unit heading west on the same route as Monmouth was planning on 20 June:

Place of Lodging	**Miles**	**Day**	**Date Sept. 1685**
Kingston		Friday	11
Staines & Egham	9	Saturday	12
	Rest	Sunday	13
Bagshot	9	Monday	14
Hartley Row	8	Tuesday	15
Basingstoke	9	Wednesday	16
	Rest	Thursday	17
Andover	15	Friday	18
Amesbury	12	Saturday	19
	Rest	Sunday	20
Warminster	15	Monday	21
Shepton Mallet	12	Tuesday	22
	Rest	Wednesday	23
Langport	13	Thursday	24
Taunton	9	Friday	25

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[51] NA, WO5/2, f.22.
[52] NA, WO5/2, f.25.

Tower Artillery Train's route march,[53] London to Chippenham:

Place of Lodging	Night of	Date June 1685
Brentford	Monday	22
Maidenhead	Tuesday	23
Reading	Wednesday	24
Newbury	Thursday	25
Marlborough	Friday	26
Chippenham	Saturday	27

Foot Guards brigade,[54] route march London to Marlborough:

Date	Place of Lodgement
20 June	Brentford
21 June	Maidenhead
22 June	Reading
23 June	Newbury
24 June	Marlborough

Government Army Strengths

Since James II's account, the armies at Sedgemoor have been consistently underestimated, and never challenged. On Oglethorpe's return to London he spoke of 'his Majesties forces, being about 1,800 foot and 700 horse' and this has passed into history. However, based on the manuscript evidence this needs to be reassessed. This will enable the placement and size of the Government army's lodgement, together with mapping the total frontages of the opposing forces. It is important to note that all the strengths outline are establishment and the actual numbers would be up to 15 percent lower. Feversham's army was comprised of three elements that joined at Westbury on 30 June. These were Lord Churchill's Brigade, the Guards Brigade, and the Tower artillery train.

Lord Churchill's Brigade

This brigade had come together at Salisbury and then followed Monmouth's army and contained:

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[53] NA, WO 5/1, f.76.

[54] NA, WO 5/1, f.61.

Regiment	**Commander**	**Companies/ Troops**	**Est. Strength Privates**
Kirke's	Col. Kirke (Line)	4	200
	Matthews (Grenadiers)	1	50
Trelawny's	Lt. Col. Churchill (Line)	3	300
	Johnson (Grenadiers)	1	50
Oxford Blues	Parsons	1	50
	Littleton	1	50
	Wyndham	1	50
	Sandys	1	50
Royal Dragoons	Lord Cornbury	1	50
	Coy	1	50
Artillery	Sheers	8 Guns	20

At the end of the battle of Sedgemoor, Lord Churchill was dispatched to Bridgwater with 500 foot, plus several troops of horse and dragoons. As Kirke's and Trelawny's remained in the town and area afterwards the battle, it is safe to assume these were the soldiers under Churchill. This reflects the strength of the three unengaged line companies from Trelawny's and the four from Kirke's. When the grenadiers, six troops of horse and dragoons are added the total strength of the brigade is 600 foot and 300 horse.

Guards Brigade

The second brigade to march from London contained the Guards with the following units:

Regiment	**Commander**	**Co. /Trps**	**Est. Str. Privates**
Lifeguards	Villiers (1st Troop)	1	50
	Parker (horse grenadiers)	1	20
	Orby (2nd Troop)	1	50
	Dixon (Horse Grenadiers)	1	20
	Oglethorpe (3rd Troop)	1	50
	Vaughan (Horse grenadiers)	1	20
Oxford Blues	Adderley	1	60
	Cornewell	1	60
Royal Dragoons	Hussey (Lord Churchill's)	1	60
	G. Churchill	1	60
1st Foot Guards	Grafton (Guards)	6	600
	Hawley (Grenadiers)	1	50
	Eaton (Guards)	60	600
	Booth (Grenadiers)	1	50
Coldstream	Sackville (Guards)	6	600

	Bridgman (Grenadiers)	1	50
Volunteer Horse	H. Bertie	1	50
	Talbot	1	50

By using the new establishment strength of 100 men for Guards and 50 privates for the grenadier companies, the size of each would be 650 privates. This puts the total strength of the brigade at nearly 1,950 soldiers. This is remarkably close to three eyewitnesses that counted 2,000 Guards marching from London, and another that put the guards at 1,800 soldiers. On 30 June, 400 new recruits for the Guards were marching from London, and although this column could have included 150 new grenadiers, it is more likely to be the missing strengths. It is therefore very possible that the Guards were about 300 soldiers below the establishment at the battle of Sedgemoor.

The Tower Artillery Train

This was the smallest brigade with just three units:

Formation	Commander	Co. /Trps	Est. Str. Privates
Oxford Blues	Compton	1	60
Royal Scots	Lord Douglas (line)*	5	500
Artillery	Povey	16 Guns	100

* If one of the line companies is replaced by a grenadier company the strength drops to 450 soldiers in the battalion.

Grenadier Battalion

There are several indications that the grenadier companies were brigaded at Sedgemoor. Firstly, Feversham was planning to attack Bridgwater, and this would have been an obvious formation for these elite units. Next, is that they had been brigaded at Norton St Philip and placed in the vanguard. In James II's account of the battle, the five grenadier companies advance together across the ditch. This would have been difficult if the companies were dispersed across the whole army's frontage.[55] In addition, one of the maps drawn up by the Reverend Paschall[56] clearly shows the 'grenadiers' camped on the open left flank of the line. As Paschall was not a military man he would not have put this on the map without talking to eyewitnesses. However, this detail is dropped in his other maps. Clearly this position would have made military sense, as no general would leave an open flank in such an exposed location.

Feversham's Army at Sedgemoor

Based on the strengths already outlined this gives an army strength for the Government foot as:

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[55] BL,Harley 6845, f.294r, 'the five comp: of Grena were ordered to follow'.

[56] Reprinted in SA, PAM 1476 from MS, Ballard 48, f.74.

Formation	**Companies**	**Strength Privates**
Grafton's 1st Foot Guard Battalion	6	500
Eaton's 1st Foot Guard Battalion	6	500
Sackville's Coldstream Guard Battalion	6	500
Douglas's Royal Scots Battalion	5	500
Kirke's Tangiers Battalions (inc. Trelawny's)	7	500
Lt. Col. Churchill's Grenadier Battalion	5	250
Totals	35	2,750

For the Government horse the strengths are:

Formation	**Troops**	**Strength**
Villiers (1st Lifeguards, Adderley's, Horse Grenadiers, J. Churchill's Dragoons)	4	230*
Orby (Littleton's, Wyndham's, Parsons', Cornewell's)	4	200
Compton (Own, Sandys, G. Churchill's Dragoons)	3	170
Oglethorpe (2nd Lifeguards, 3rd Lifeguards + Volunteers)	3	150
Lord Cornbury (Own)	1	60
Totals (without Coy's Dragoons)	14	810

This is extremely close to Charles Bertie's description on 7 July, when he writes that the Government army numbered 2,700 foot and 800 horse.[57] Regarding the gap between Oglethorpe's account and these strengths, the most likely assumption is that the Colonel only counted the guards or those units involved in the action. When we look at James II's 1686 account and using the establishment strengths of the time we end up with 1,930 foot and 750 horse. Most accounts of the battle put the Government army between 1,900 to 2,700 foot and around 700 to 800 horse. This excludes the four troops of horse and two regiments of foot from the Wiltshire Militia that arrived at the end of the battle.

Strength of Monmouth's Army

It is hard to put an exact figure on the size of Monmouth's army as we only have snippets of information from letters and accounts. At Axminster on 15 June, the army is estimated at 2,000 foot and 300 horse,[58] and by the time he reached Taunton on 18 June it had grown to 3,000 men.[59] On marching from Bridgwater, reports in London put it at between 8,000 and 10,000 men.[60] The next accounts of Monmouth's army size comes at Keynsham, when it was drawn

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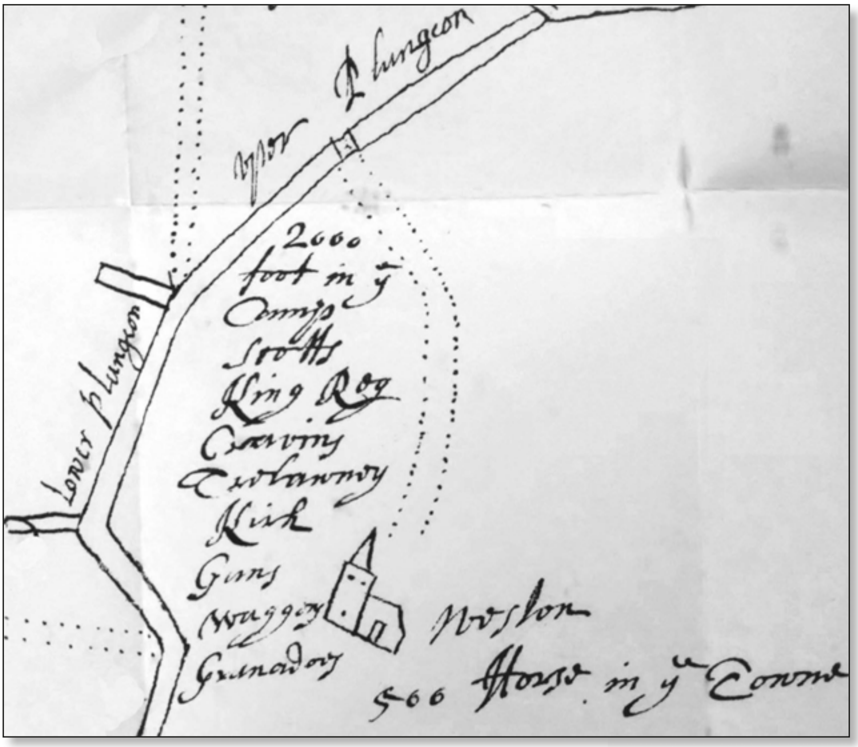
[57] BL, Add MS 38012, f.31.

[58] Muddiman, *Assizes*, p.165.

[59] BL, Harley 6845, f.287.

[60] Morrice, *Entring*, Vol. 3, p.20.



Snippet from a Paschall map showing the grenadiers on the left of the line. (From MS, Ballard 48, f.74)

up on Sydenham Mead. Creswicke details 8,000 foot and 1,000 horse,[61] while another letter puts the army at between 4,000 and 5,000 foot and 1,500 horse.[62] The next information we have about it is from Richard Goodenough, who as paymaster would have a good view on the actual strengths. In his examination, Goodenough states that the Whigs 'were never 6000 fighting men.'[63] At the same Abraham Holmes confesses that 'by Bridgwater [we] were not above 5000 men.'[64]

Another factor was the availability of the weapons needed to equip the soldiers. Richard Goodenough indicates that they brought arms for 2,500 foot,[65] while Wade puts the number at 1,500[66] and Lord Grey indicates 600.[67] However, each officer had a different perspective on the numbers because they were responsible for different aspects of the supply. This is clear when reports from spies are studied that far more weapon than listed, were purchased.[68] Finally, Oldmixon writes that Monmouth brought with him 'arms for about 5,000 men, horse and foot'.[69] When the different lists are combined we end up with:

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[61] Historic Manuscripts Commission, *Fifth Report*, p.238.
[62] Morrice, *Entring*, Vol. 3, p.22.
[63] BL, Lansdown 1152, f.243.
[64] BL, Lansdown 1152, f.240.
[65] BL, Lansdown 1152 f.243.
[66] BL, Harley 6845, f.271r.
[67] BL, Add MS 30077, f.28r.
[68] BL, Add MS 41817 f.51 'several [cases] laden with arms, as muskets, carbines, and pistols … eighty cases laden with all sorts, as muskets, carbines, pistols, pikes, sp…, halbards, partisans etc.'
[69] Oldmixon, *History of England*, p.701.

List	Foot Arms	Horse Arms	Armour	Other
Wade	1,500	-	1,500	4 Cannon
Grey	100 Muskets 500 Pikes	1,460	-	Quantity of double-barrelled carbines and pistols
Goodenough	2,500			

It is probable that Monmouth landed with enough weapons to arm up to 2,500 foot and 1,500 horse. Interestingly, Goodenough goes on to state that 'severall of the militia of Dorset & Somerset came with their arms'. To this, we can add the 1,000 or more weapons in Taunton Castle and the cases of muskets, containing up to 250 new muskets, captured at Wells. Finally, around 300 scythes were added to the army's stores. Once all this is added together, by 22 June Monmouth had around 3,500 well-armed foot and 1,000 horse, with possibly 1,500 armed with older weapons or scythes, and as many as 2,000 following the army without weapons. This would fit with Creswicke's description of the army at Keynsham as numbering 8,000 foot and 1,000 horse, 'some well-armed, others indifferent, and some not at all.'

One other aspect to measure the structure and size of Monmouth's army are the number of colours issued and taken. At Taunton 27 colours were presented, with two of these being Monmouth's own standards. This leaves five colours per battalion or one per company. After the battle, 22 colours were recovered, including Monmouth's green standard. This gives a good indication that the army structure remained the same at Sedgemoor. James II describes the army as having 'five great battalions'.[70] This could point towards Monmouth's company size being larger than the normal practice.

The final view on Monmouth's army size are the casualties and those taken in the Assizes. According to Wheeler, around 1,558 died in the battle and rout from Sedgemoor, to which we can add around 100 killed during the campaign. Finally, by adding the 1,233 that were either executed or transported after the Assizes, we end up with the total number of known Whigs killed or captured at 2,876 men. This total is about a third of the estimated army size at Keynsham. The following tables outline the known Whig casualties in England during and after the campaign of 1685.

Killed in Action

Engagement	Killed	Date
Killed at Sedgemoor	174	6 July, 1685
Killed in the Cornfields near Sedgemoor	1,384	6 July, 1685
Arbitrary Executions	30?	June and July 1685
Estimated at Keynsham	20?	25 June, 1685

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[70] BL,Harley 6845, f.291.

Estimated Killed at Bridport	18?	14 June, 1685
Estimated Killed at Norton St Philip	50?	27 June, 1685
Estimated Killed at Ashill	5?	19 June, 1685

Executions after the Assize Court

Town of Execution	Number Hanged	Confirmed Date
Axminster	1	14 October, 1685
Axminster	1	14 September, 1685
Bath	6	18 November, 1685
Bridgwater	9	
Bridport	9	12 September, 1685
Bristol, Redcliff Hill	5	9 October, 1685
Bruton	3	
Castle Cary	2	
Chard	12	
Chewton Mendip	2	
Colyton	2	6 October, 1685
Cothelstone	2	
Crediton	1	14 September, 1685
Crewkerne	10	
Dorchester	13	7 September, 1685
Dulverton	2	8 December, 1685
Dunster	3	8 December, 1685
Exeter	1	14 September, 1685
Frome	12	
Glastonbury	5	6 October, 1685
Honiton	4	7 October, 1685
Ilchester	12	
Ilminster	12	
Keynsham	10	
Langport	3	
London, Cheapside	1	23 October, 1685
London, Tyburn	1	23 October, 1685
London, Temple Gate	1	30 October, 1685
London, Gray's Inn	1	30 October, 1685
Lyme	12	12 September, 1685
Melcombe Regis & Weymouth	12	15 September, 1685
Milborne Port	2	
Minehead	3	8 December, 1685

Town of Execution	Number Hanged	Confirmed Date
Nether Stowey	3	
Ottery St Mary	2	
Pensford	12	
Philips Norton	12	
Poole	11	21 September, 1685
Porlock	2	8 December, 1685
Shepton Mallet	11	
Sherborne	12	15 September, 1685
Somerton	7	
South Petherton	3	
Stogumber	3	
Stogursey	2	1 November, 1685
Taunton	4	21 September, 1685
Taunton	18	30 September, 1685
Wareham	5	22 September, 1685
Wellington	3	1 October, 1685
Wells	1	22 September, 1685
Wells	8	
Wincanton	6	
Winchester	1	2 September, 1685
Wiveliscombe	3	
Wrington	3	
Yeovil	8	

Transportations after the Assize Court

Transportation Ship	Number	Destination	Known Date
Indeavour	97	St Kitts & Nevis	10 October, 1685
Rebecca	14	Barbados	21 October, 1685
Happy Return	93	Barbados	25 September, 1685
John Friggat	90	Barbados	24 October, 1685
Betty	80	Barbados	25 November, 1685
Port Royal Merchant	172	Jamaica	25 October, 1685
Constant Richard	84	Jamaica	31 October, 1685
Jamaica Merchant	182	Barbados	9 December, 1685
Exchange	5	Virginia	
Unknown	39	Virginia?	

Monmouth's Army at Sedgemoor

By 5 July, the size of Monmouth's army had stabilised after many had been sent home. For the upcoming march, the Duke wished to have only fighting soldiers in the ranks. It is time to turn to Wade's account of the army at Sedgemoor and compare this to the strengths and formations detailed earlier. Wade puts Monmouth's fighting strength at 2,980 foot and 600 horse. From the other side, most Government accounts put the Whig army strength at between 4,000 and 6,000 foot and 1,200 to 1,500 horse. It is possible that up to 2,000 poorly armed foot acted as a rear and baggage guard near Bawdrip. In addition, Colonel Brandt commanded a combine scythe battalion which possibly numbered around 400. This puts Monmouth's army at around 3,500 soldiers which is close enough to Wade's estimates to conclude that the Whig force was:

Formation	Wade's Strength	Estimated Companies/Troops	Estimated Size
Wade, Red Regiment	800	6	800
Matthews, Yellow Regiment	500	5	500*
Holmes, Green Regiment	600	5	600*
Bovett, Blue Regiment	600	5	600*
Foulkes, White Regiment	400	5	400*
Brandt's Scythe Battalion (Lyme, Bovett's, Matthews, Foulkes and Holmes)	-	5	400
Horse	600	-	-
Lifeguard (Kidd?)	-	1	40
Hucker's Squadron	-	3	150
Grey's Squadrons	-	4–6?	250
Jones' Squadron	-	3	150
Detached (Hewling's, Cary's, one other)	-	3	150
Baggage Guard	-		2,000

* Scythe companies brigaded under Colonel Brandt

The Government Lodgement

One aspect of the art of seventeenth-century warfare that has been neglected by historians is the military encampment or lodgement. Over the period, a lodgement went from semi-organised rows of tents to being organised and critical to the army on campaign. At first the inspiration came from the dictates of Roman Generals, but by 1685 these manuals had evolved and been adapted for modern use. In *A Treatise of the Art of War*, the Earl of Orrery dedicates over a third of his book to lodgements.[71] The importance of the lodgement in the Sedgemoor campaign cannot be underestimated, and was almost certainly the reason for the final victory by Feversham on 6 July 1685. It was only once the tents arrived that the Government army felt safe enough to advance into contact distance with Monmouth, before this Feversham maintained a respectful distance to avoid any unpleasant surprises.

The seventeenth-century military lodgement had been designed to allow soldiers to rapidly form up into their companies. It consisted of a box, approximately 100 paces square, into which a standard battalion was camped. This space was split into files of tents for each 50 men, laid out with lanes between each, and byways to enable lateral movement. Each file of tents had a frontage of 12 feet, giving eight feet was for the tent and four foot for an access lane into which the soldiers stumbled when roused. Opposite was another file of tents facing inwards making each pair of files 24 feet wide. Between each pair of tent files was another lane of eight feet. Each company would be divided into files of 50 men. Therefore, a company of 50 would have one file; a 100-man company two files; while a 60-soldier company would also have two files; a 200-man company would have four files and so on. In the centre of a battalion lodgement was a space for the colonel's headquarters, this was always 68 feet wide, including a lane on either side. The battalion companies would be split on either side of this space, with the most senior on the outside right, second on the outside left. Therefore, a battalion of six companies, each of 50 men would have a frontage of 55 paces.

The calculation is the number of company tent files multiplied by 12 to give the company frontage in feet. Then add half the number of files, times eight, for the lanes between the tent files, finally add 68 feet for the colonel's lodgement to give a total battalion frontage of 164 feet or 55 paces.[72] The calculation is (((number of soldiers in a company / 50) x 12) * number of companies) + ((number of companies / 2) x 8) + (68 for the colonel's space) = frontage in feet / to get the number of paces to peg out. For a battalion of six companies of 100 men the calculation is: (((100/50) x 12) + (6 x 8) + 68)) / 3 to give 87 paces. To the left of each battalion should be added a minimum of 15 paces or 45 feet for a street, giving a total lodgement for the battalion of 305 feet or a baseline estimate of 102 paces. Orrery states that the frontage of a battalion is normally 100 paces.

The length or depth of the lodgement was as equally detailed, with each battalion being set aside a depth of 300 feet. At the head of each company tent file was a space of 40 feet for the captain, lieutenants, and ensign's tents. Then came the lower byway of 20 feet into which the company arms where neatly stacked, after this came a space of 200 feet for the company's files of tents. Behind this was the upper byway of 20 feet. Beyond which there was a 10 foot space for the victuallers and sutlers; and finally, there was a 10 foot space for the company kitchen. Behind the colonel's lodgement came a space for the waggons, carriages, the carters, and their horses. Orrery states that to

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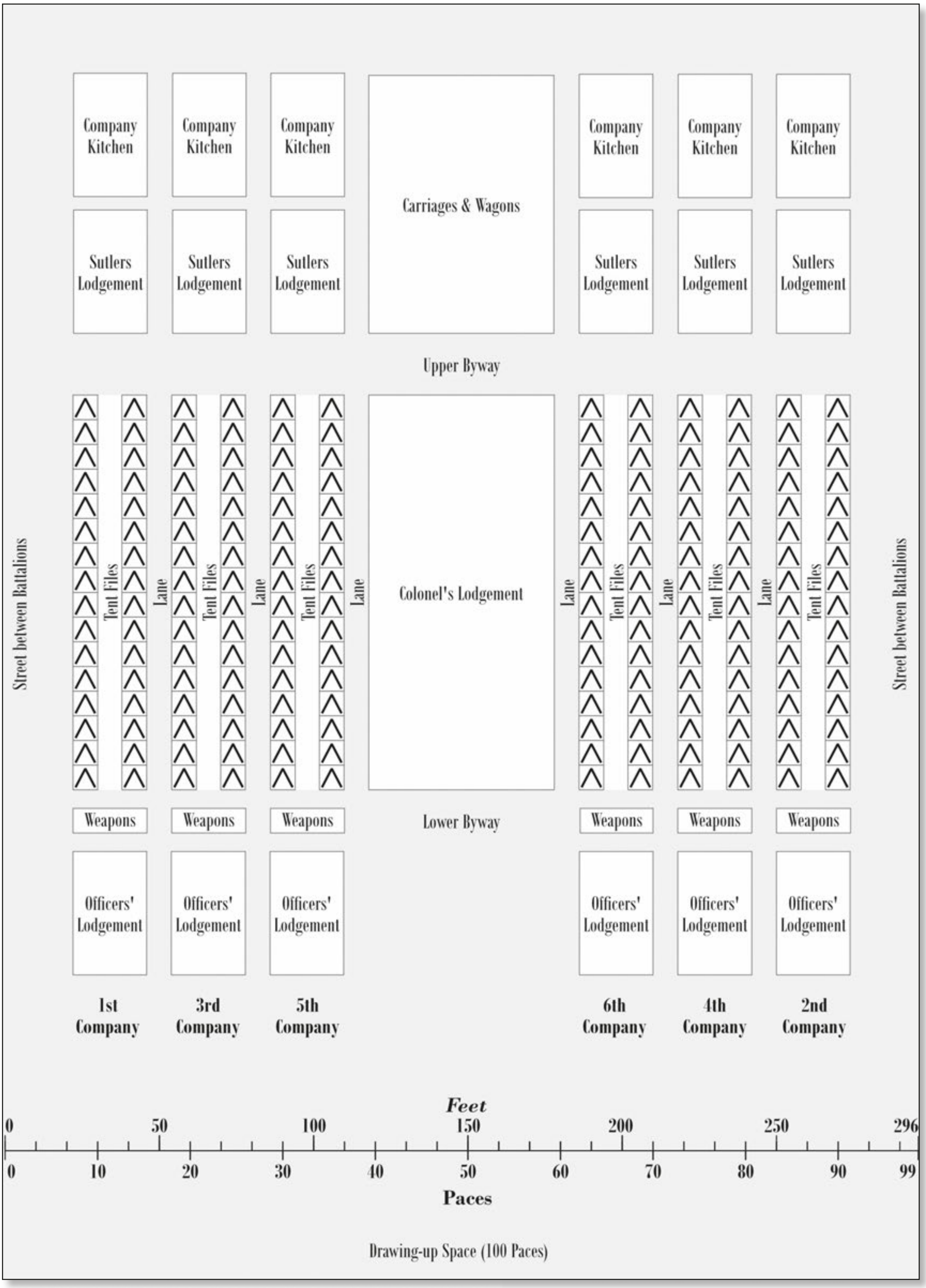
[71] Orrery, *A Treatise of the Art of War*, pp.73–147.

[72] Orrery, *A Treatise of the Art of War*, pp.88–92.


Company Kitchen
Company Kitchen
Company Kitchen
Carriages & Wagons
Company Kitchen
Company Kitchen
Company Kitchen
Sutlers Lodgement
Sutlers Lodgement
Sutlers Lodgement
Sutlers Lodgement
Sutlers Lodgement
Sutlers Lodgement
Upper Byway
Street between Battalions
Tent Files
Lane
Tent Files
Lane
Tent Files
Lane
Colonel's Lodgement
Lane
Tent Files
Lane
Tent Files
Lane
Tent Files
Street between Battalions
Weapons
Weapons
Weapons
Lower Byway
Weapons
Weapons
Weapons
Officers' Lodgement
Officers' Lodgement
Officers' Lodgement
Officers' Lodgement
Officers' Lodgement
Officers' Lodgement
1st Company
3rd Company
5th Company
6th Company
4th Company
2nd Company
Feet
0
50
100
150
200
250
296
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
90
99
Paces
Drawing-up Space (100 Paces)

avoid accidents no fires should be allowed across the upper byway, although each corporal with a matchlock will have his match lit and covered. This put each company of 100 soldiers in a lodgement of 300 feet in length and with a frontage of 24 feet. It is my assumption that the tents closest to the lower byway contained the drummers, after which came the corporals, then the file leaders with firelocks, the pikes, the musketeers, and finally nearest the upper byway, the sergeants.

In front of each battalion lodgement was a drawing-up space with a depth of 100 paces. It was into this area that each company deployed. To form up the company the soldiers would come from their tents and head towards the lower byway to pick up their weapons. The drummers would arrive at in the drawing-up space first, followed by the file leaders and corporals. As the file leaders were armed with firelocks, they could load and fire in times of emergency, while behind them the corporals moved the rest of the privates into ranks and files. The sergeant would then move down the tent files, checking for shirkers and herding the soldiers towards the drawing-up space. In the centre of the lodgement the colonel and his major would be dressing and watching for the company officers to indicate their company was ready. The battalion could be battle ready in possibly 15 to 20 minutes.

The alternative, as with the militia in Middlezoy, was for a company of soldiers to be split across buildings. Each containing a mix of weapons with each having a non-commissioned officer or file leader. The drummers would be lodged in the same building as the company officers. On the alarm being raised, each building would empty into the nearby streets, then they would make their way to the drawing-up space, to form into ranks and files. The sergeants would have to check each building, before returning to the drawing-up ground. The officers would make their way through the crowded streets, with men from different regiments heading towards their drawing up spaces. From the alarm, to the regiment being ready to fight or march, could take up to three-quarters of an hour. Anyone familiar with evacuation from office buildings during a fire drill can imagine the scene in Middlezoy on the morning of 6 July. Once the importance of the lodgement is understood it is clear why Feversham made it clear to his masters in Whitehall that he needed tents for all his foot, before pressing Monmouth.

It is important to understand that the establishment strengths were used to determine the size of the battalion lodgement, not the actual strengths. Even if the companies were not at full strength, on 6 July, 1685 the establishment strength of each company and been set at 100 men, and tents where issued on that basis. The quick calculation for the frontage of each battalion would be simply the number of companies. If the grenadier companies had been brigaded and camped elsewhere, the calculation for the lodgement for the Coldstreams is (6 companies of 100 x 24 feet) plus (6 lanes x 8 feet), and an additional 68t feet for the colonel's space, to give a frontage of 260 feet. The 1st Foot Guards had 12 companies of 100 soldiers: (12 companies x 24 feet) + (12 lanes x 8 feet) + 68 feet) giving a frontage of 452 feet. The Royal Scots had five companies of 100: (5 companies x 24 feet) + (5 lanes x 8 feet) + 68 feet giving a frontage of 228 feet. However, the two undersized 'Tangiers' battalions would need special attention. Kirke's had four companies of 50 men or enough for two tent lanes, while Trelawny's had three companies of 100 or three tent lanes. If these half-battalions were brigaded they would only require one colonel's lodgement making the frontage: (Kirke's 2 tent files x 24 feet) + (Trelawny's 3 companies x 24 feet) + (5 lanes x 8 feet) + one 68 feet colonel's lodgement, gives 228 feet.

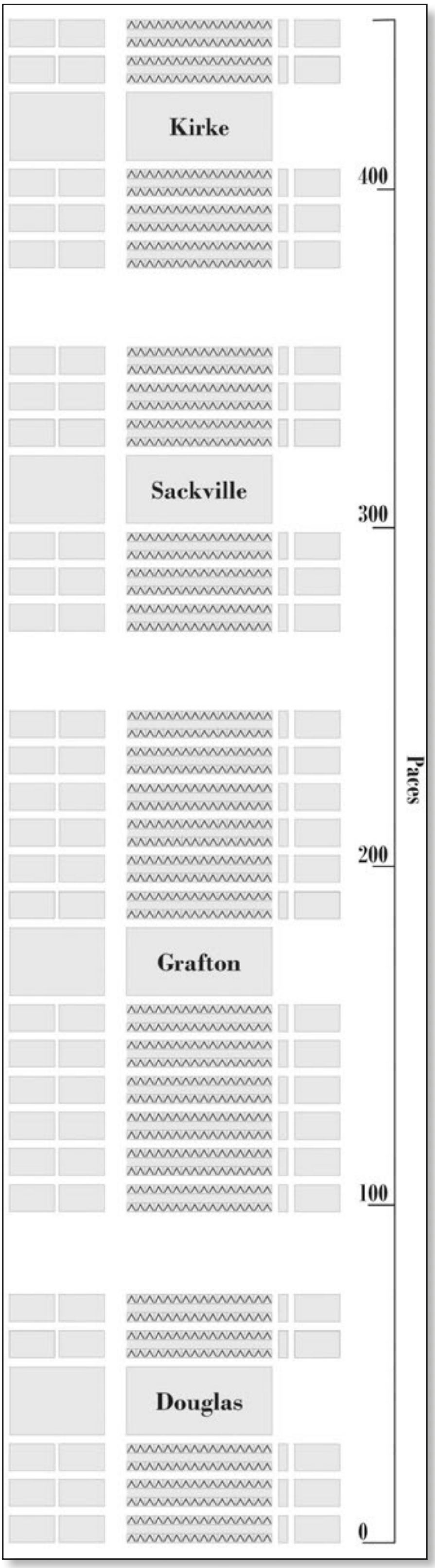
Without the grenadier companies, this gives the total frontage of the army facing Chedzoy as the Royal Scots 228 feet, 1st Foot Guards 452 feet, Coldstream 260 feet, and Tangiers 228 feet. Once the streets of 45 feet between battalions are added, the total size of the lodgement is 1,303 feet, or 435 paces, or 382 metres. If we add the grenadier companies to the lodgement, 72 feet is added to the frontage of the army, making it 1,375 feet, or 459 paces, or 419 metres.

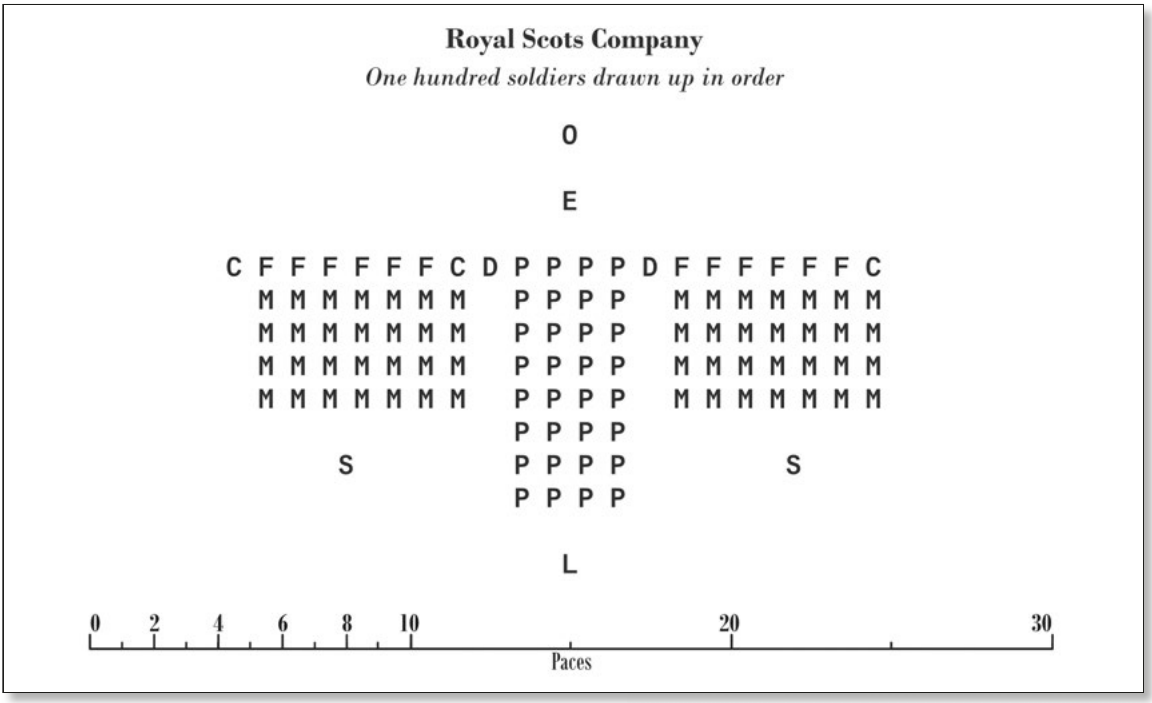
Finally, if we take James II's account for the lodgement and assume each company was set at the non-establishment size of 50 for the Royal Scots, Kirke's and Trelawny's and 60 for the guards, the lodgement calculation is: Royal Scots (5 companies x 12 feet) + (3 lanes x 8 feet) + 68 feet = 152 feet; plus the same for Kirke's and Trelawny's; Coldstream (6 companies x 24) + 12 for the grenadiers + (6 lanes x 8 feet) + 68 feet = 272 feet; 1st Foot Guards (12 companies x 24 feet) + 12 for the grenadiers + (12 lane x 8 feet) + 68 feet = 464 feet. This gives a lodgement of 152 + 45 + 464 + 45 + 272 + 45 + 152 + 45 + 152 = 1,372 feet, or 458 paces, or 418 metres. Regardless of which establishment model is used, based on Dummer's and Paschall's maps even James II's understrength army results in a camp frontage of between 1,303 and 1,375 feet or around a quarter of a mile.

Army Frontages at Sedgemoor

The final consideration needed to correctly define the battle of Sedgemoor are the frontages of each foot battalion. This is critical to understand the position and orientation of the armies. Having looked at the Government lodgement each battalion had a drawing-up space allocated to it, and the men would quickly move into this to form up, company by company. After this the musket and pike would be interchanged to form battalia. The starting point, in understanding frontages is therefore, the company and its divisions.

In 1685, depending on the establishment size of the company, it would normally have three divisions, two of shot and one of pike. The shot would be formed on either side of the pike, as wings. The size of each division would be dictated by the number of soldiers armed with each weapon. In the Royal Scots, each company had 32 pike and 68 shot, to create two shot wings of 34. Each division would be drawn up in ranks (rows) and files




Royal Scots Company

One hundred soldiers drawn up in order

O
E
C F F F F F F C D P P P P D F F F F F F C
M M M M M M M P P P P M M M M M M M
M M M M M M M P P P P M M M M M M M
M M M M M M M P P P P M M M M M M M
M M M M M M M P P P P M M M M M M M
P P P P
S P P P P S
P P P P
L
0 2 4 6 8 10 20 30
Paces

(columns). As the basic unit of a division a file of either four, six or eight men, for the pike we can identify the number of files in division as eight (32 soldiers / 8 = 8 files). For the shot this is harder, as 34 is not divisible by four, six or eight. However in 1685, the Royal Scots shot are armed with different muskets, six had firelocks and 28 had matchlocks. One of the battlefield tactics used at the time was to have a reserve rank of musket, always ready to fire, and it is likely therefore that the six firelocks in each division acted as the reserve rank. This leaves the seven files of musketeers armed with matchlocks in four ranks. What we end up with is two divisions of shot drawn up in seven files of four ranks, and one pike division to four files of eight rank. The firelock would then form a single rank, with a corporal as right marker, in front of the shot wings. The drummer would be placed in blank files between the shot wings and the pike block or 'stand'. The sergeants would be on either flank of the company, the ensign in front of the stand of pike, the lieutenant would be at the rear and the captain three paces in front of the ensign.

Once the number of files per division is identified, the frontage of a company is easy to calculate. The standard spacing between each file was three feet or a pace, called 'order'. Close order was half a pace between each file, and open order two paces. Finally, extended order was four paces. The distance between each rank was typically three paces or one in combat. As each company of Royal Scots, had two division of seven shot files, four pike files and two drummer files, we easily get to a total frontage of 20 files or paces, or 60 feet. When we add four paces between each company, we end up with battalion frontage of 116 paces or 348 feet.

When marching in columns, a company would have a frontage of four files in the open order, or eight paces. The reserve firing rank wheeled into column and formed the head of the company with those following falling into column behind them.

The Guards battalions had six companies, each with 60 shot and 40 pike. This gives two musket divisions of 30. If like the other regiments, six musketeers per division acted as the reserve fire rank this leaves six files in four ranks on either side of five files of eight pikes. When we add the drums the number of files per Guards company is 19 paces or 57 feet. This give a battalion frontage of 134 paces or 402 feet.

The next battalion in line was Trelawny's with three companies of 100. This gave each company the same structure as the Royal Scots, making the battalion frontage 68 paces or 204 feet. However, two of the musket divisions had been deployed in the Penzoy Pound, reducing the company frontage to 55 paces. The last unit in line was Kirke's Regiment with only four companies of 50 soldiers. These companies would have had one shot division of 34, and a smaller pike stand of 16 soldiers. This results in seven musket files, two pike files and a drummer, taking up just 10 paces. This gives the total frontage for Kirke's as 52 paces when inter-company spacing is added.

The grenadier companies were also 50 strong, and formed into two divisions, each under a lieutenant. With the reserve rank this gave each division five files, with two drummer files. This gives a company frontage of 14 paces and the battalion a frontage of 86 paces or 258 feet.

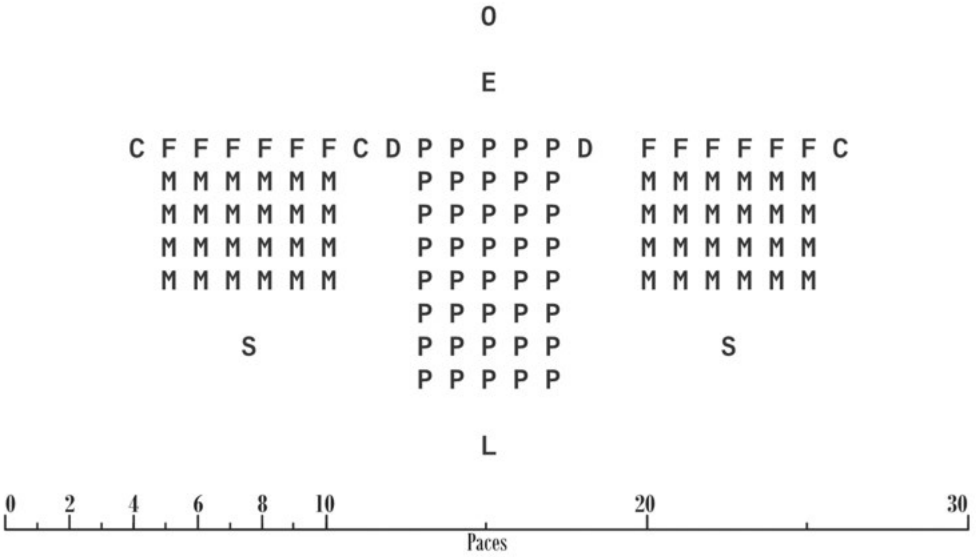
This gives the Government army a frontage of:

Battalion	**Companies**	**Cy. Frontage**	**Battalion Frontage**
Douglas' Royal Scots	5	20 paces	116 paces
Lane			45 paces
Grafton's 1st Foot Guards	6	19 paces	134 paces
Lane			45 paces
Eaton's 1st Foot Guards	6	19 paces	134 paces
Lane			45 paces
Sackville's Coldstream Guards	6	19 paces	134 paces
Total facing Chedzoy			653 paces
Trelawny's (with two division missing)	3	12 + 20 paces	52 paces
Lane			45 paces
Kirke's	4	10 paces	52 paces
Total facing the Lower Plungeon			149 paces
Grenadiers	5	14 paces	86 paces

When drawing up the army, it was also important to have as much as 60 paces between each battalion. This allowed unit to interchange and march through the gaps. At Sedgemoor, the artillery and the grenadiers used these gaps to deploy facing the enemy. Therefore, these are critical and must be accounted for in our line of battle. Once lanes of 45 paces are added between

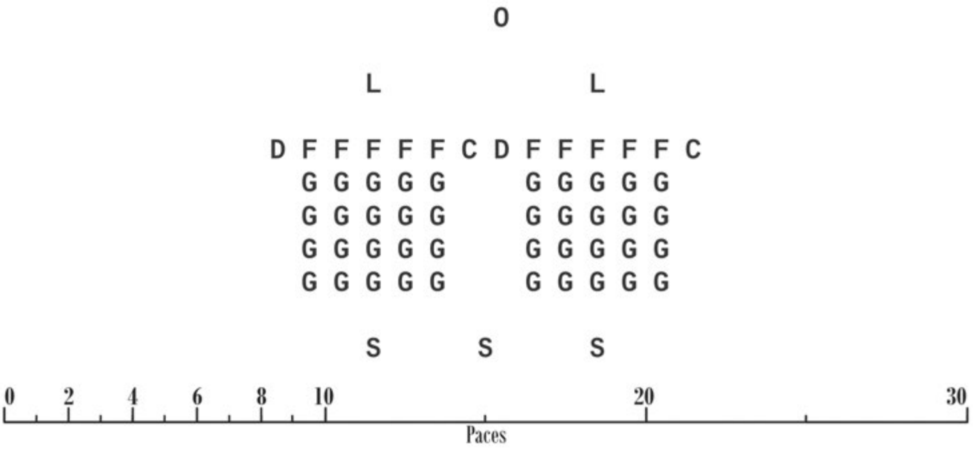
First Foot Guard Company

One hundred soldiers drawn up in order


O
E
C F F F F F F C D P P P P P D F F F F F F C
M M M M M M P P P P P M M M M M M
M M M M M M P P P P P M M M M M M
M M M M M M P P P P P M M M M M M
M M M M M M P P P P P M M M M M M
P P P P P
S P P P P P S
P P P P P
L
0
2
4
6
8
10
20
30
Paces

Grenadier Company

Fifty soldiers drawn up in order


O
L L
D F F F F F C D F F F F F C
G G G G G G G G G G
G G G G G G G G G G
G G G G G G G G G G
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0
2
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6
8
10
20
30
Paces

each battalion, the army frontage from Douglas's to Sackville's is 653 paces or 1,959 feet, whilst Kirke's two battalions had a frontage of 149 paces.

Monmouth's Army

By using the same method as above, we can calculate an estimated frontage for each of Monmouth's battalions and for the total army. Wade's Battalion was the largest with 800, split into five pike and shot companies and one mixed scythe company. Assuming each company had 100 and 40 pike, the company frontage is 27 paces, while Slape's scythe company has a frontage of around 21 paces.

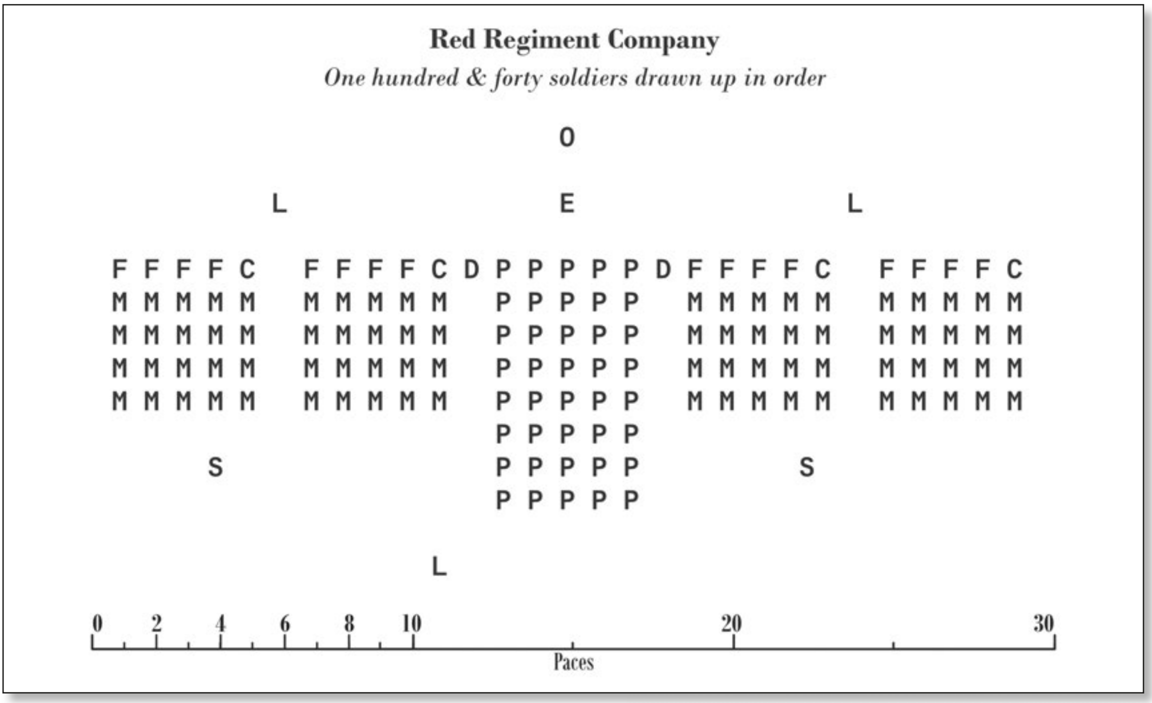
The next battalion in line was Yellow Regiment of Colonel Matthews. The had five companies of around 100 men, like Douglas's that stood across the Bussex. This gave each company a frontage of around 20 feet and a battalion frontage of 116 feet.

Next to Matthews stood Colonel Holmes with his Green Regiment. This had five companies of 120 men, each with a frontage of 23 paces to give a frontage to the battalion of 131 paces.

The last unit to arrive on the right flank of Monmouth's army was the mixed scythe companies under Colonel Brandt. These were taken from Matthews', Holmes', Foulkes' and Bovett's regiments and combined with the Lyme company to anchor the open flank of the army. Each company had around 80 men, split into two divisions. Each company would have had a frontage of 17 paces making the battalion around 80 paces wide.

Monmouth's second line was to contain Bovett's and Foulkes' battalions. It is unlikely that they managed to form up and may have simply faced the enemy horse. Both had a similar strength to Bovett's giving them a company frontage of 23 paces. This gave Bovett a front of 131 paces, while Foulkes' smaller regiment covered 104 paces. This made Monmouth's front line approximately 613 paces or 1,839 feet.

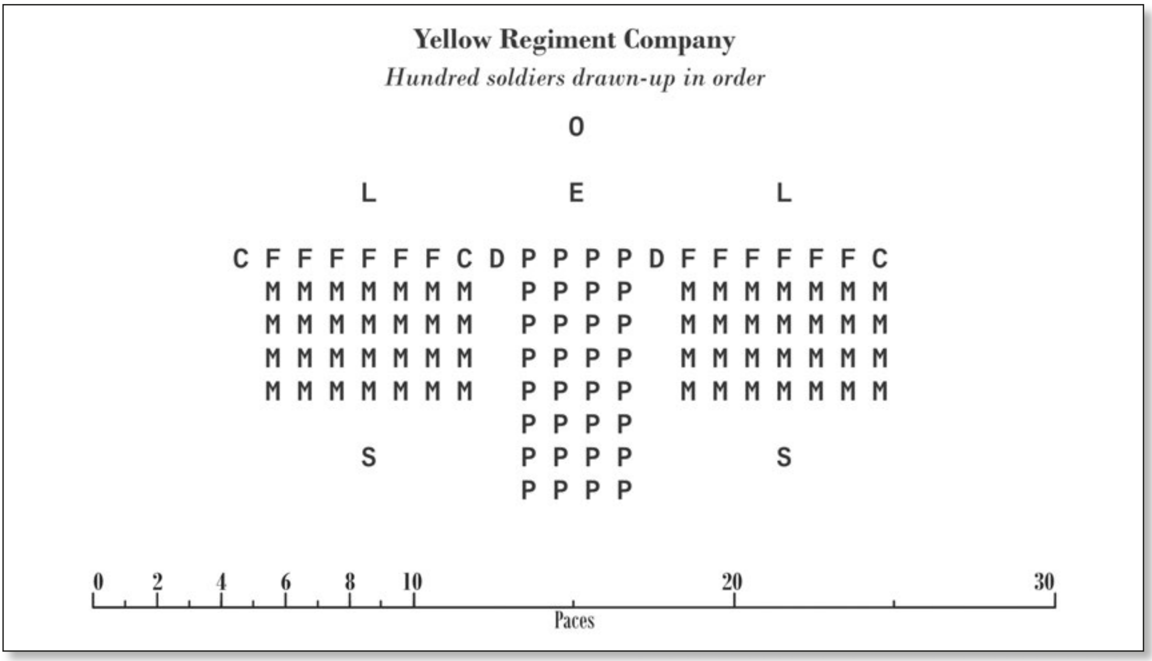
Battalion	Companies	Cy. Frontage	Battalion Frontage
Wade's Red Regiment	5	27 paces	
Slape's Scythe Company	1	21 paces	151 paces
Lane			45 paces
Matthew's Yellow Regiment	5	20 paces	116 paces
Buyse Artillery			45 paces
Holmes' Green Regiment	5	23 paces	131 paces
Lane			45 paces
Brandt's Scythe Battalion	5	17 paces	101 paces
Total facing the Lodgement			630
Bovett's Blue Regiment	5	23 paces	131 paces
Lane			45 paces
Foulkes' White Regiment	4	17 paces	80 paces
Total frontage			280 paces



Red Regiment Company

One hundred & forty soldiers drawn up in order

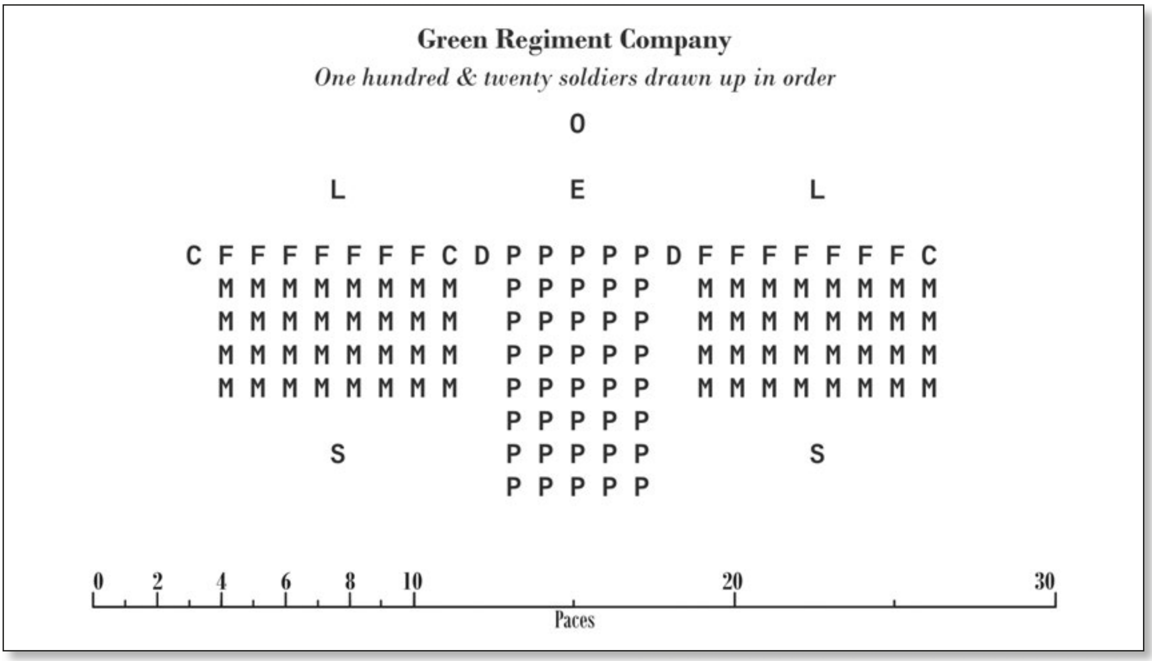
O
L E L
F F F F C F F F F C D P P P P P D F F F F C F F F F C
M M M M M M M M M M P P P P P M M M M M M M M M M
M M M M M M M M M M P P P P P M M M M M M M M M M
M M M M M M M M M M P P P P P M M M M M M M M M M
M M M M M M M M M M P P P P P M M M M M M M M M M
P P P P P
S P P P P P S
P P P P P
L
0 2 4 6 8 10 20 30
Paces



Yellow Regiment Company

Hundred soldiers drawn-up in order

O
L E L
C F F F F F F C D P P P P D F F F F F F C
M M M M M M M P P P P M M M M M M M
M M M M M M M P P P P M M M M M M M
M M M M M M M P P P P M M M M M M M
M M M M M M M P P P P M M M M M M M
P P P P
S P P P P S
P P P P
0 2 4 6 8 10 20 30
Paces



Green Regiment Company

One hundred & twenty soldiers drawn up in order

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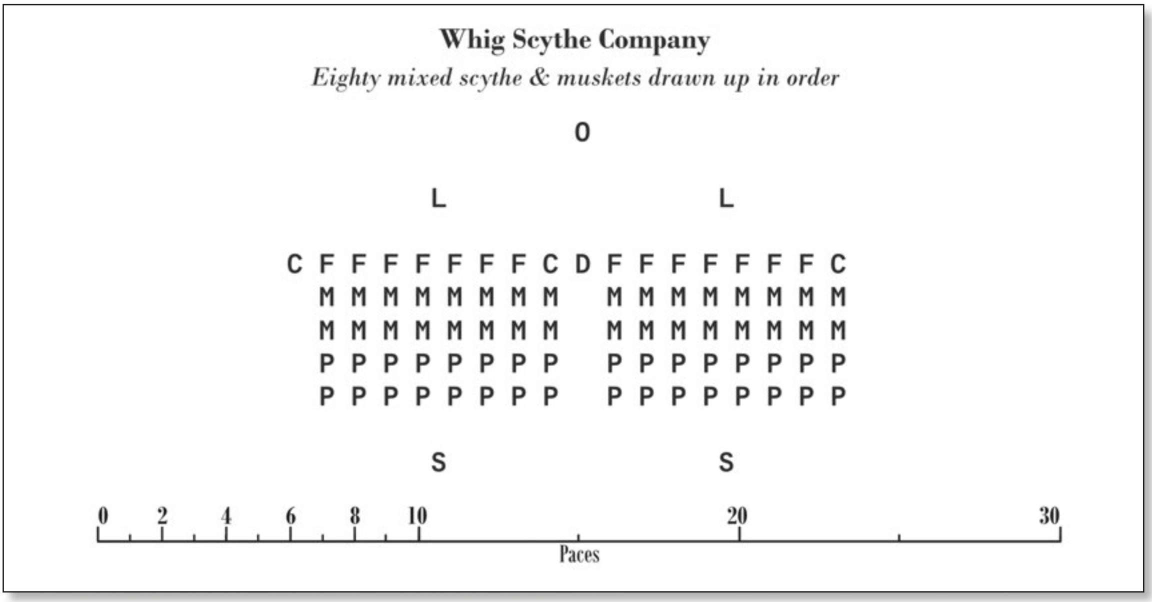
L E L
C F F F F F F F C D P P P P P D F F F F F F F C
M M M M M M M M P P P P P M M M M M M M M
M M M M M M M M P P P P P M M M M M M M M
M M M M M M M M P P P P P M M M M M M M M
M M M M M M M M P P P P P M M M M M M M M
P P P P P
S P P P P P S
P P P P P
0 2 4 6 8 10 20 30
Paces



Whig Scythe Company

Eighty mixed scythe & muskets drawn up in order

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L L
C F F F F F F F C D F F F F F F F C
M M M M M M M M M M M M M M M M
M M M M M M M M M M M M M M M M
P P P P P P P P P P P P P P P P
P P P P P P P P P P P P P P P P
S S
0 2 4 6 8 10 20 30
Paces

7

Sedgemoor, A New Perspective

> 'Lower Way also is not always passable, being subject to floods, the dangerous inundations, I mean dangerous to travel through, especially for strangers: All this part of the country, viz. between Bridgwater, and the sea, and on northward upon the coast, lies low…the moors, or marsh grounds, which extend themselves up the rivers Perrott, and Ivill, into the heart of the country'
>
> Daniel Defoe, 1724[1]

There have been three major changes to the landscape of the western Sedgemoor since 1685, and all these have affected the battlefield as we see it today. These changes have altered our perception and transformed how we interpret the events of 6 July. They have moved beyond the boundary between historical fact and, all have been written into the narrative of today's writers. As a result, the original sources and maps have become distorted, and even questioned for their accuracy. Shockingly, some modern authors have been dismissed because they do not conform to today's perspective. These alterations are subtle but impact so dramatically on the story of the battle to warrant correction in this publication. These are the course of River Parrett downstream to the sea, the road system, and the King's Sedgemoor Drain.

An often overlooked aspect of the campaign is that until the late eighteenth century Bridgwater was a seaport. The River Parrett was navigable up to the castle side of the bridge, and there was a small busy wharf on the western side of the river. From here wool and leather goods were shipped across the world, and to the American colonies. In 1685, this included the transportation of captured Whigs to Virginia. After the siege of 1645, the town walls and castle had fallen into ruin, sparking the expansion in building. This created more demand for sea traffic, and at the same time merchant ships became larger. As Bridgwater was over five miles from the sea (as the crow flies), the river was restricting the size of vessels that could dock. An additional hazard was a large bow in the river at Dunball. Here the river's course followed the base of the Poldens almost to Bawdrip, before returning back on itself. Not only

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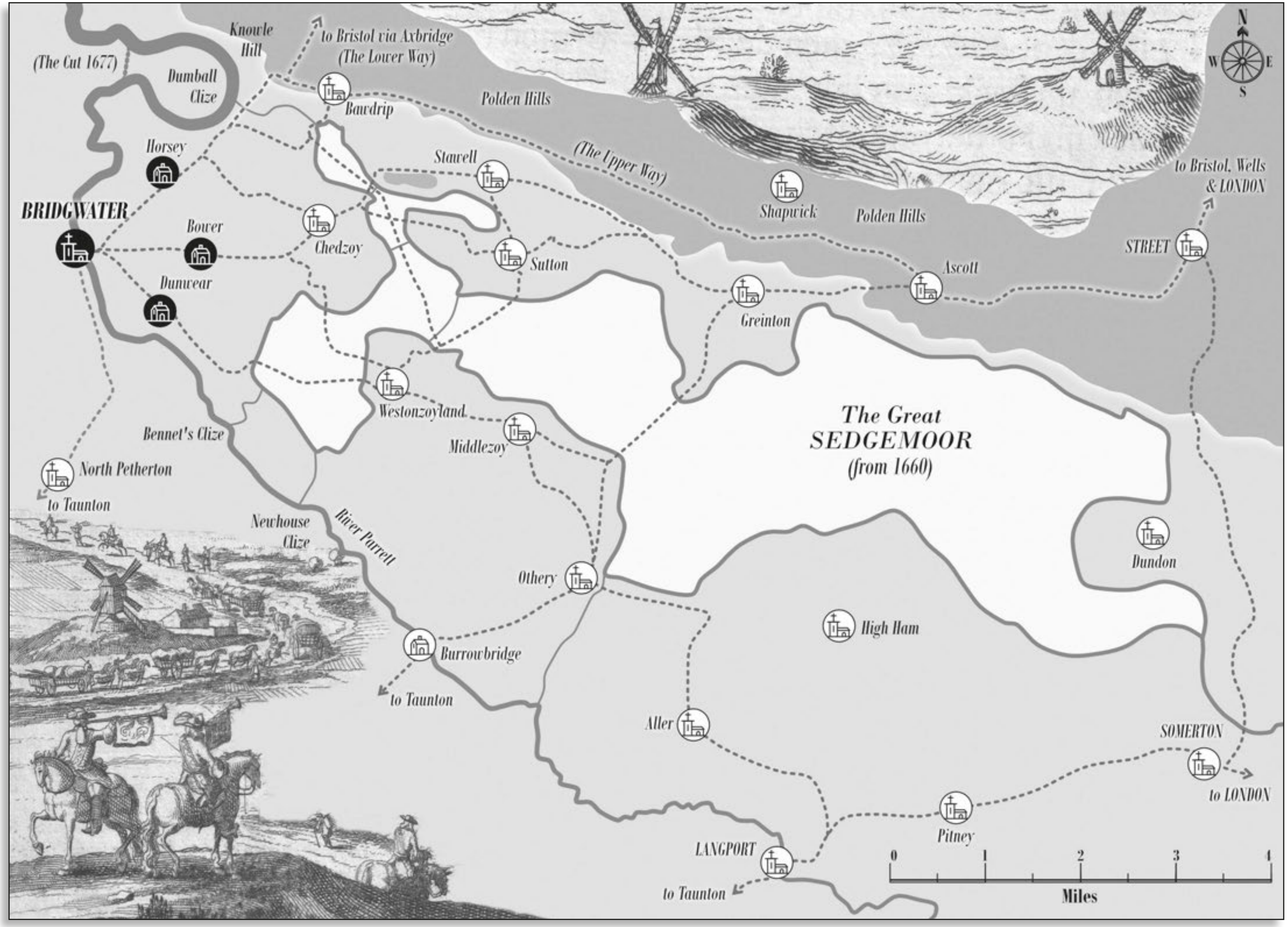
[1] Defoe, *Tour*, 1724, p.270.


(The Cut 1677)
Knowle Hill
Dumball Clize
to Bristol via Axbridge (The Lower Way)
Bawdrip
Polden Hills
N
W
E
S
Horsey
Stawell
(The Upper Way)
Shapwick
Polden Hills
to Bristol, Wells & LONDON
BRIDGWATER
Bower
Chedzoy
Sutton
STREET
Dunwear
Ascott
Greinton
Westonzoyland
Bennet's Clize
Middlezoy
The Great SEDGEMOOR (from 1660)
North Petherton
to Taunton
Newhouse Clize
River Parrett
Dundon
Othery
High Ham
Burrowbridge
to Taunton
Aller
SOMERTON
to LONDON
Pitney
LANGPORT
0
1
2
3
4
Miles
to Taunton

The Great Sedgemoor *c*.1660, based on period maps in the Somerset Heritage Centre that show the landscape before the King's Sedgemoor Drain was completed in 1795. SA, DD\AH\47/11, DD\X\STK/1 and D\RA/9/9. (Author's artwork) did this add time and additional navigation risk, but by 1670 it would have been silting up. Therefore, in 1677 a cut was made in the river at Dunball, shortening the river, and leaving a large landlocked oxbow lake along the base of the Polden Hills. As this was part of the Sedgemoor drainage system, this lake slowly emptied into the sea until today only traces can be seen by the way of small ponds. However, in 1685 this have been very evident, and the reason the roads were also different.[2]

When travelling east or north by road towards Wells or Bristol, this large river bow or later oxbow lake, had a massive impact on the route someone would follow. Importantly, it forced the traveller to use the Long Causeway to Bawdrip or the faster, flatter route via Westonzoyland to Wells. As the modern route via Puriton and Highbridge (A38) was not an option, the traveller heading to Bristol had two paths available from Bawdrip, described by Defoe as the Upper Way or Lower Way. The 201 followed the Polden Hills to Ashcott, and here it joined the quicker road via Westonzoyland before heading to Wells, Pensford and Bristol. The Lower Way cut across the moors to the river bridge over the Brue. This road was boggy, narrow, and only usable with care in 1685, but it saved possibly half a day's march.

This all changed from the 1720s onwards, when the Upper Way became a turnpike, the road was straightened, bridges added, and the inclines levelled. This was like the introduction of the M5 motorway in the early 1970s. Not only did it make this journey safer, it made the route via the Poldens quicker. After this came the metalling of roads, and only then was the road cut through from Dunball to Highbridge. Metalling also levelled the roads across the moor, enabling the traveller to save at least a day when heading to Bristol. At the same time, as the River Parrett silted up, a ford was introduced at Combwich. All these changes made travelling from Bridgwater to Bristol via Wells a thing of the past. This is close to the West Country as we know it today.

In the 1680s, plans had been drawn up to drain the Great Sedgemoor, but it was not until the 1780s that this came into being. For centuries, the moor had drained into the River Parrett, via the rhynes or lakes. These relied on gravity to help the flow of water into the river, and the system was fed at the western end by Peasey lake. There were four drainage points into the river. The first was at Burrowbridge, which was also the only bridge upstream from Bridgwater. The next was south of Westonzoyland were the Bussex Rhyne flowed into the River Parrett at Newhouse Clize. The Langmoor Rhyne eventually emptied itself into the River at Bennet's Clize. The last was in the west beyond Bradney and close to the sea at Dunball Clize. As a result, the moor was possibly higher than today, and these old watercourses traced the high ground (15 feet above sea level).

In the 1780s work started on cutting a new drain across the moor, from the River Parrett at Dunball to Burtle in the east and by 1795 this waterway had been completed. Called the King's Sedgemoor Drain, new rhynes were cut to help water flow into the new waterway. This had the side effect of

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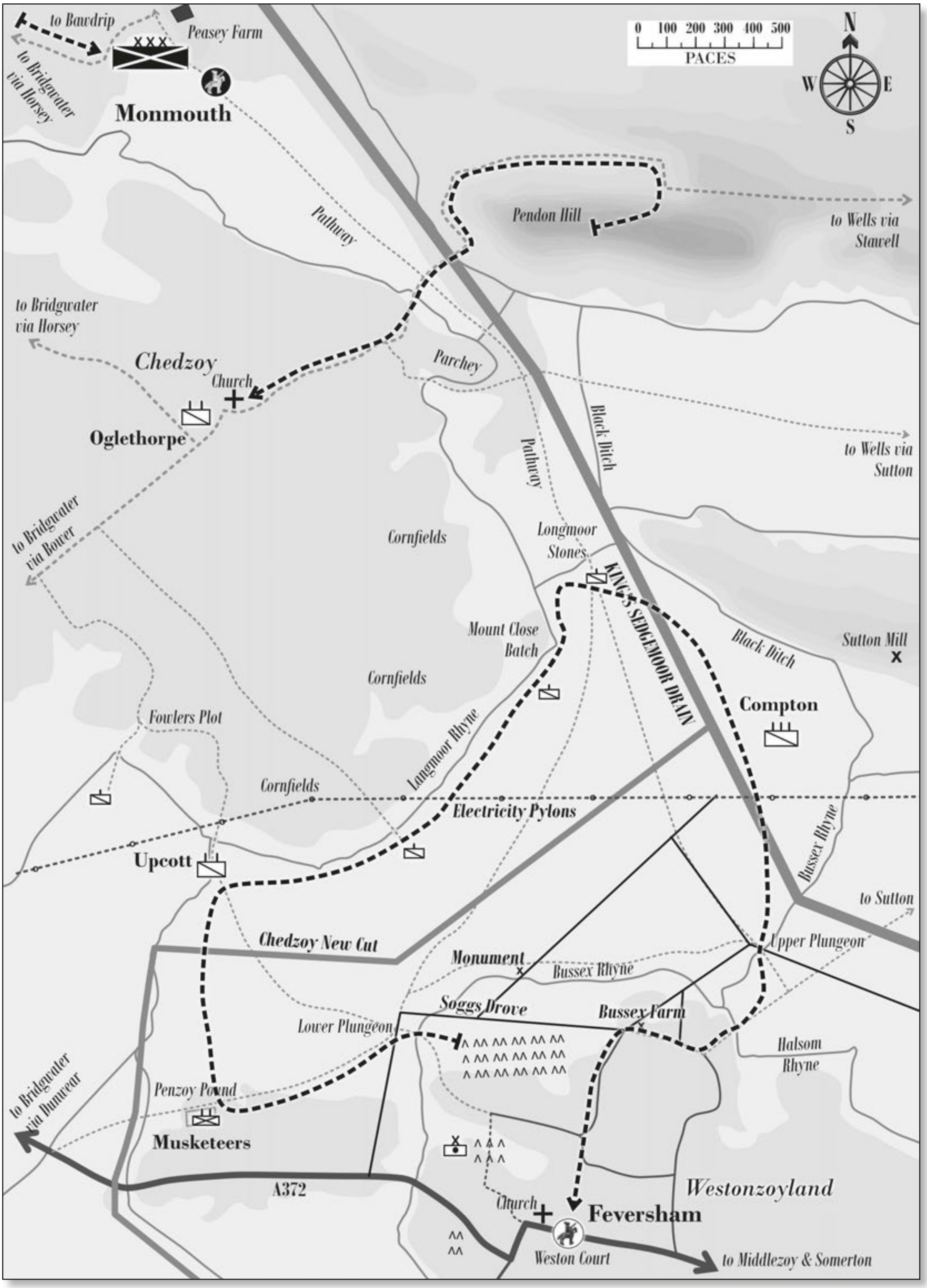
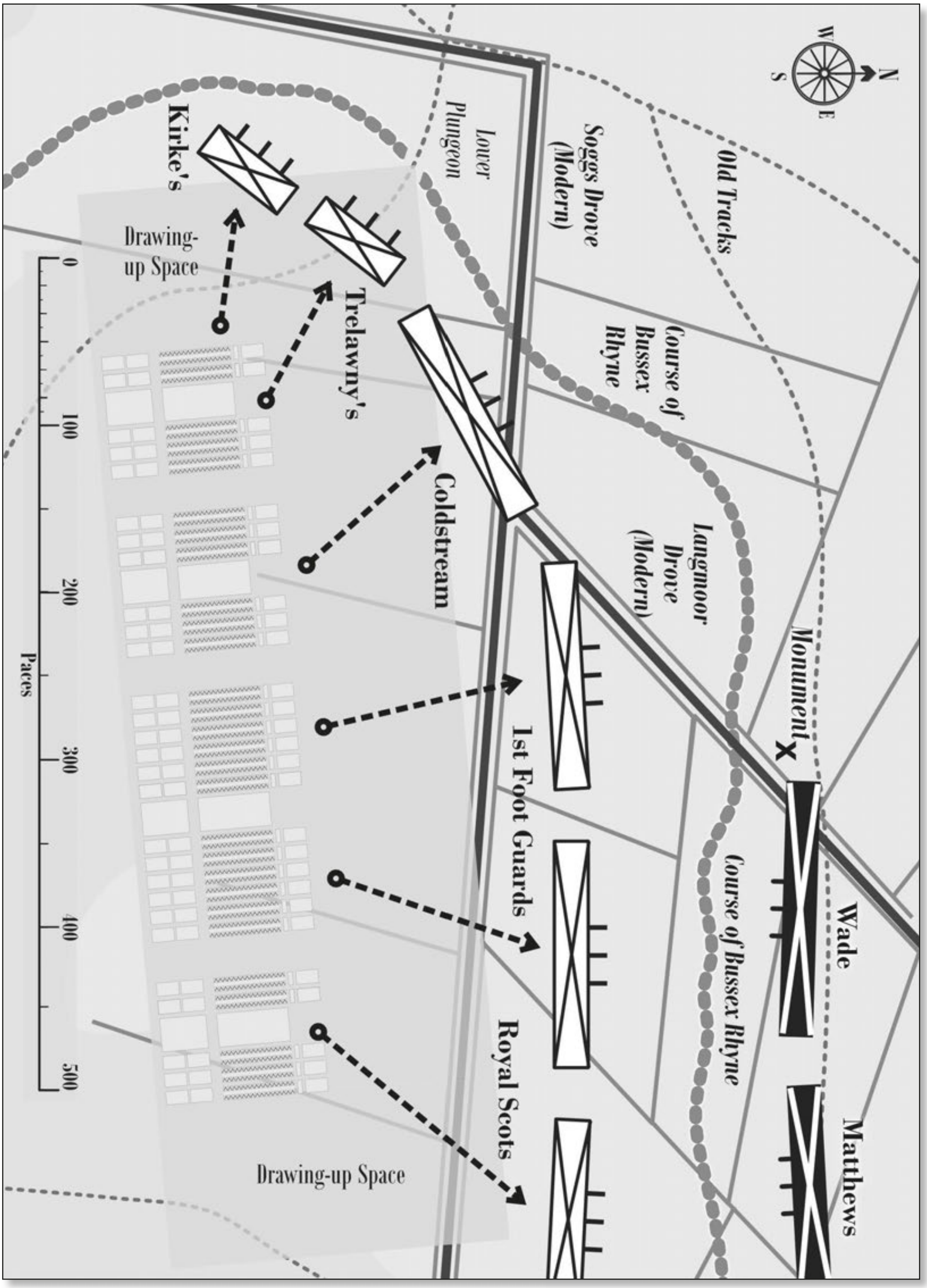
[2] SA, Taunton, Somerset Archives DD\RA\9 Map showing the cut.


to Bawdrip
Peasey Farm
to Bridgwater via Horsey
Monmouth
0 100 200 300 400 500 PACES
N
W
E
S
Pendon Hill
to Wells via Stawell
Pathway
to Bridgwater via Horsey
Chedzoy
Church
Parchey
Oglethorpe
to Wells via Sutton
Black Ditch
Pathway
to Bridgwater via Bower
Cornfields
Longmoor Stones
KING'S SEDGEMOOR DRAIN
Mount Close Batch
Black Ditch
Sutton Mill
Cornfields
Compton
Fowlers Plot
Langmoor Rhyne
Cornfields
Electricity Pylons
Upcott
Bussex Rhyne
to Sutton
Chedzoy New Cut
Monument
Upper Plungeon
Bussex Rhyne
Soggs Drove
Bussex Farm
Lower Plungeon
Halsom Rhyne
to Bridgwater via Dunwear
Penzoy Pound
Musketeers
A372
Westonzoyland
Church
Feversham
Weston Court
to Middlezoy & Somerton

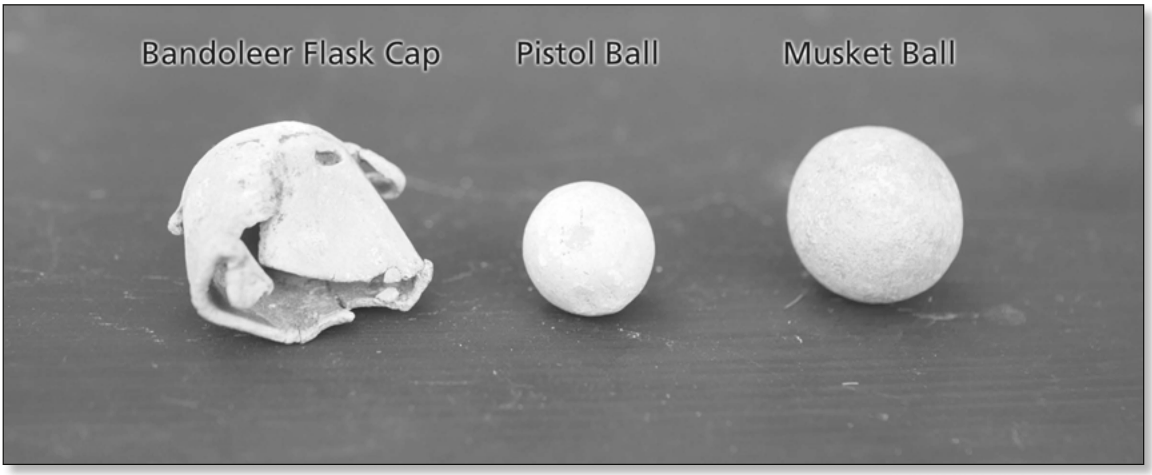
Showing movements the night before the battle, today. (Author's artwork)

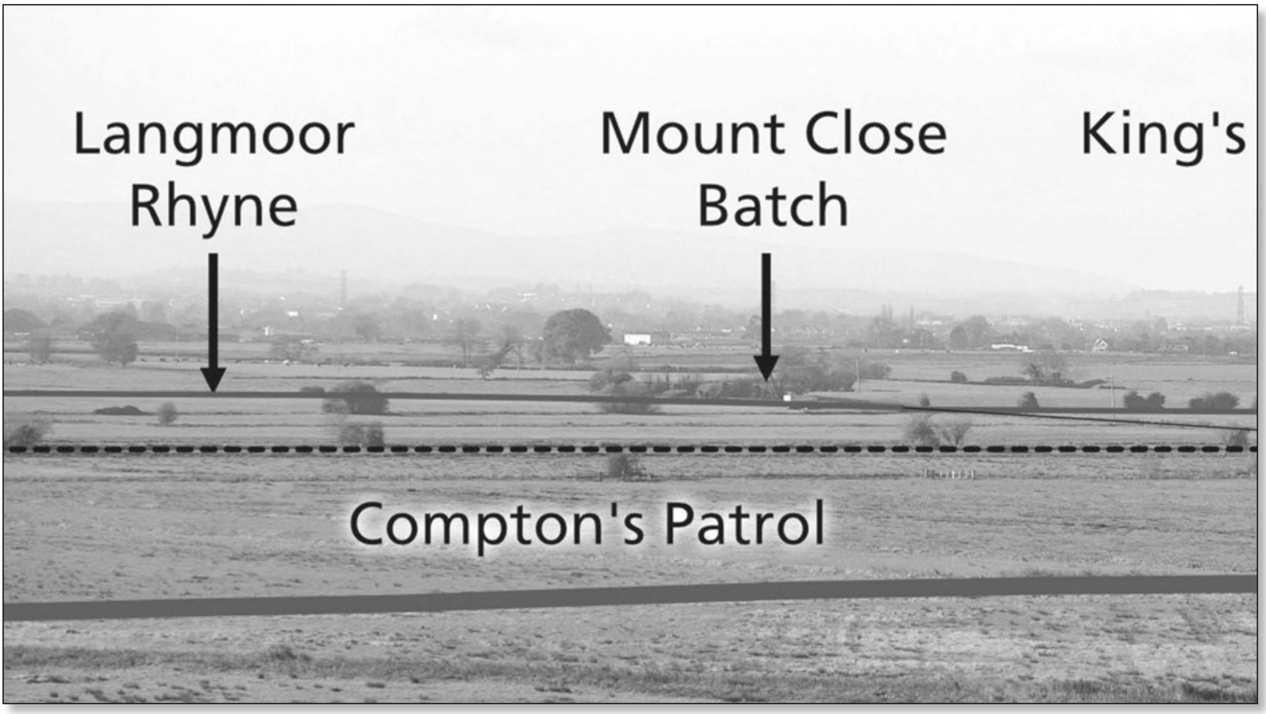

N
E
S
W
Old Tracks
Soggs Drove (Modern)
Course of Bussex Rhyne
Lower Plungeon
Kirke's
Trelawny's
Drawing-up Space
Coldstream
Langmoor Drove (Modern)
Monument
Wade
Course of Bussex Rhyne
Matthews
1st Foot Guards
Royal Scots
Drawing-up Space
0
100
200
300
400
500
Paces

Map showing the location of the lodgement and battle line today. (Author's artwork)

Above: The monument to the Battle of Sedgemoor. (Author's photograph)

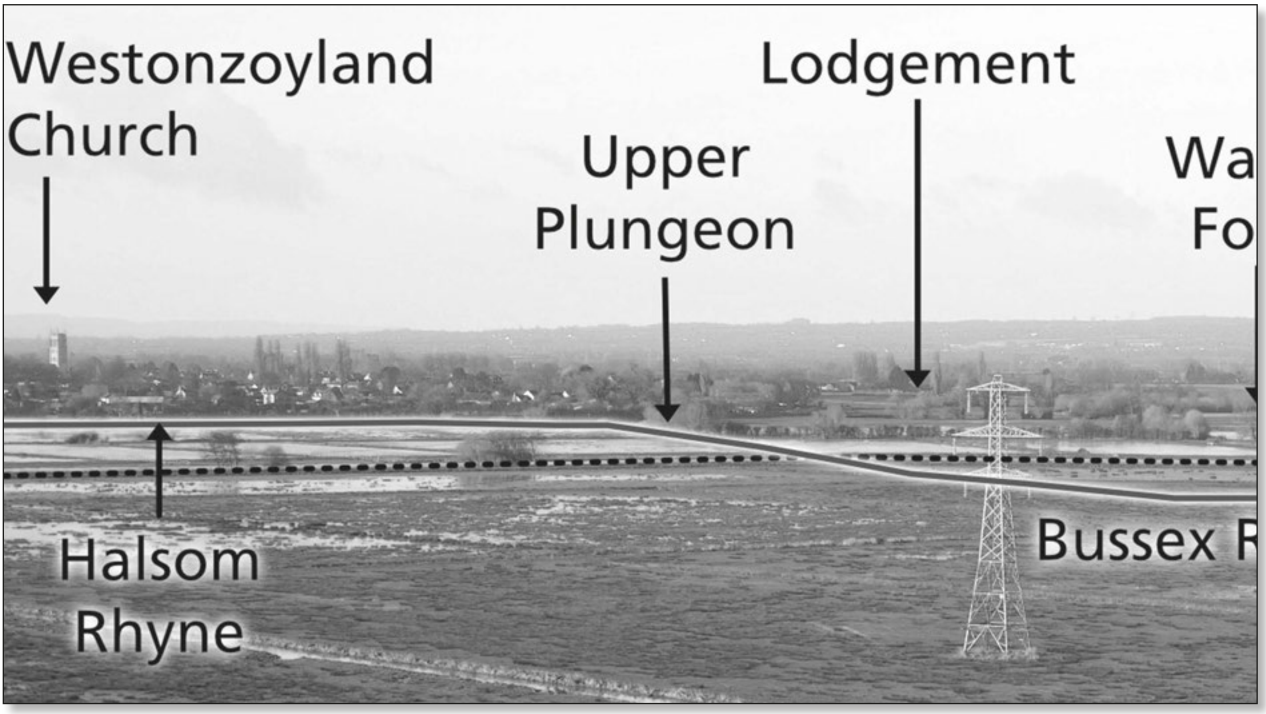
Below: Metal-detecting finds from the Chedzoy side of the Langmoor Rhyne, courtesy of Simon Howes. (Author's photo)

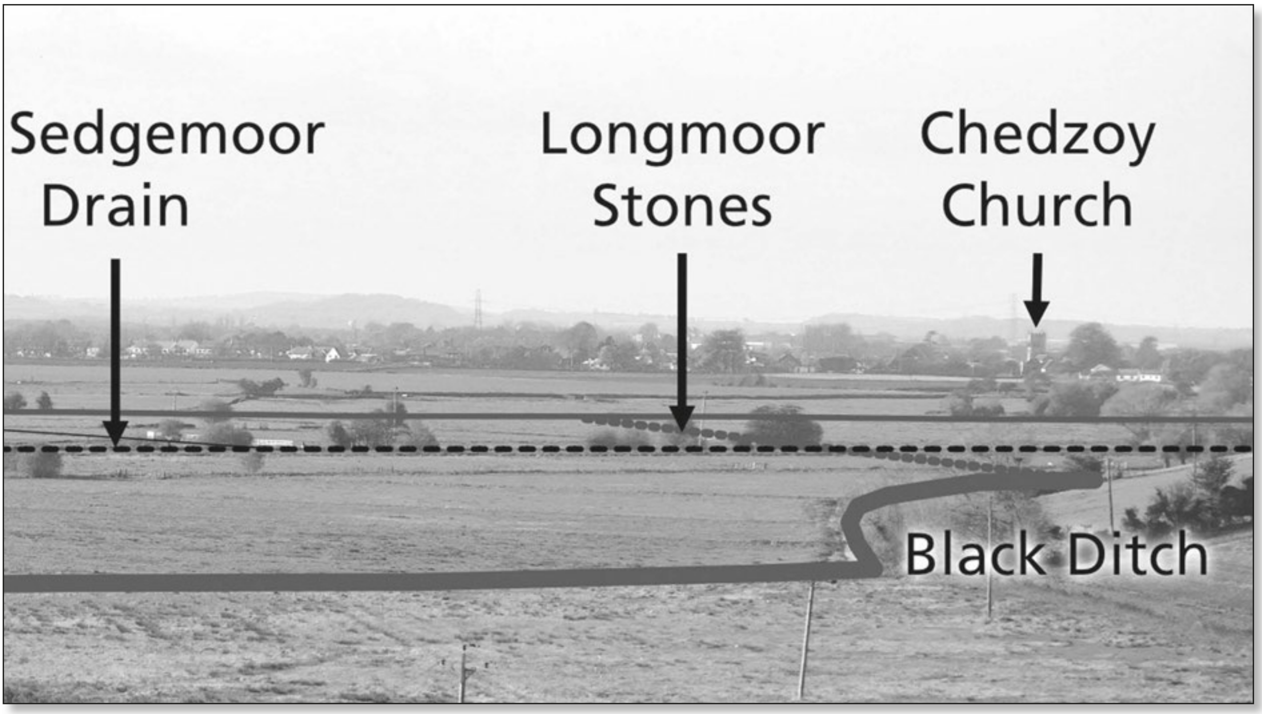

Bandoleer Flask Cap
Pistol Ball
Musket Ball

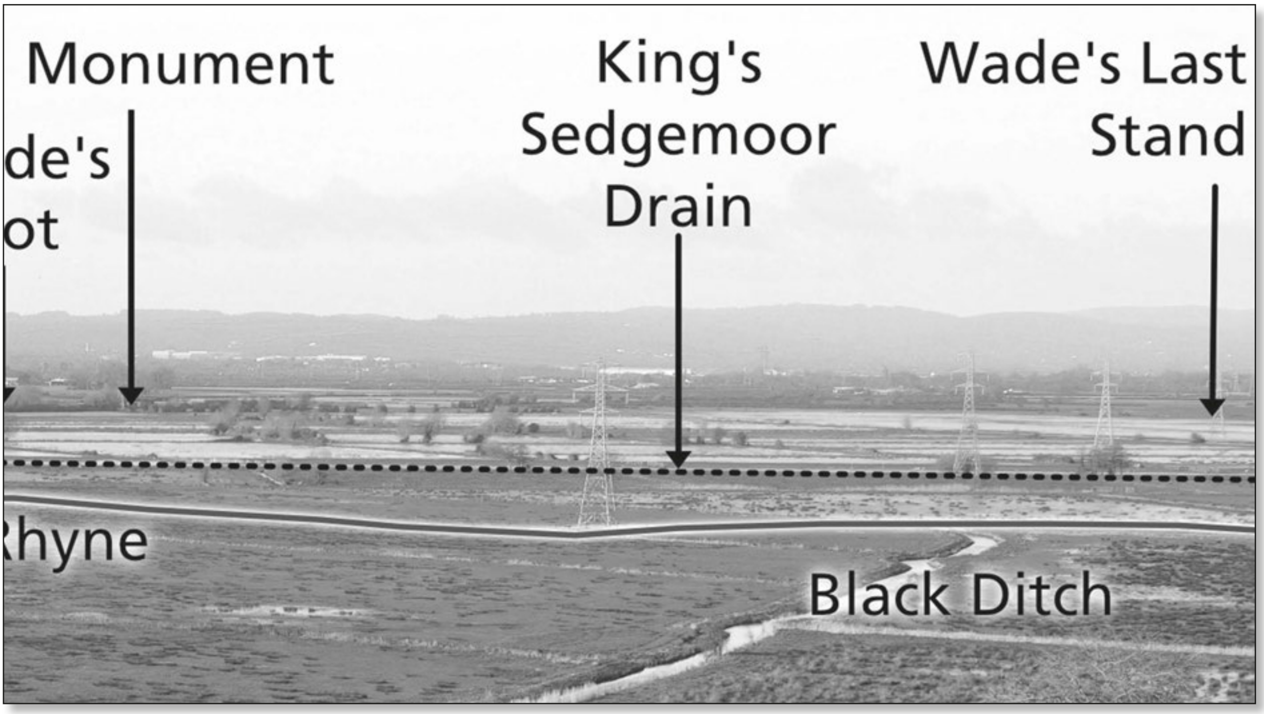

Langmoor Rhyne
Mount Close Batch
King's
Compton's Patrol

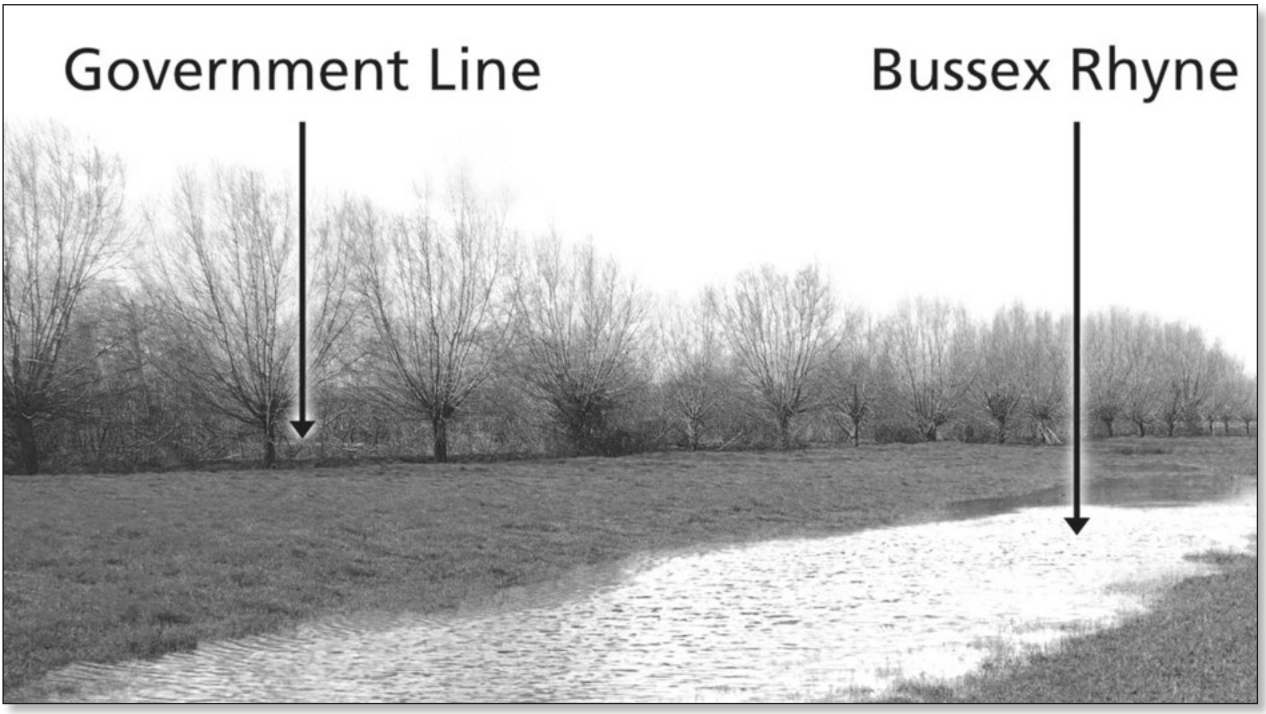
Above, view from Sutton Mill towards Chedzoy showing the King's Sedgemoor Drain cutting across the battlefield. (Author's photograph)

Below, view of the battlefield from Sutton Mill. (Author's photograph)


Westonzoyland Church
Upper Plungeon
Lodgement
Wa Fo
Halsom Rhyne
Bussex R

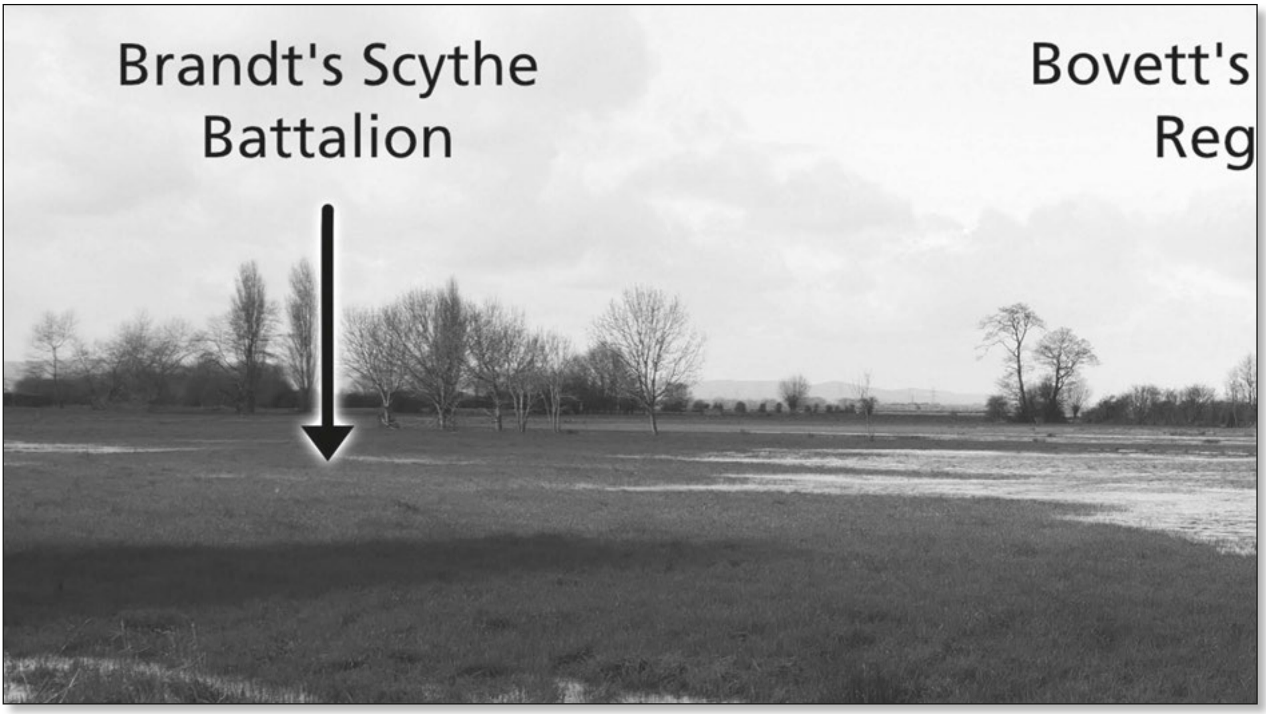

Sedgemoor Drain
Longmoor Stones
Chedzoy Church
Black Ditch

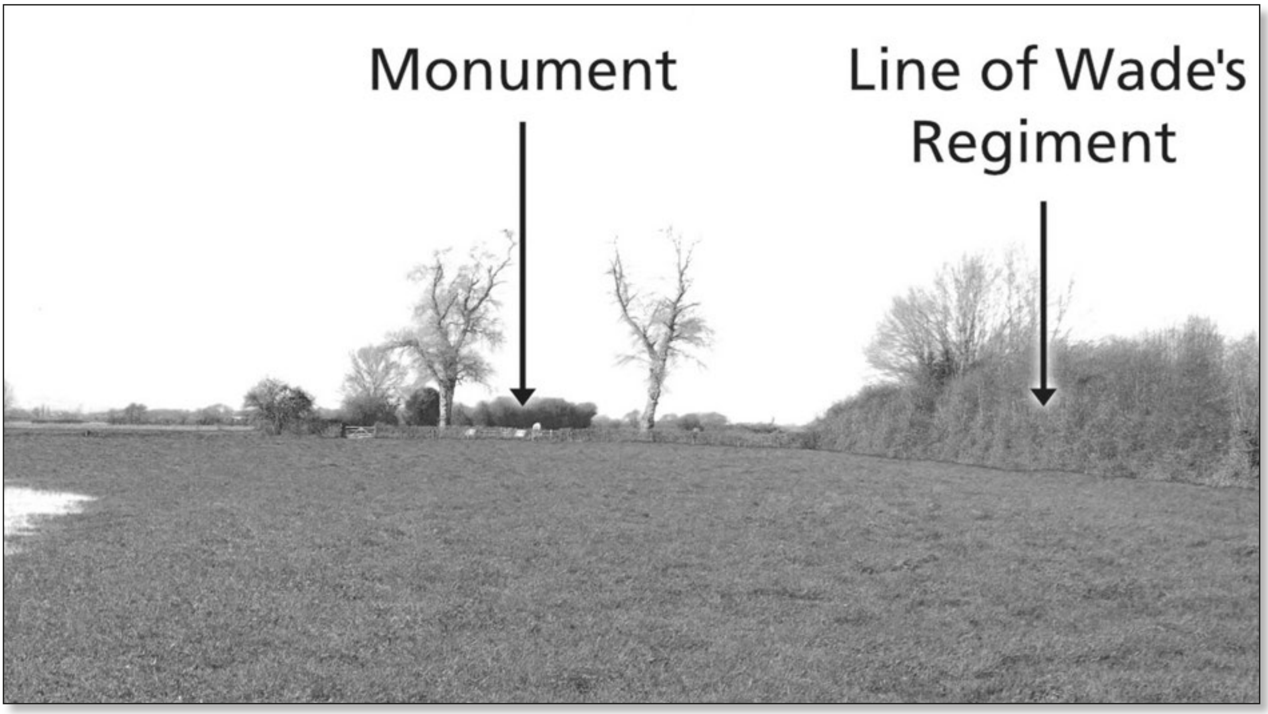

Monument
de's
ot
King's Sedgemoor Drain
Wade's Last Stand
hyne
Black Ditch

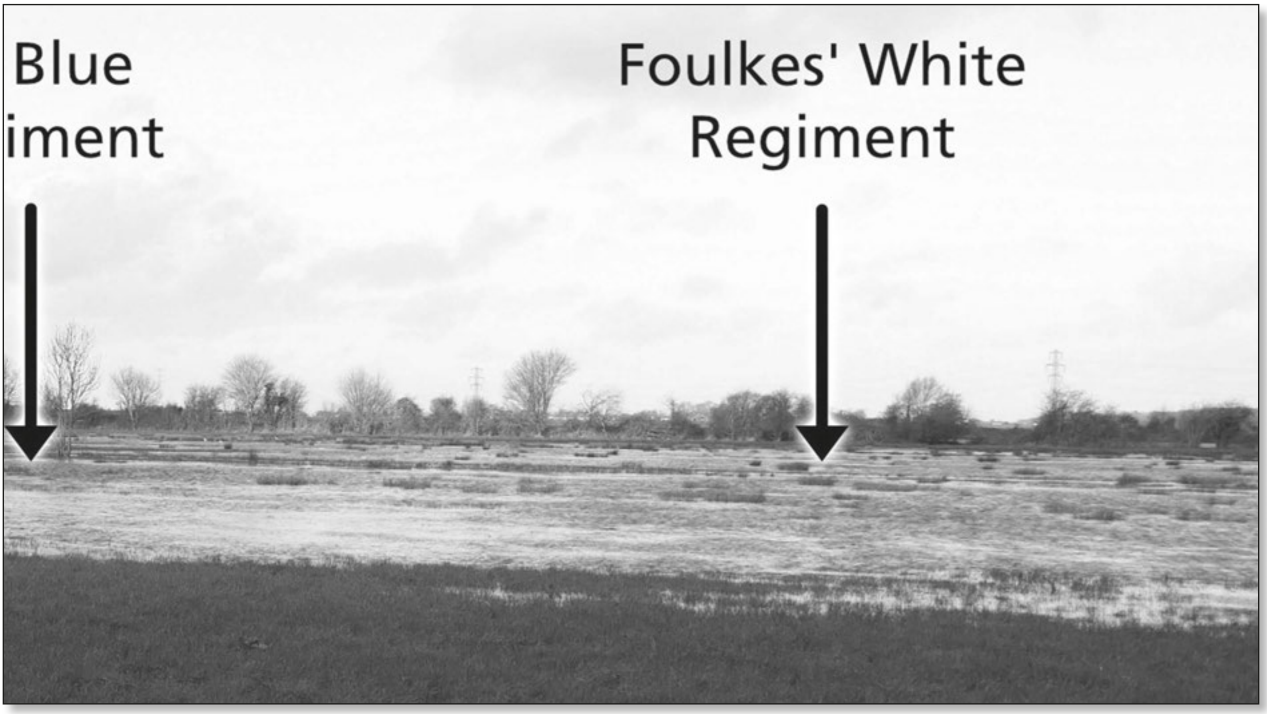

Government Line
Bussex Rhyne

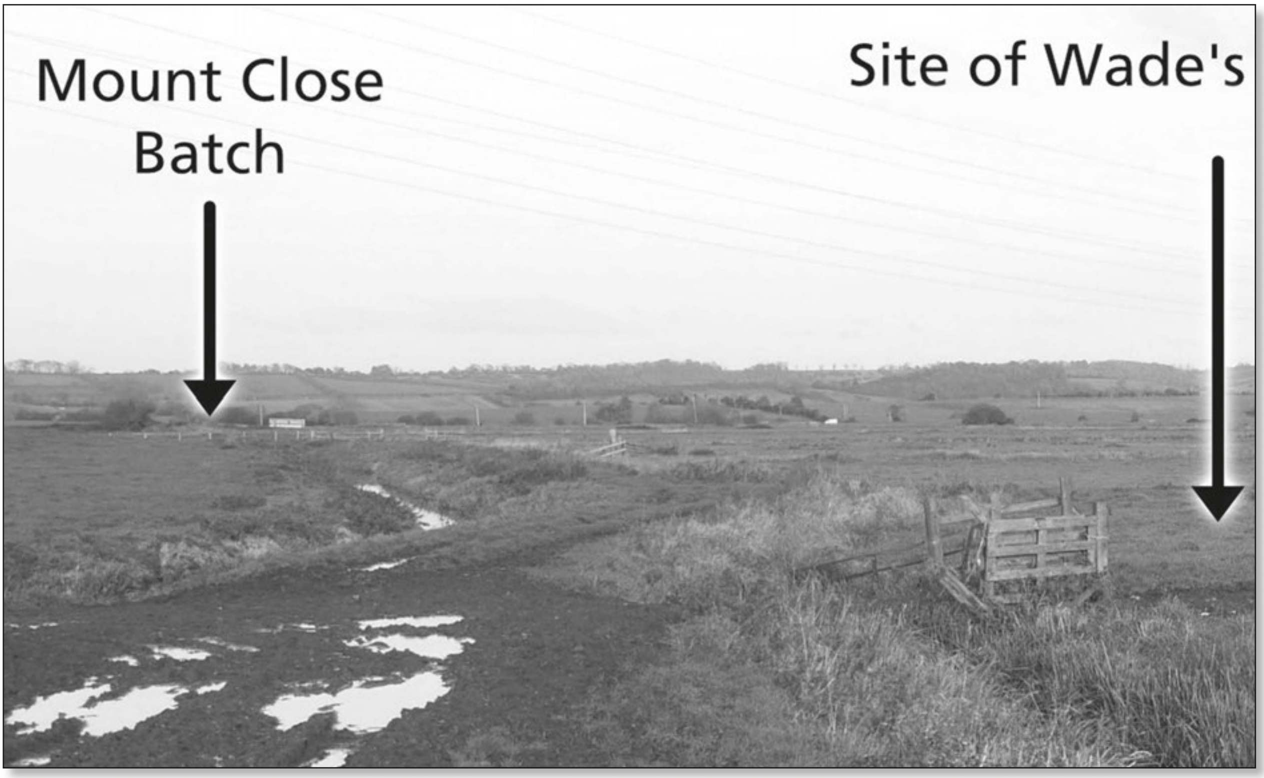
Above: Looking down the Bussex Rhyne towards the monument. (Author's photograph)

Below: View from the Upper Plungeon towards the Whigs' open left wing. (Author's photograph)


Brandt's Scythe Battalion
Bovett's Reg


Monument
Line of Wade's Regiment


Blue
iment
Foulkes' White Regiment



Above: Site of Wade's last stand. (Author's photograph)

lowering the water level in the River Parrett, finally ending the town's history as a seaport. The King's Sedgemoor Drain followed the course of the old watercourse past Bawdrip, but then took a rapier straight course from Peasey to Parchey, cutting the old Stawell road and diverting the Black Ditch. From Parchey, it cut across the moor close to the Upper Plungeon, before turning to head straight to Burtle. New bridges were built, and roads altered. The old path from Westonzoyland to Sutton disappeared, and with it the Bussex Rhyne this side of Westonzoyland. The King's Sedgemoor Drain totally changed how the water flowed, moving it from around the edge of the moor into the middle. This dried up the old rhynes, and after a time the Chedzoy New Cut replaced the Bussex Rhyne in draining the fields around the battlefield.

Luckily, there is one map in the archive at the Somerset Heritage Centre dated *c.*1780, that details the Sedgemoor waterways[3] before the drain was dug. This clearly shows that the Black Ditch follows the hill line, and even that it can still be seen today, although it has lost its name. Once the Black Ditch has been discovered, the northern edge of the Bussex Rhyne can be traced from below the site of Sutton Mill, where an elbow showing the original join still exists. It was from here that the Bussex Rhyne started its journey down to the Parrett. Just before Zoy, on which Westonzoyland is situated, the Bussex joined the Halsom Rhyne and then continued around the village.

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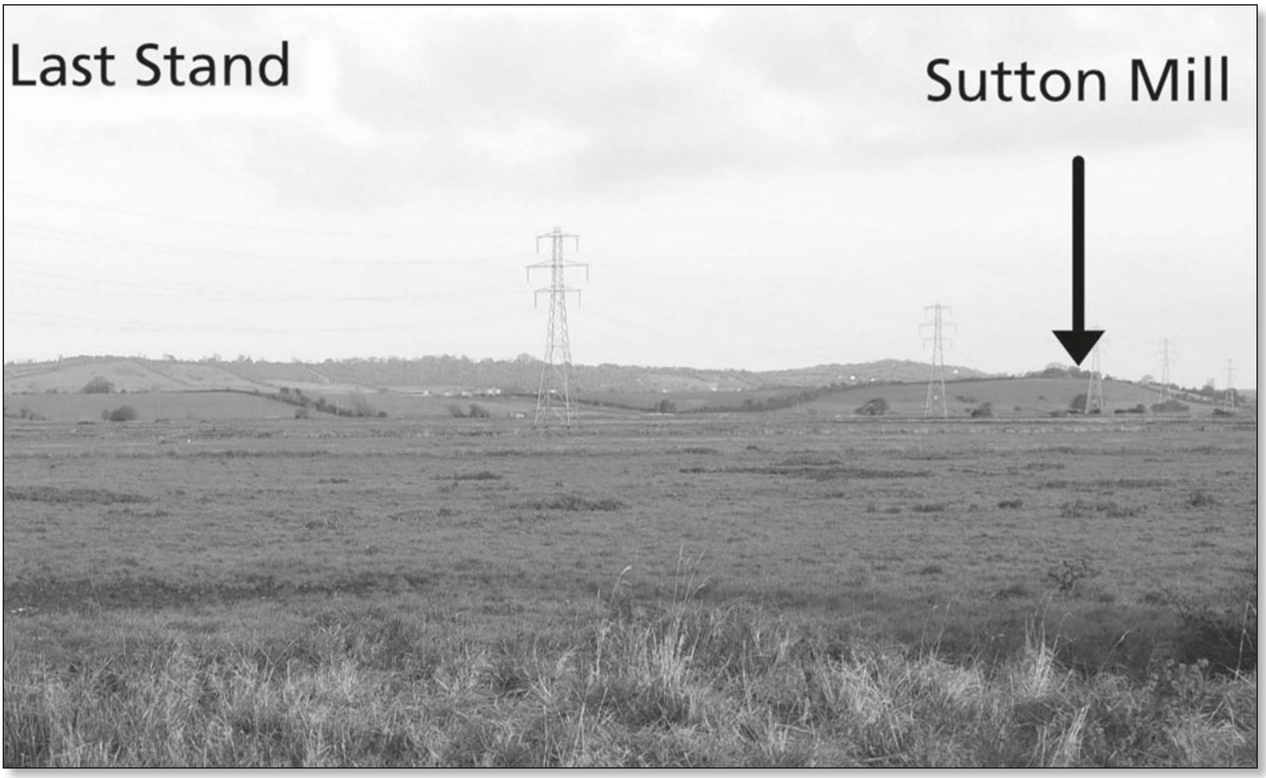
[3] SA, DD\AH\47/11.



By tracing the original course of the Bussex, the site of the Upper Plungeon can be identified by using Paschall's, Dummer's[4] and the 1780 map, something not possible when the King's Sedgemoor Drain is incorrectly placed on a map. The other benefit of correctly aligning the Black Ditch, is that the location of Compton's patrol, using Dummer's map, is clearly on the other side of the modern King's Sedgemoor Drain.

One of the key landmarks in the landscape is Sutton Mill, and from here the whole battlefield from the Upper Plungeon, to the site of Wade's last stand and around to the Longmoor Stones can be viewed.

Today the Bussex has disappeared, but the other landmarks can be identified by carefully referencing modern maps. It is only from Sutton Mill that the true scale of the battle can be appreciated. When visiting the battlefield today, most tours start at the Monument, however, the modern droves, which allow access to the Monument, disorientate the visitor and create a distorted view of the battlefield.

To reach the Monument, the visitor will walk along Soggs Drove. This track passes through the Government army's drawing-up ground. On the left is the lodgement running along the low rise. On the right, is the rear of the Government's battle line, from Douglas's to Eaton's. Pass the Langmoor heading up to the Monument, and you walk through the Coldstream Guards, look left and you can see the Lower Plungeon.

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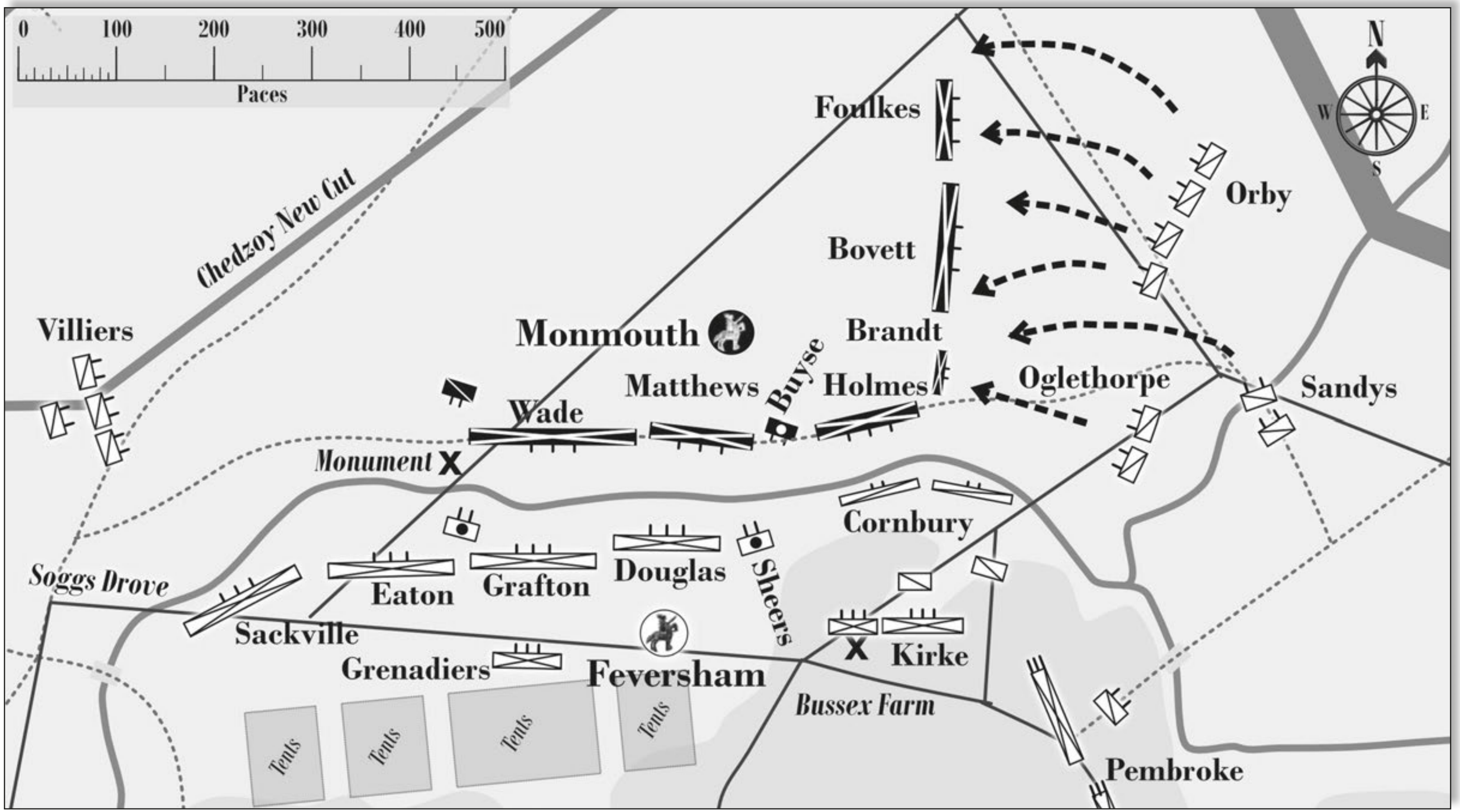
[4] Pepys Library, PL 2490, ff.4–5.


0
100
200
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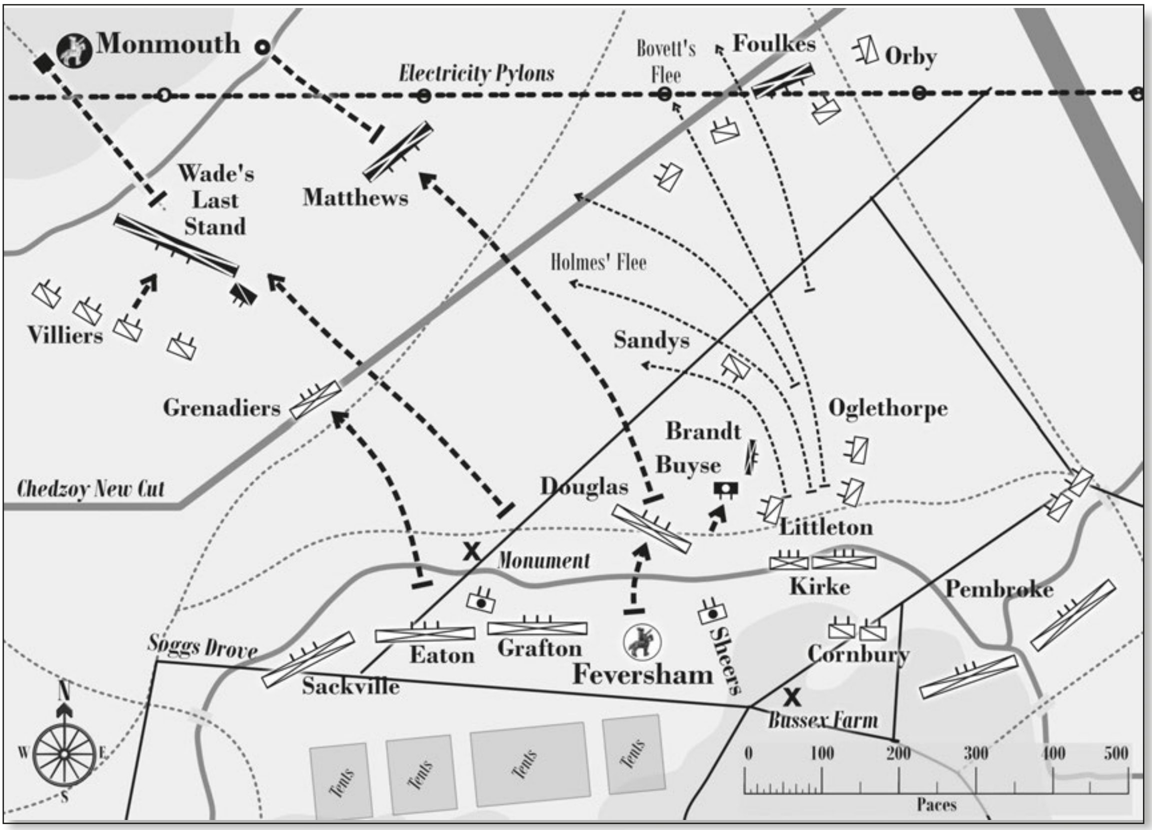
Paces
N
W
E
S
Chedzoy New Cut
Villiers
Monmouth
Foulkes
Bovett
Brandt
Orby
Buyse
Matthews
Holmes
Oglethorpe
Sandys
Wade
Monument
Cornbury
Soggs Drove
Eaton
Grafton
Douglas
Sheers
Sackville
Kirke
Grenadiers
Feversham
Bussex Farm
Tents
Tents
Tents
Tents
Pembroke

The firefight and flank attack – today. (Author's artwork)


Monmouth
Electricity Pylons
Bovett's Flee
Foulkes
Orby
Wade's Last Stand
Matthews
Holmes' Flee
Villiers
Sandys
Grenadiers
Oglethorpe
Brandt
Buyse
Chedzoy New Cut
Douglas
Littleton
Monument
Kirke
Pembroke
Soggs Drove
Eaton
Grafton
Feversham
Sheers
Cornbury
Sackville
Bussex Farm
Tents
Tents
Tents
Tents
N
W
E
S
0
100
200
300
400
500
Paces

Above: Last stand and rout – today. (Author's artwork)

When visiting, it is important to understand the Monument is at the end of the Whig battle line, marking approximately where Slape's scythe company would have stood. From here, by looking across to Pendon Hill, Mount Close Batch can be seen. By turning about 90 degrees left, the site of Wade's last stand is visible under the base of the pylon on the Chedzoy of the Langmoor. Next to the Monument is the field through which the Bussex can still be traced in the ground and reappears after periods of heavy rain.

As you return down Soggs Drove towards Bussex Farm, on to the left is were Buyse's guns played on the Royal Scots. It is here that Sheers set up one of his gun batteries. In the distance, Cornbury's dismounted dragoons engaged Holmes' Green Regiment.

To reach the site of the Upper Plungeon, you pass the location of Jones's valiant attack, to see the vast open flank of the Whig army. As you walk up the drove towards the new King's Sedgemoor Drain, on the right is the Halsom Rhyne running around the fields. It is here that Olgethorpe was repulsed by Brandt's scythe battalion before the Oxford Blues turned the Whig flank.

It is only once all these modern features are removed from the landscape, the first-hand accounts, the unit's locations, and the movements all fall into place. The Bristol Road is not the A38, but the tracks heading east via Stawell and Sutton. Compton's patrol sits out on the right flank, the Upper Plungeon becomes a track from Peasey to Sutton and Westonzoyland. Now Oglethorpe can ride out across both Bristol roads, cut to Chedzoy and arrive at Bridgwater without going near the Long Causeway and Monmouth's army.

Grey's Horse can easily miss the Upper Plungeon as the Black Ditch is not an arrow pointing towards it, and Wade can march towards the camp, without having to go past it. Jones's rout to Sutton Mill works, as the Black Ditch is no longer blocking their way. The firefight across the Bussex, and the flank attack by the Government horse can be traced. However, it is only from the Chedzoy side of the battlefield that the Whig advance can be followed, from the crossing of the Longmoor to Wade's last stand.

To conclude, once the correct battalion sizes and the lodgements are plotted together on a map, the historical maps align. Only once landscape is fully understood and redrawn can the manuscript accounts be understood, even James II's report adds valuable insight in the battle. This includes the true relationship between Monmouth's actions and Feversham's countermoves. This publication is not the end of the Sedgemoor story, but hopefully a rebooting of the research into this important and fascinating military campaign.

Appendix

Uniforms

> 'Mr Hewling, the son of Benjamin Hewling mercht. In Colman Street went from Utrecht on Thursday morning for Amsterdam. It is he who tooke care of the making the purple coats, lined with red, for the souldiers that shall be imployed in the Rebells service.'

English Spy Report 17 May, 1685[1]

Uniforms of the Scottish Establishment

Regiment	**Coat**	**Lining**	**Waistcoat, Breeches**	**Stockings**	**Lace**	**Buttons**
Lifeguards	Red	White	Blue	-	Gold	Gold
King's Regt. of Horse	Red	Yellow	Buff	-	Gold	Brass
King's Regt. of Dragoons	Grey	Grey	Red	-	-	Tin
Douglas's Regt. of Foot Guards	Red	White	White	White?	Silver	Gold
Mar's Regt. of Foot	Red	Red	Grey	Grey	-	Brass
Findlater's Troop of Horse	Red	Red	Red	White	-	-

* Cecil Lawson, A History of the Uniforms of the British Army, Vol. 1 (London: Peter Davies, 1940), p.61.

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[1] BL, Add MS 41812, f.72.

Uniforms of the English Establishment

Regiment	Coat	Lined	Waistcoat, Breeches	Stockings	Lace	Buttons
1st Troop of Lifeguards	Scarlet	Blue	Blue	-	Silver	Gold
2nd Troop of Lifeguards	Scarlet	Blue	Blue	-	Silver & Green	Gold
3rd Troop of Lifeguards	Scarlet	Blue	Blue	-	Yellow	Silver
Earl of Oxfords Regt. of Horse	Blue	Red	Buff	-	Gold	Gold
Lord Churchill's Regt. of Dragoons	Red	Blue	Blue	-	-	Brass
1st Regt. of Foot Guard	Red	Blue	Blue	Blue		
Coldstream Regt. of Foot Guards	Red	Blue	Blue	White		
Colonel Kirke's Queen Dowagers Regt. of Foot	Red	Green	Green	White	Green & White	Pewter
Colonel Trelawny's Queen Consorts Regt. of Foot	Red	Yellow	Yellow	White	Yellow	Brass

Other Units

Regiment	Coat	Facings
Colonel MacKay's Regt. of Foot	Madder Red	Pale Blue
Colonel Wanchope's Regt. of Foot	Madder Red	Pale Blue
Colonel Balfour's Regt. of Foot	Madder Red	Madder Red
Colonel Strangeways' Militia Regt. of Foot	Red	-
Colonel Portman's Militia Regt. of Foot	Yellow*	-
Colonel Luttrell's Regt. of Foot	Red	Yellow

* *Harleian Miscellany,* Vol. 6, p.295, 'Sir William Portman, for the same end, had taken care for strong Watches to be set, made up of his Yellow-Coats and others'.

Colour Plate Commentaries

Figures by Patrice Courcelle

Plate A: Highland Soldier in Auchinbreck's Regiment at Tarbert

Argyll's campaign in Scotland pitted clan against clan with almost identical Highland soldiers on either side. He wears the 'blue bonnet', together with traditional plaid. This was woven by region, rather than by clan, so field signs would have been used to identify allegiances. He is armed with a Dutch firelock, making him from Argyll's army, possibly from one of Auchinbreck's companies. He has been issued a collar of bandoliers and carries his own sword and targe.

Plate B: Corporal in Mackay's Regiment of Foot at Gravesend

This soldier of Mackay's Foot has been in Dutch service for over five years, and is wearing his issued coat of madder red, with pale blue facings.[1] He is armed with a matchlock musket and bayonet but has swapped his collar of bandoliers for a cartridge box, but kept the priming flask. On arrival at Gravesend the regiment was supplied with powder, as it was not issued with powder or ball before leaving Holland.[2]

Plate C: Soldier in the Queen Dowager's Regiment of Foot at Salisbury

Armed with a 'long pike', this soldier is wearing his regimental red coat, lined with green, green breeches and white stockings. All soldiers in the units were armed with swords called hangers. The soldier has discarded his armour after a long hard march from Staines.

Plate D: Soldier in Monmouth's Regiment of Foot at Taunton

This man, possibly John Woolters or Walters, arrived with Monmouth from Holland and wears his issued purple coat, lined in red. These coats were purchased by the Whigs in the Low Countries by Mr Hewling,[3] and according to the Comte d'Avaux were used by both Argyll's and Monmouth's forces.[4] These coats were issued to everyone who travelled with the fleet, both the officers and the early recruits that joined at Lyme. It was possibly these coats that enabled the Government forces to quickly identify the 83 men who landed at Lyme.

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[1] Mugnai, Vol. 1, *Army of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, 1660–1687*, p.224.

[2] D'Avaux, *Négociations*, Volume 5, p.63.

[3] BL, Add MS 41812, f.72, 'Mr Hewling, the son of Benjamin Hewling mercht. In Colman Street went from Utrecht on Thursday morning for Amsterdam. It is he who tooke care of the making the purple coats, lined with red, for the souldiers that shall be imployed in the Rebells service.'

Monmouth also brought over a supply of pikes, matchlocks and firelocks plus collers of bandoliers, cartridge boxes, bayonets, and grenades. John Woolters has been issued with a 'Dutch' snaphire musket, bayonet and cartridge bag. He is using a powder flask to prime and charge in times of need.

Plate E: Trooper in Captain Cleland's King's Royal 'Scots' Dragoons at Muirdyke

In 1683, General Dalyell ordered 2,536 ells of stone-grey cloth for his regiment of the King's Royal Dragoons. This cloth was turned into coats for the troopers and was lined in red. Each trooper was issued red breeches. Grey was not an unusual colour for British soldier with the battalions in Tangiers being issued grey coats. Grey was also the classic 'Scots' coat colour during the British Civil Wars. This trooper has been equipped with a new firelock 'long carbine', a cartridge box, bayonet, a sword, and a pair of pistols in his horse's holsters. He is wearing a hat, rather than the issued helmet, but has kept his regimental boots.[5] Twelve of the troop were issue halberds and grenades, forming a 'grenadier' company.

Plate F: Trooper in Monmouth's Troop of Lifeguards at Taunton

This trooper is from Monmouth's Lifeguards formed at Taunton. He joined the army at Lyme, and wears his purple coat, lined in red, purple waistcoat, and non-regulation green breeches. Over this, he has a breast plate, but no back plate, possible due to damage received at Ashill. He is armed with a double-barrelled carbine[6] and a quad-barrelled pistol purchased from Heidelberg.[7] These weapons had already seen use in the skirmish at Ashill[8] and are listed in Grey's inventory.

Plate G: Trooper in Captain Parker's 1st Lifeguard Horse Grenadiers at Norton St Philip

As a member of one of the English establishment's elite units, the trooper is equipped with a 'long carbine', cartridge box, bayonet, pouch of grenades, and hammer hatchet over his red regimental coat. The coat is lined in lined in blue, with silver lace to identify him as a member of the 1st Troop, under this he has a long-sleeved blue waistcoat, and blue breeches.[9] As a horse grenadier, he wears a cap to ease handling his 'long carbine' and grenades.

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[4] D'Avaux, *Négociations*, Volume 4, p.362, 'qu'ils avoient fait faire quantité de manteaux d'un rouge couleur de pourpre'.

[5] Edward Almack, *The History of the Second Dragoons 'Royal Scots Greys'* (London: 1908), p.136.

[6] BL, Add MS 41817, f.47.

[7] BL, Add MS 41812, f.66 'Ruperts town', which I have assumed to be Heidelberg, was the family seat of Prince Rupert of the Rhine.

[8] BL, Add MS 38012, f.3.

[9] Ede-Borrett, *The Army of James II*, p.30.

Flag by Dr Les Prince

Plate H: Colours of the Guards Brigade

Over 1,800 Foot Guards marched out from London in three Battalions, from two Regiments. Each Foot Guard company had a colour, the following examples show the different layouts and symbols:

H.1 5th Company of 1st Foot Guards, Captain Ralph Delavall's
H.2 20th Company of 1st Foot Guards, Captain Charles Middleton's
H.3 King's Company of 1st Foot Guards, Captain Sackville Tufton's
H.4 Major William Eaton's Company of 1st Foot Guards
H.5 3rd Company, 2nd Foot Guards or 'Coldstream Guards', Captain James Kendall's

Plate I: Colours of the Queen Consort's Regiment or Trelawny's

After returning from Tangiers in November 1683, the Queen Consort's Regiment was remodelled into 10 line and one grenadier company. Only four of these companies marched from Portsmouth to join Churchill at Salisbury. The following examples show the design and layout for the regiment's colours:

I.1 3rd Company, Captain Edward Griffin
I.2 Colonel's and the regimental colour

Plate J: Colours of the Queen Dowager's Regiment or Kirke's

Like Trelawny's Regiment, Kirke's was also remodelled into 10 line and one grenadier company. In April 1685, four companies of Kirke's Regiment were ordered from their base in Plymouth to London. These were Kirke's own, 2nd Captain Thomas St Johns', 5th Captain George Wingfield's, and 7th Captain Charles Wingfield's.

J.1 2nd Company, Captain Thomas St. John
J.2 Colonel's and the regimental colour

Plate K: Colours of the Royal Regiment of Foot or the Royal Scots

After returning from Tangiers the Royal Scots or Royal Regiment remained at 20 line and one grenadier company. At this point, the Earl of Dumbarton was removed as colonel after refusing to sign the Test Act. However, the colonelcy remained vacant under after the campaign, to be commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Archibald, Lord Douglas. These were garrisoned around Kent, but nine companies moved into Southwark in June 1685. Of these, four marched south to Portsmouth and five guarded the Tower Artillery Train as it moved to join Feversham. The following colours show the layout and design carried by the regiment:

K.1 15th Company, Captain Munro McKenzie's. This colour was carried by Ensign Sir William Morat in the battle of Sedgemoor, both men were wounded.
K.2 Colonel's company and regimental colour

Plate L: Cornets of the Government Horse

All the regiments of Government horse took part in the campaign. The following examples represent a selection of the cornets seen in the Government army:

L.**1** 1st Troop of his Majesty's Lifeguards (cornet)
Each Lifeguard troop had a cornet and guidon and it is possible both were carried in the campaign. The 1st Troop under Colonel Edward Villiers fought at Sedgemoor.
L.**2** 1st Troop of his Majesty's Lifeguards (guidon)
L.**3** 5th Troop Royal Regiment of Horse (Oxford Blues), Captain Walter Littleton's
Of the eight troops of horse in the Royal Regiment of Horse, only Captain Slingsby's was not in the campaign. Captain Littleton's accompanied Lord Churchill in his rush to Bridport and was the troop that fought at Ashill.
L.**4** Colonel's or King's Troop, Royal Regiment of Horse (Oxford Blues)
The Earl of Oxford was the honorary colonel and the regiment was commanded by Captain Sir John Parsons at the start of the campaign. However, Parsons does not appear to have accompanied his troop to Salisbury, and later Sir Francis Compton was promoted to 1ieutenant colonel before Sedgemoor.
L.**5** Colonel's Troop of the Royal Regiment of Dragoons
Four troops of Royal Dragoons took part in the campaign, including the colonel's, Lord Churchill's. However, this troop marched from London with the Guards rather than travelling with the General to Salisbury.

Plate M: Argyll's Foot

In Scotland, only the Whig Foot Regiment appear to have had colours, and these were made in Holland as part of the invasion preparations. These colours appear to have been a mixture of different combinations of St Andrew's saltire, with references to blue and white, and white and black. The known mottos are:

For God and Religion against Popery, Tyranny, Arbitrary Government, and Erastianism
For the Protestant Religion Against Popery, Prelacy, and Erastianism
For God and Religion
Against Popery, Prelary&Erastianism
Against Papismum, Episiopatum & Erashianismum
God forward us
From Popery, Heresy, and Seizure, Good Lord deliver us

M.1 Captain Henderson's Company
This colour is a representation of the colour issued to Ensign Erskine on 22 June at Campbeltown. 'This was the day of rendevous … which was in the park at the town-head. The men that came were modelled and framed in companies, whereof James Henderson had one, and James Denham another, I being made Ensign to Henderson, and carried the first colours made use of in this cause, the motto being, for the Protestant Religion, and

the motto of the other stand taken out this day was - against Popery, Prelacy, and Erastianism.'[10]

M.2 Colour Captured at Eilean Dearg

This colour was left at Eilean Dearg and was possibly from Lapness's Regiment. This was described in the State Papers, along with another colour which was blue with a white cross upon which was written 'God forward us'. Both colours were taken to Whitehall.[11] It is very possible that the volunteer companies carried traditional colours that were blue with a white cross.

Plate N: The Campbell Colours

The Earl of Argyll's family colours are yellow and black, and it is likely that some of the colours carried by the Scottish Whigs may have taken this pattern.

N.1 Possible Colonel's colour of Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck's Regiment of Foot

N.2 Possible layout for Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Campbell's company of foot

N.3 Possible layout for Lieutenant. Colonel Donald Campbell's company of foot

Plate O: Monmouth's Foot

After the battle of Sedgemoor 22 colours were captured, while at Taunton on 21 June, 27 colours were presented to the army. Based on the research conducted, its is clear that all Monmouth's 25 colours and his personal standard were manufactured in Holland, rather than by the maids of Taunton.

> Seven and Twenty Colours given by the maids of the towne of Taunton, introduced by Coll Bovetts daughter
>
> Their names
> Kath. Bovett her father coll.
> Ary Polake Rich
> Sarah Blake
> Susanah Prek
> Eliz Gammon Hacker, kinswomen to the Capt.
> Anne, Susan & Grace Herring, their father a Capt.
> Mary Maid the Goldern Flag JR, a crown & fringes lace round
> Eliz Simpson, shopkeeper
> Saran Reyonds
> 2 of Mr Thomas Soakes daughters, one of Monmoths Privy Council'[12]

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[10] Erskine, *Journal*, p.119.

[11] State Papers of Ireland 351, f.26: 'One blue with a white cross in which was writ 'God forward us', the other white with a black cross in which was writ, as this examinant remembers, 'From Popery, Heresy, and Seizure, Good Lord deliver us'.

[12] BL, Harley 7006, f.195r.

Like the militia, the English Whigs' regiments were named after the colour of their flags: red and blue. It is possible that the lieutenant colonel's colour was a plain field with a motto, while the other company colours had a St George in the canton. The major's company would then have a plain field, the 1st Captain's a single symbol, the 2nd Captain's two, and the 3rd Captain's three symbols.

The following mottos have been identified for Monmouth's armies:

For Religion & Liberty
For God & our Privileges
For God freedom and Religion

O.1 Blue Regiment lieutenant colonel's colour
While in Utrecht, a spy in the Whig camp describes Monmouth's colours as being blue with the motto 'For God & our Privileges'.[13]
O.2 Red Regiment major's colour
Before the invasion, the French Ambassador wrote that the flags of the English Whigs had the motto 'For Religion & Liberty', and it is possible that these were of the Red Regiment.[14]

Plate P: Monmouth's Own Standards
Towards the end of Monmouth's pocket book is written 'A matow. Fear nothing but God', making it clear that he devised the Whigs' motto and choose the green field of liberty for his colour.

P.1 'Fear Nothing but God'
When Monmouth landed, his standard is described as dark green in colour with the motto 'Fear nothing but God', and this was raised above Lyme to muster the new recruits.[15] The same colour was captured at Sedgemoor, and this shows its use throughout the campaign. As this was recovered by the Royal Scots near the location of the Green Regiment it is possible it was carried by Holmes' men, however it was more probably carried by the Lyme Company as part of Count Horne's scythe battalion.
P.2 King's Cornet from Monmouth's Lifeguards
When the Whig army was remodelled at Taunton a lifeguard of horse was formed, and after Monmouth was proclaimed 'King' a new colour was presented to him by the maids of Taunton. It is highly likely that this colour or cornet was made by the maids, and it is this author's assumption that it would have been a cornet for the new Lifeguards.

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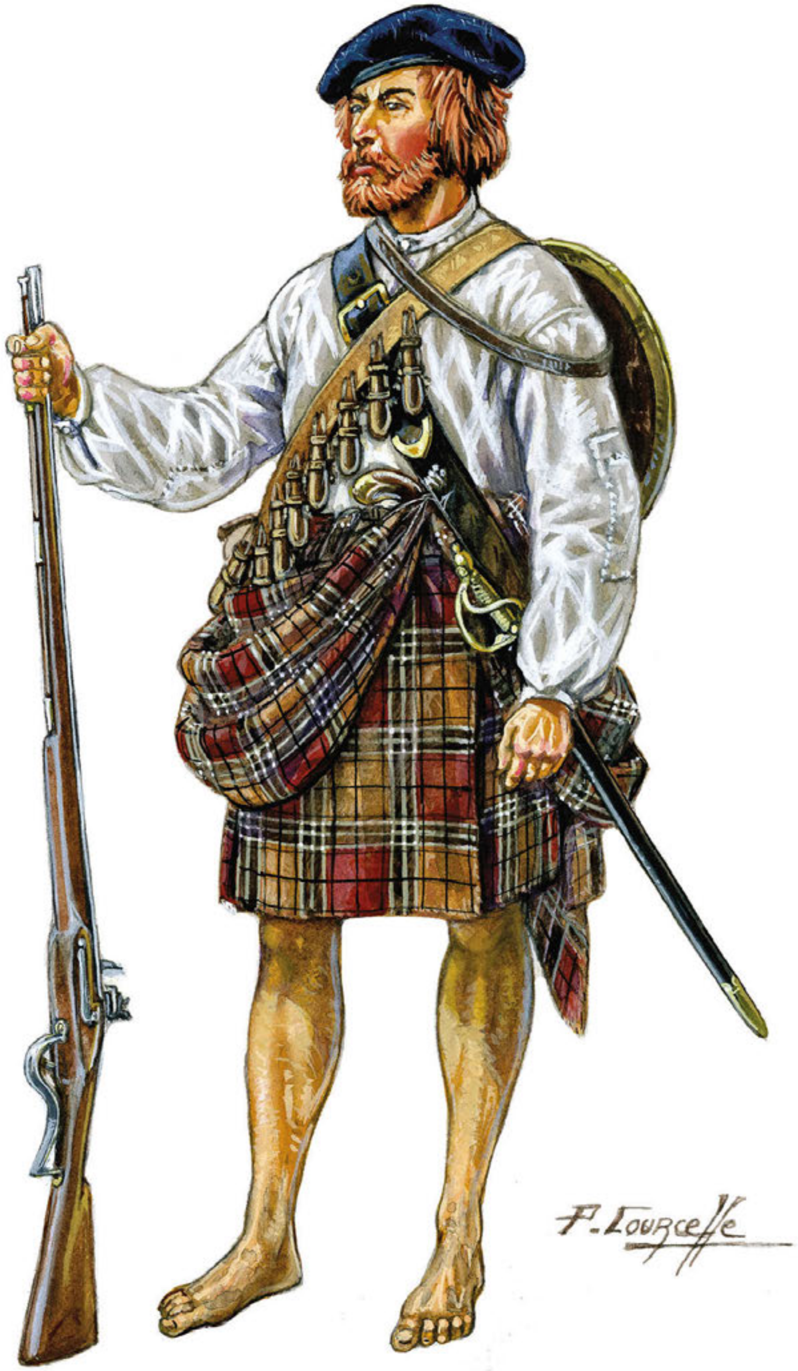
[13] BL, Add MS 41817, f.151 'Monmouth's Colours is blew with this motto for God & our Privileges'.

[14] D'Avaux, *Négociations*, Volume 5, p.21, 'Les drapeaux que cesAngloisont fait et qui ont pour devise, pro Religione et liberate, ontetefaits et vusen Hollande.'

[15] BL, Add MS 31956, f.2, 'They continued in Lyme listing associats (which every moment came to them) under their now display'd Colours which are a deep Green, inscribed wth letters of Gold [Fear nothing but God]'.

Plate A

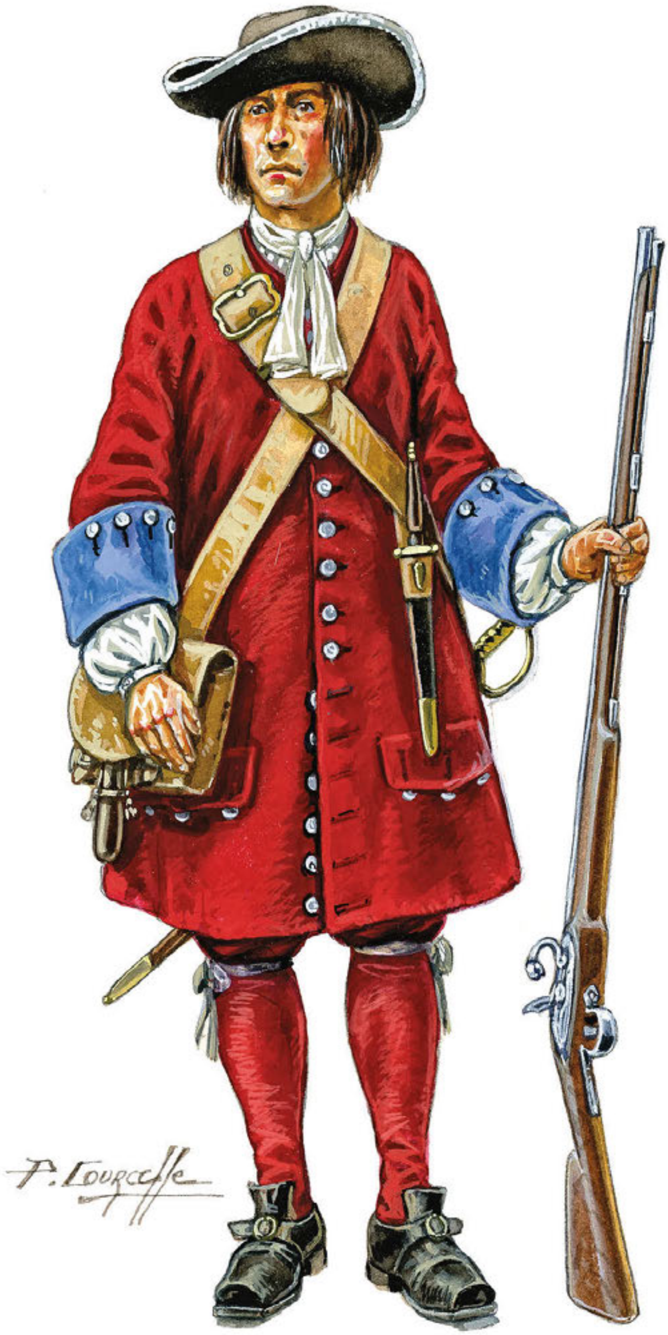


Highland Soldier in Auchinbreck's Regiment at Tarbert

(Illustration by Patrice Courcelle, © Helion & Company 2020)

See Colour Plate Commentaries for further information.

Plate B

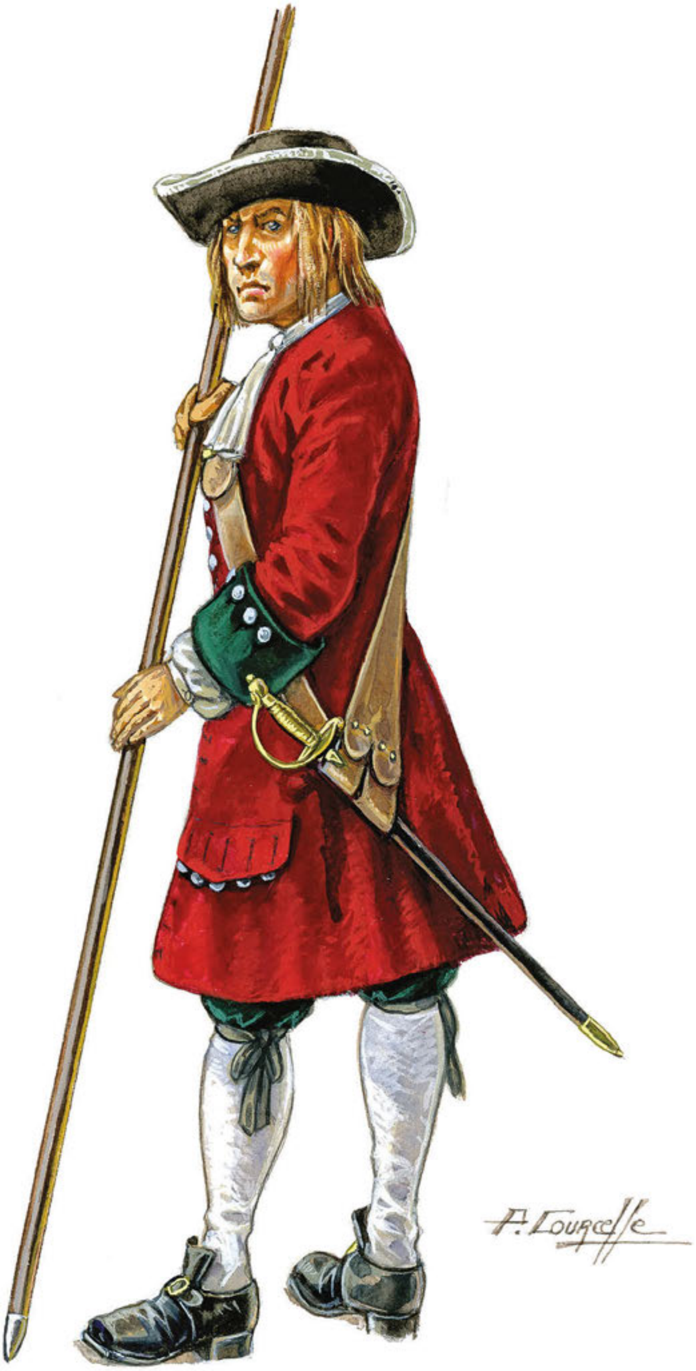


Corporal in Mackay's Regiment of Foot at Gravesend

(Illustration by Patrice Courcelle, © Helion & Company 2020)

See Colour Plate Commentaries for further information.

Plate C

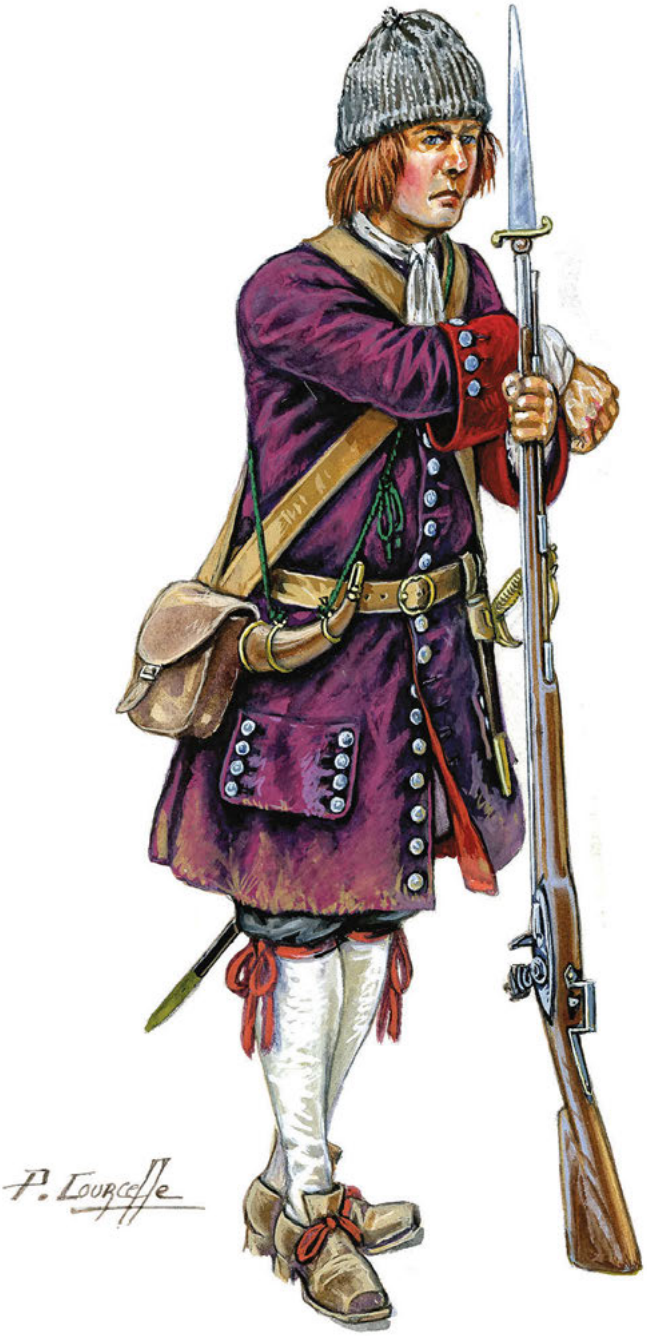


Soldier in the Queen Dowager's Regiment of Foot at Salisbury

(Illustration by Patrice Courcelle, © Helion & Company 2020)

See Colour Plate Commentaries for further information.

Plate D

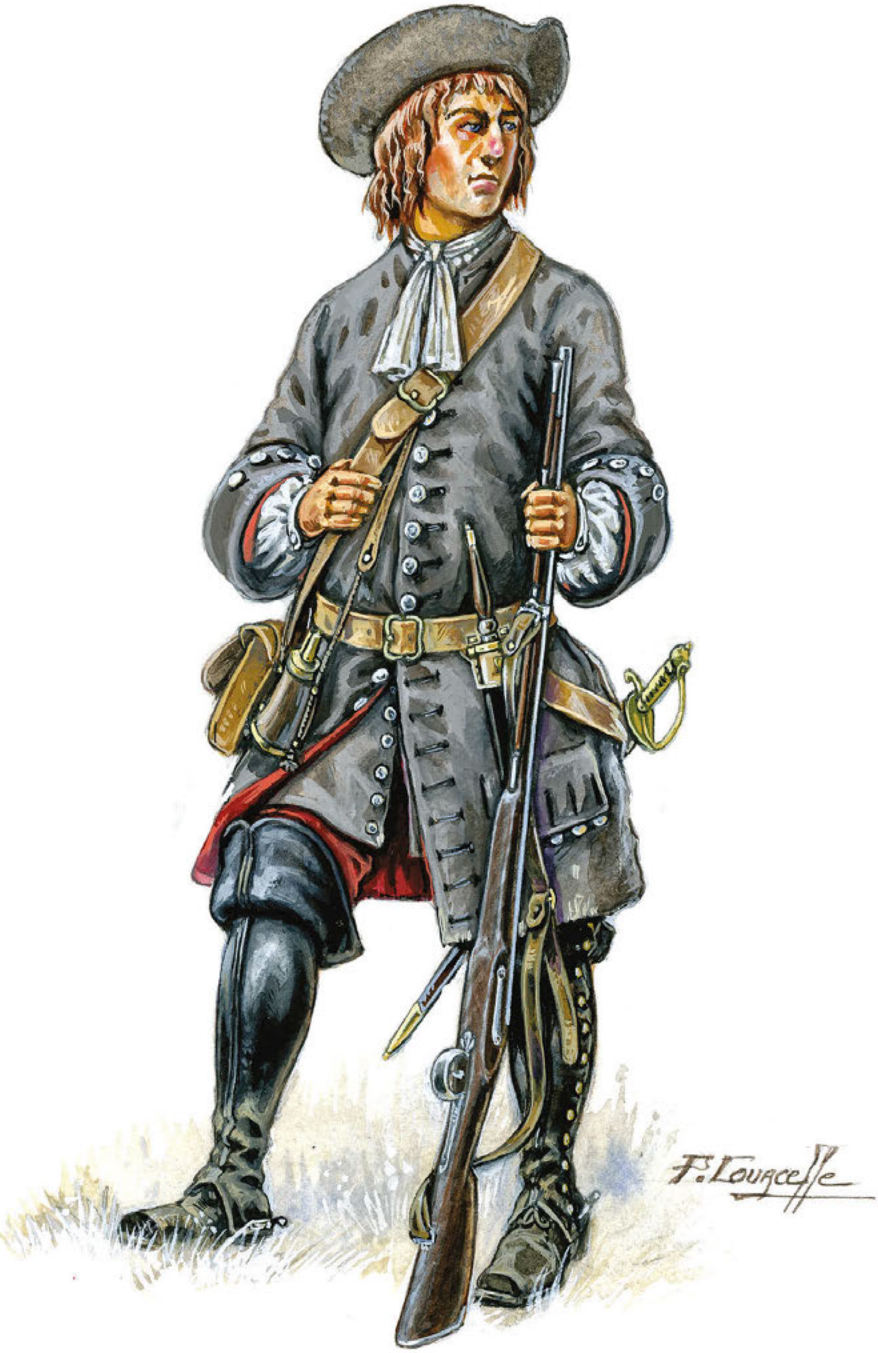


Soldier in Monmouth's Regiment of Foot at Taunton

(Illustration by Patrice Courcelle, © Helion & Company 2020)

See Colour Plate Commentaries for further information.

Plate E

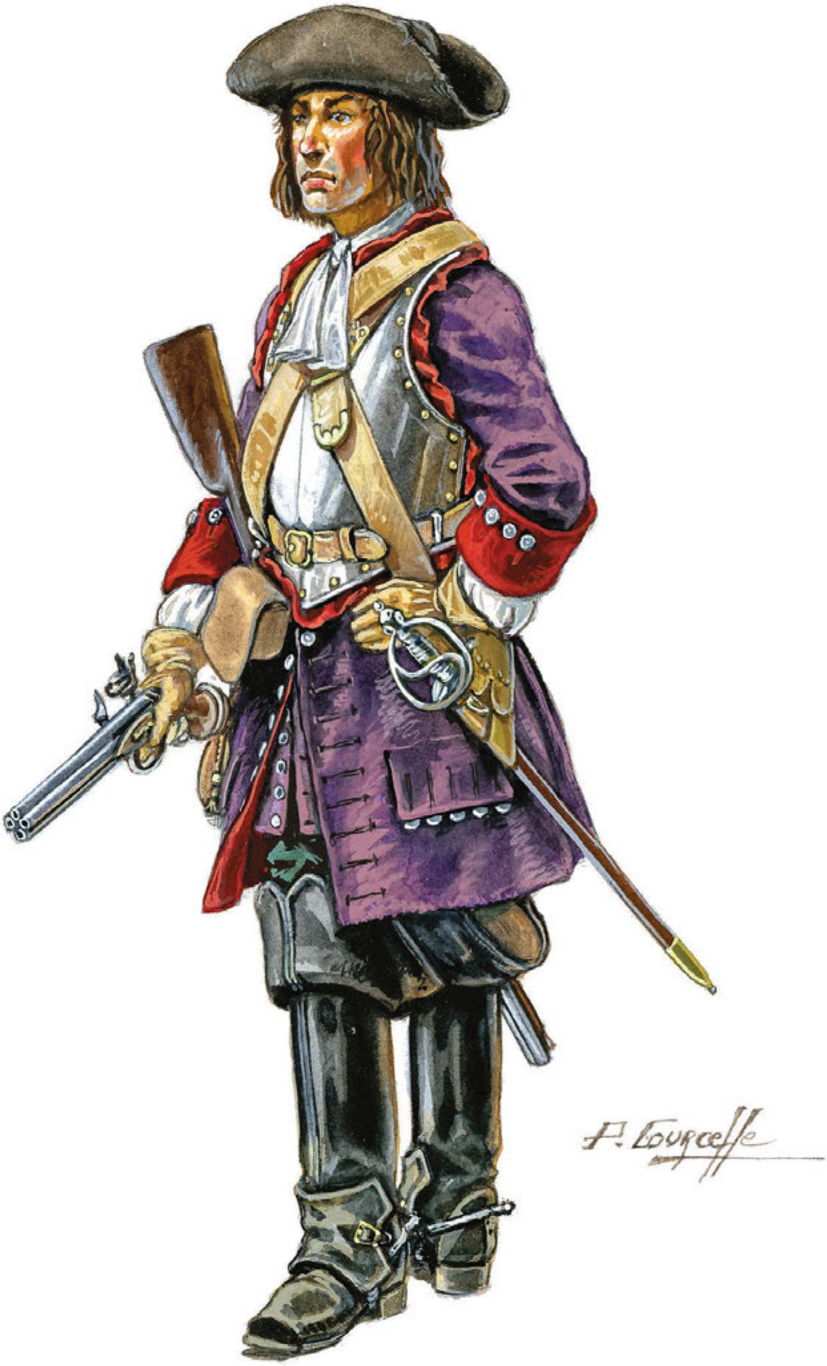


Trooper in Captain Cleland's King's Royal 'Scots' Dragoons at Muirdyke

(Illustration by Patrice Courcelle, © Helion & Company 2020)

See Colour Plate Commentaries for further information.

Plate F

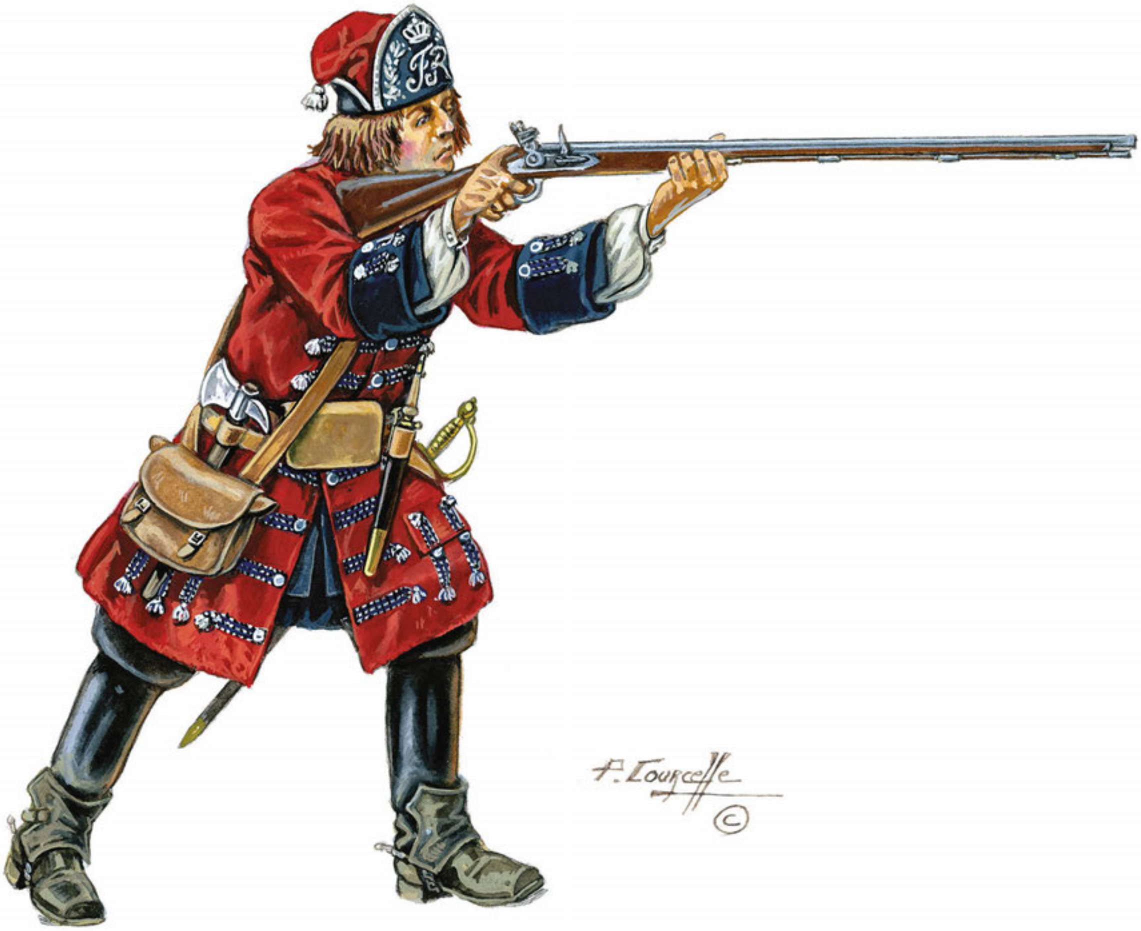


Trooper in Monmouth's Troop of Lifeguards at Taunton

(Illustration by Patrice Courcelle, © Helion & Company 2020)

See Colour Plate Commentaries for further information.

Plate G

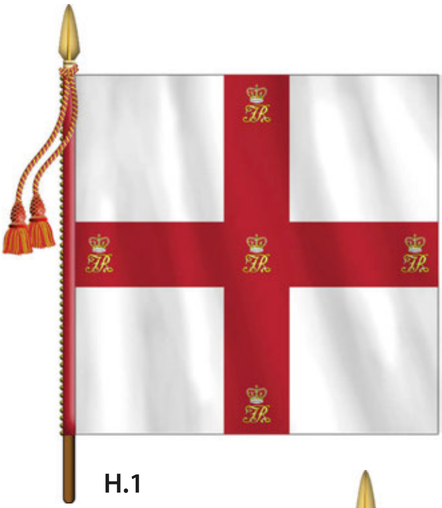


Trooper in Captain Parker’s 1st Lifeguard Horse Grenadiers at Norton St Philip

(Illustration by Patrice Courcelle, © Helion & Company 2020)

See Colour Plate Commentaries for further information.

Plate H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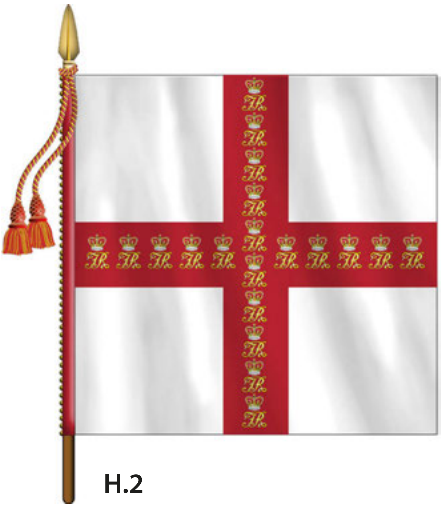
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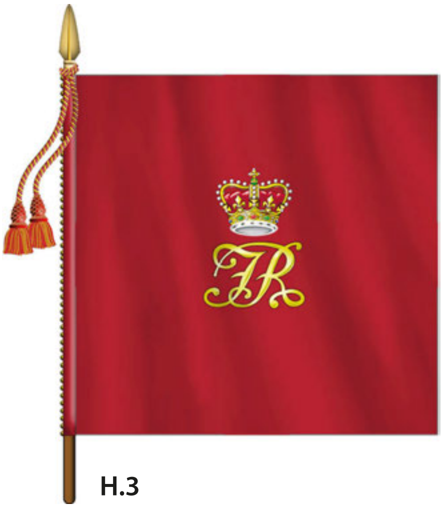
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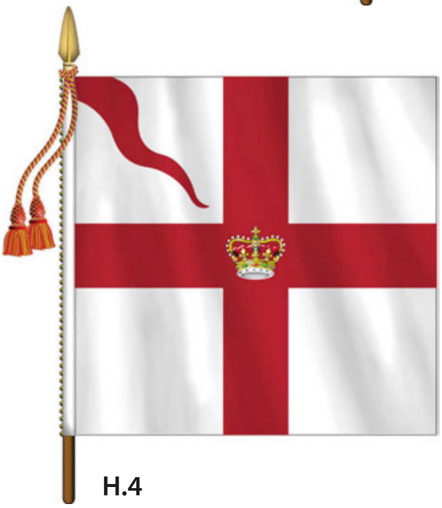
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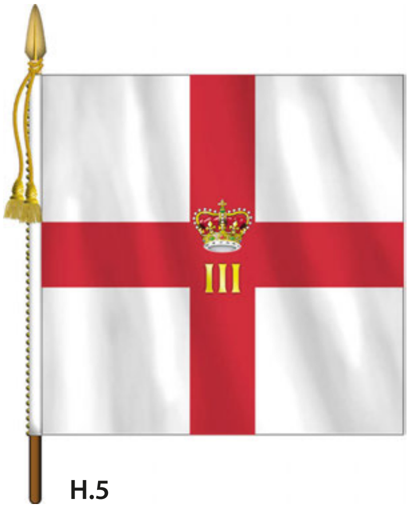

H.5

Colours of the Guards Brigade

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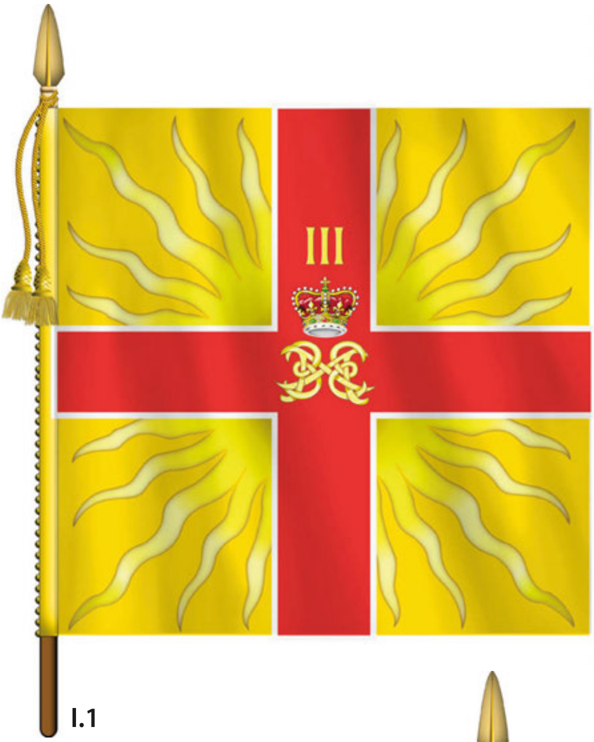
See Colour Plate Commentaries for further information.

Plate I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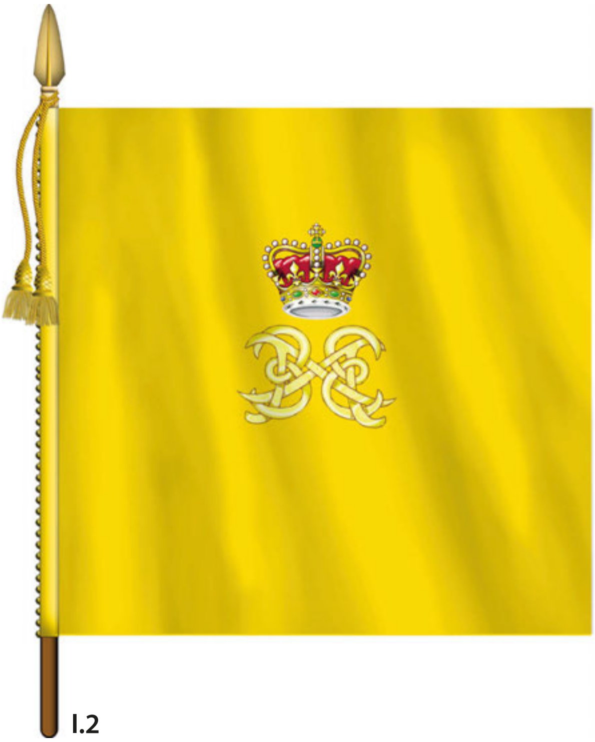
I.2

Colours of the Queen Consort's Regiment or Trelawny's

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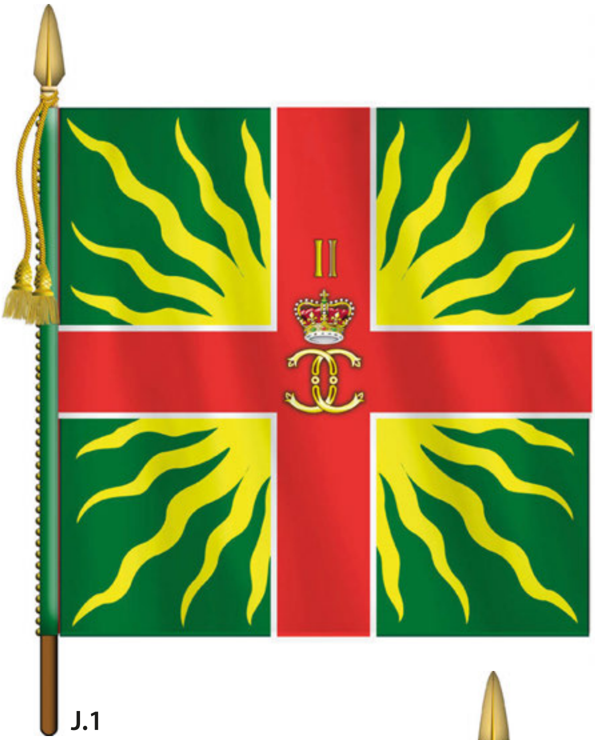

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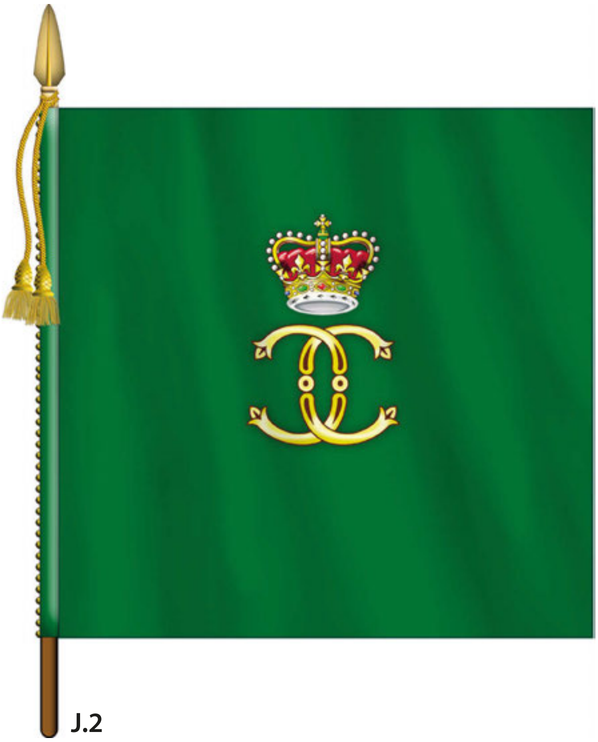

J.2

Colours of the Queen Dowager's Regiment or Kirke's

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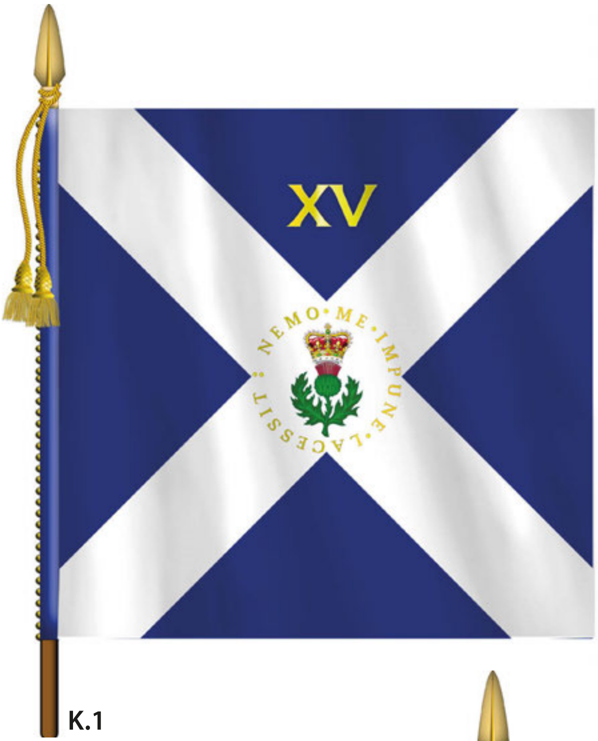
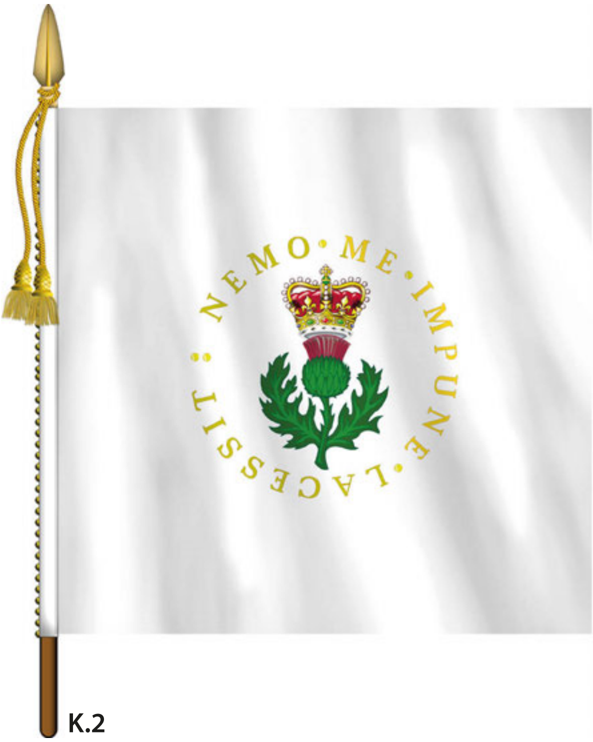
See Colour Plate Commentaries for further information.

Plate K


XV
NEMO • ME • IMPUNE • LACESSIT

K.1


NEMO • ME • IMPUNE • LACESSIT

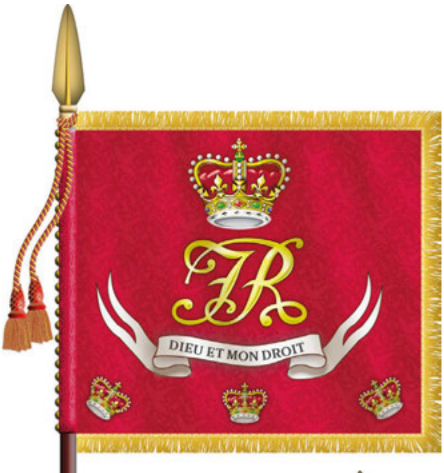
K.2

Colours of the Royal Regiment of Foot or the Royal Scots

(Illustrations by Dr Les Prince, © Helion & Company 2020)

See Colour Plate Commentaries for further information.

Plate L


DIEU ET MON DROIT

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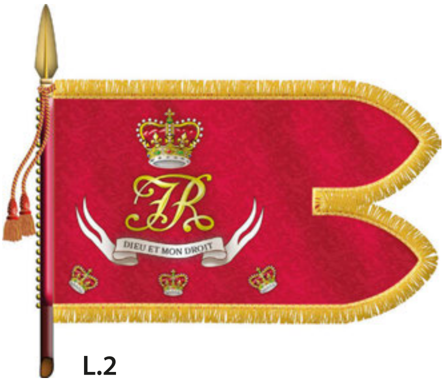
DIEU ET MON DROIT

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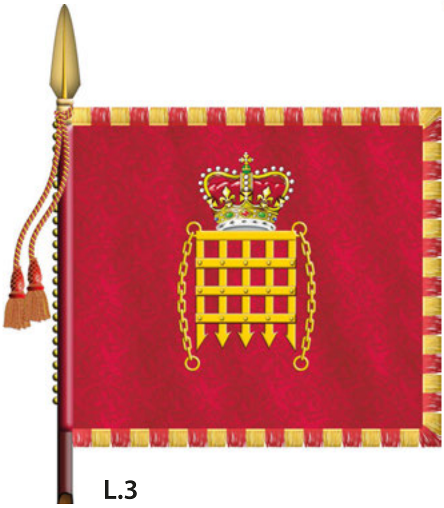

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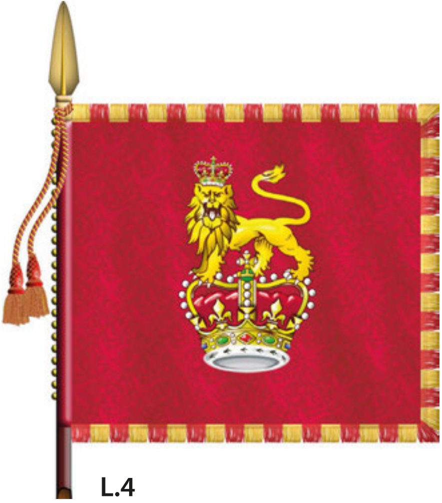

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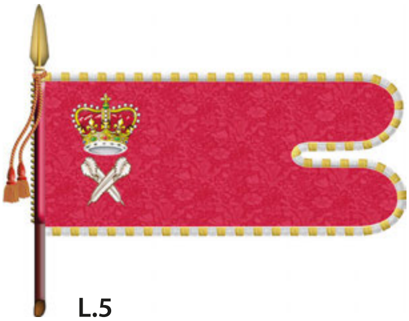

L.5

Cornets of the Government Horse

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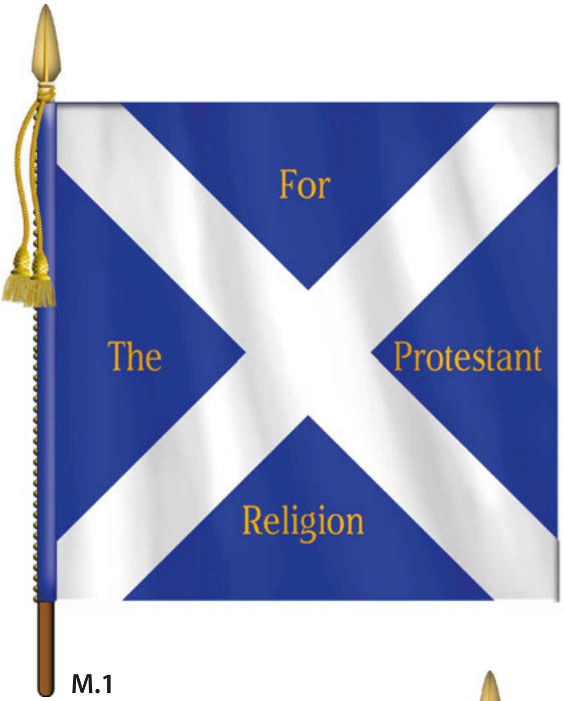
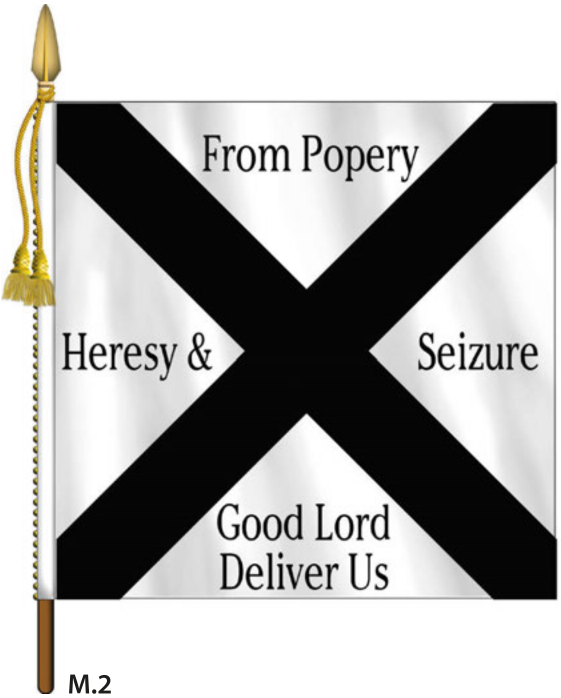
See Colour Plate Commentaries for further information.

Plate M


For
The
Protestant
Religion

M.1


From Popery
Heresy &
Seizure
Good Lord
Deliver Us

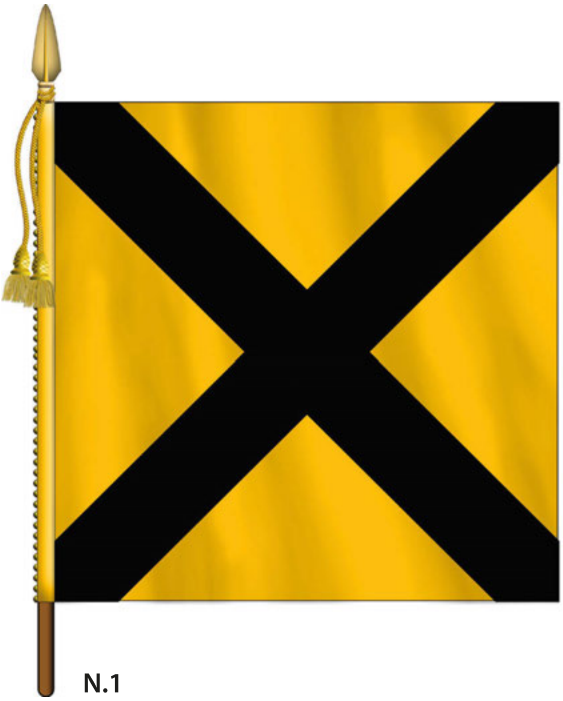
M.2

Argyll’s Foote

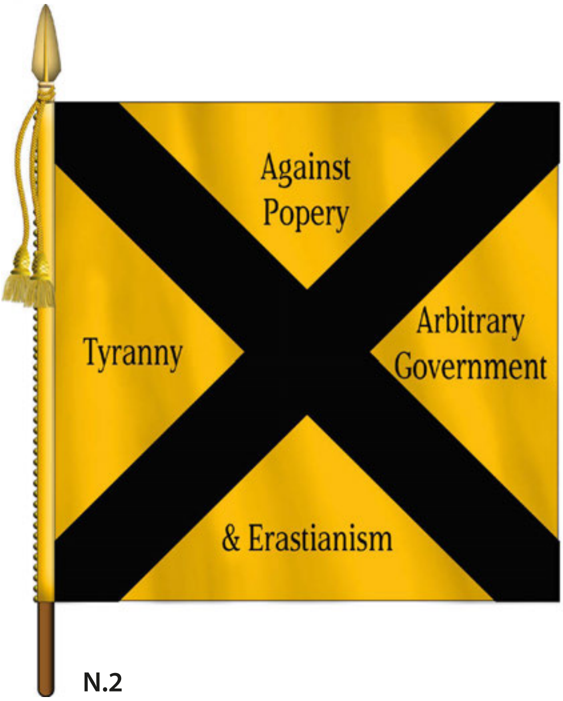
(Illustrations by Dr Les Prince, © Helion & Company 2020)

See Colour Plate Commentaries for further information.

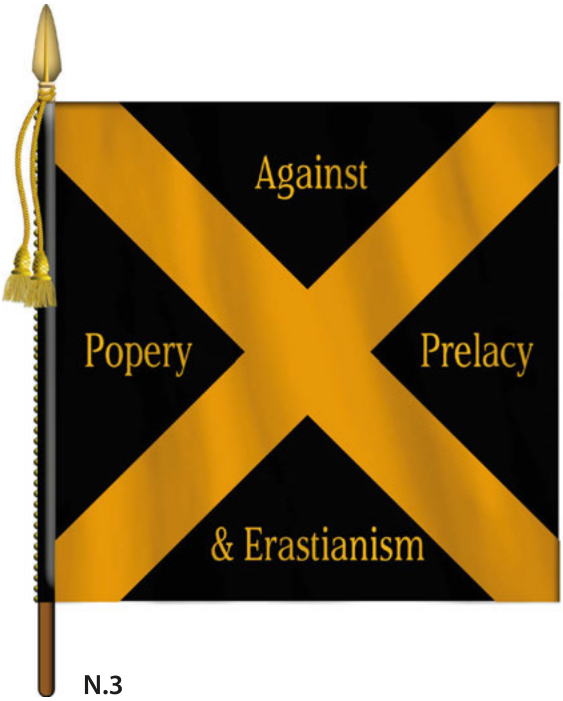
Plate N



N.1


Against
Popery
Tyranny
Arbitrary
Government
& Erastianism

N.2


Against
Popery
Prelacy
& Erastianism

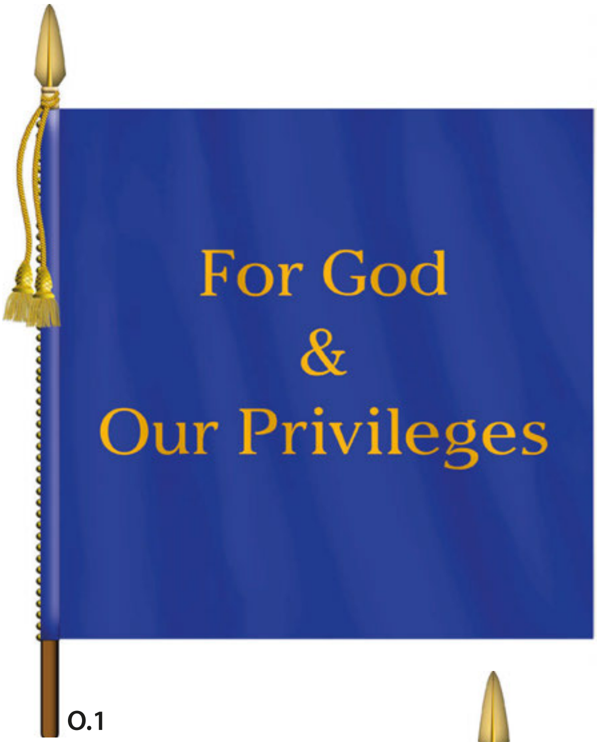
N.3

The Campbell Colours

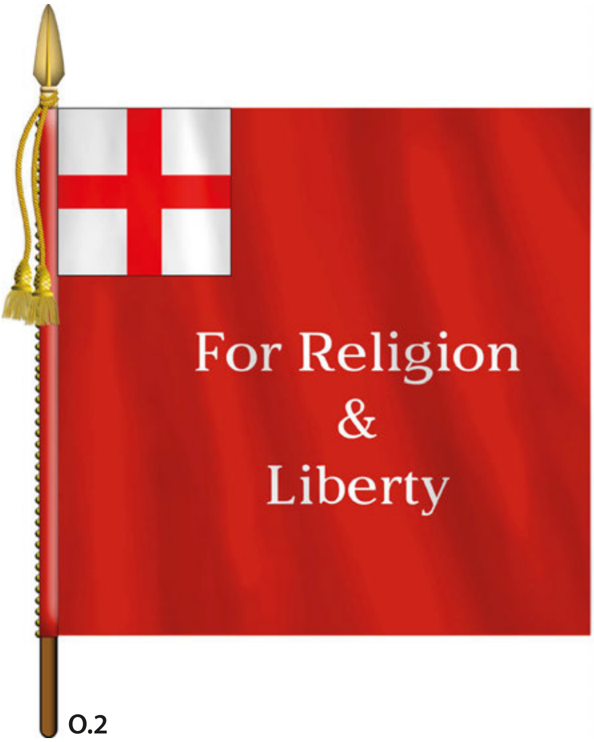
(Illustrations by Dr Les Prince, © Helion & Company 2020)

See Colour Plate Commentaries for further information.

Plate O


For God
&
Our Privileges

O.1


For Religion
&
Liberty

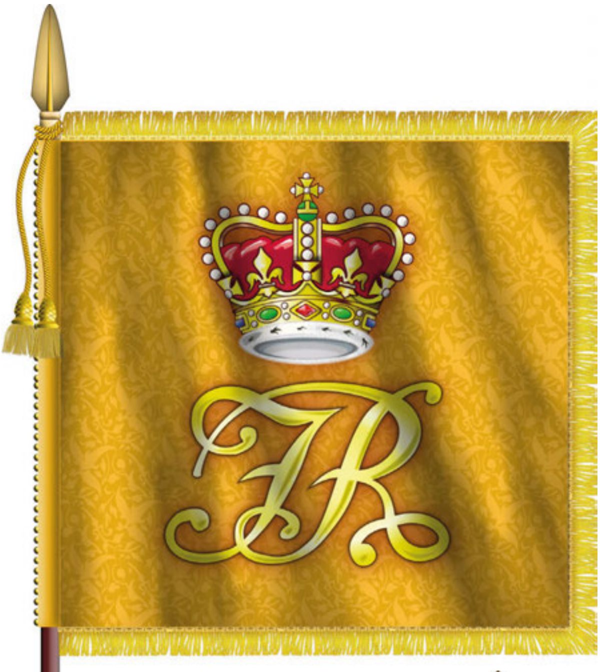
O.2

Monmouth's Foot

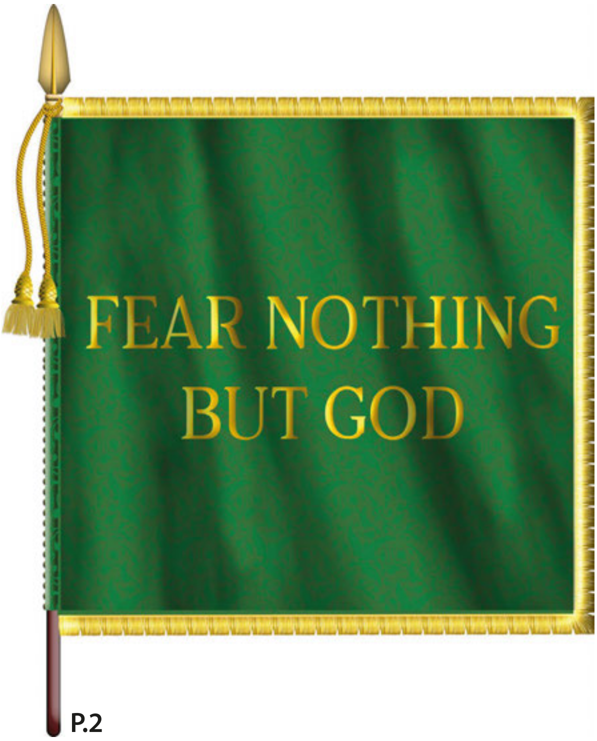
(Illustrations by Dr Les Prince, © Helion & Company 2020)

See Colour Plate Commentaries for further information.

Plate P



P.1


FEAR NOTHING
BUT GOD

P.2

Monmouth’s Own Standards

(Illustrations by Dr Les Prince, © Helion & Company 2020)

See Colour Plate Commentaries for further information.

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